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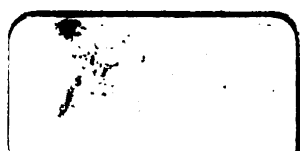
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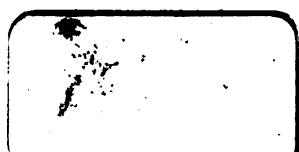
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The Theologian

AND

ECCELESIASTIC.

THE SCHOLASTIC DOCTRINE OF BAPTISM.

The Doctrine of Holy Baptism : with remarks on the Rev. W. Goode's "Effects of Infant Baptism." By ROBERT ISAAC WILBERFORCE, M.A., Archdeacon of the East Riding. London : John Murray, 1849.

IN every department of literature, and in every branch of science, there are many pretenders to genius and knowledge ; but, as a general rule, even the pretenders know something. The least qualified writer of history has some imperfect acquaintance with dates and facts, and of necessity has looked a little to what others have written. The latest theorist in geology has some idea of the theories broached by others ; and the most superficial epitomizer of any science has at least acquired its ordinary terminology. But in theology, once so proudly ranked as "queen" among sciences, the world has been long accustomed to a phenomenon, (which but for the experience of so many years would have seemed incredible,)—a whole class of writers, and those too the most popular and widely influential, who betray, not merely shallowness and incompetency, but absolute "innocence" of the whole subject matter of their lucubrations ; who use terms without looking farther than their etymology for a meaning ; inherit phrases, and create from them doctrines ; and boldly dogmatize on all points scriptural and ecclesiastical, with an unconscious absence of as much as a rudimentary knowledge of sacred science. That class of writers has had its day : the present age, so inquisitive on all other subjects, could not be expected to rest satisfied with earnest ignorance in Religion. We may be thankful

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B

that the rise of a more learned theology among us has, at least, encountered, if not anticipated, the active infidelity of these searching times.

The work of Archdeacon Robert Isaac Wilberforce on the doctrine of the Incarnation is one of the best examples of this "revival of learning" in our Church. It is a work which will no doubt mould the thoughts, and direct the reading, of hundreds of our younger clergy who are already studying it. The Archdeacon has now published its fitting sequel—"The Doctrine of Holy Baptism." Most opportunely for the Church has this able volume, of one of her best read theologians, appeared at this time; when the controversy is again raised among us as to what is called "Baptismal Regeneration." Not that this work is, in any sense, of the ephemeral nature of a mere controversial rejoinder to the reverend gentleman who is alluded to on its title page. It is a discourse on the whole subject of Baptism, with such reference only to Mr. Goode's theories as seemed called for by the prominent position assigned to him in the present controversy—a position from which he certainly has not shrunk. Before we remark on the details of the work; or notice the peculiar circumstances of our Baptismal controversy; it will be desirable to mark the position in that controversy taken by the Archdeacon, and to give our readers some outline of his present treatise, which, notwithstanding even its superiority in some respects—we have designated as a Sequel to the work "on the Incarnation." We may begin our outline in the Archdeacon's own words from his concluding chapter; which will well open the general view of the subject which he takes.

"By the Christian Religion is meant the scheme of CHRIST'S Mediation—that new law whereby it pleased God that in the Humanity of the one atoning Mediator there should be embodied those divine gifts by which the degeneracy of man's nature might be remedied. The appointed means whereby each individual enters into the line of this Regenerate race is Holy Baptism." pp. 290, 297. "Regeneration is the re-creation of man's nature in CHRIST." "This gift is bestowed upon all to whom Baptism is duly administered." (p. 298.)—"These assertions (however) bring the Church's doctrine into direct contradiction with the two counter systems by which it is opposed: for they will be found to turn upon the denial of these two assertions—the first maintaining that grace is *not* bestowed by the Giver, through Baptism; the second, that if bestowed at times it is not bestowed upon *all* infants to whom Holy Baptism is duly administered." (p. 299.)

The Archdeacon, in illustrating this, shows, that the objections of those who *wholly* deny Baptismal grace are "founded upon the system of Rationalism;" are applicable to adult as well as infant Baptism; and "are directed against the system of Mediation at large." (This part of his argument is so

powerfully and clearly put, that we cannot but earnestly hope that the sincere and thoughtful among the "Evangelicals" may be induced to read it. It is difficult to conceive of their withstanding its forcible and scriptural statements.)—Other objectors to the doctrine of Grace, who allow that the new birth is *sometimes* given in Baptism, though not always, are not only shown to be in opposition to the Church's teaching herein; but to "derogate, however unconsciously, from the reality of our Lord's incarnation;" in the same way as those who deny grace altogether. The essential heresy indeed of those who advocate occasional regeneration in Baptism—(the Calvinism, i. e. of those who limit regeneration then to God's decree—the Pelagianism of those who explain such limit by man's faith, or holiness foreseen)—is so clearly explained, and so reiterated in page after page, that we must anticipate the most perfect conviction to ensue, with every religious and competent reader.

This extract and references, brief though they are, will at once explain the connection between this treatise and that on the Incarnation; and will at the same time illustrate the deep, scholastic view of the doctrine of Regeneration which the Archdeacon brings so prominently forward, as it stands distinguished from that more popular view which has been usual with our later English writers, such as Bethell and Waterland.

Nothing can be more useful in its own way than Bishop Bethell's Essay; but a quarter of a century has elapsed since the Bishop of Bangor addressed the public mind. It is we hope no disparagement to his work to say that it was suited to that phase of the religious world which then presented itself. It has relation not only to the controversies, but to the mode of thinking, of the day. The Archdeacon Wilberforce's Treatise, on the contrary, while meeting the controversy of our time, directs men's minds into another channel, and in a manner compels them to a new exactness of thought. It is this which will make it so unpalatable, unintelligible, and unanswerable, to the hackneyed writers of a worn-out Puritanism, who will find in the storehouses to which they are wont to resort no weapons either of attack or defence at all available.

We believe that the mind of the Church was unprepared in the last generation for a Treatise like this. The deeply seated Calvinism of the religious spirit of England, from the rise of Wesley to the times of the Archdeacon's respected father, rendered hopeless, for the time, any recurrence to a consistent and Catholic theology. The courageous efforts of Bishop Bethell, Bishop Mant, and others, were nobly directed, and not without success, to such a defence of the truth as the times admitted; but the external vindication of Baptismal Grace, while it reassured and satisfied the orthodox, and arrested the further

spread of Calvinism, only astonished and aroused the sincere Evangelicals of the day. We can remember the time when the name of one, truly venerated among Churchmen, identified with the defence of Sacramental Grace, was a proverb with those who in their own circle were regarded as "the spiritual"—the true "children of God." That venerable man outlived indeed the ignominy attached to his calm and timely defence of Baptism—outlived the generation which had been trained to regard him as a monstrous instance of the "carnal mind" intruding into the things of God: but he did not live to witness the total overthrow of the pietism which had so long troubled the Church—its overthrow from its vaunted position of spirituality, and its identification with the other forms of worldliness which, bereft alike of intellectual and spiritual life, cling to the political parties of the day for a precarious support. We have lived to see this; and not only this; but such a stirring up of the hidden life of the Church, that a tone and direction of thought is possible now, which would have been impossible then. Religious minds, taught by experience the hollowness of the old Evangelicism, may now be led to see the vital connection of the whole Sacramental doctrine with the essential system of the Gospel. Baptism will no longer be now defended as if an independent doctrine—by reasonings or "evidences"—as "capable of being harmonized" with other doctrines;—but apprehended as an integral part of the Revelation of God in CHRIST—the "*janua sacramentorum*," "*janua vitæ*," an epitome, rather than a portion, of the "Faith delivered to the Saints." If it were not this, deeply religious minds would not learn to sympathise with it—if it were not this, it were unfit for the struggle of solemn controversy in times like ours.

The defenders of the doctrine of Grace in the last generation boldly asserted and maintained the fact of our new birth, "of water and of the Spirit;" they shrank not from the use of the strongest Scripture sayings concerning our baptismal life in CHRIST; still they scarcely did justice to the doctrine they defended, because they seemed to isolate it, (as their opponents thought,) from the other great truths of redemption. This isolation, apparent or real, while it was certainly one great stumbling block to religious minds of the Puritan party, was probably a reflex result of the spirit of the times. Every one was too much in the habit of regarding Christianity as a series of "doctrines" rather than a Divine institute, a heavenly life on earth. Even the defenders of the truth fell, partly, into the manner of their opponents, and of their age. The new birth of water and of the Spirit was but vindicated against fanatical interpretations. The theory of extatic influences was confronted by the Baptismal Gift; but of the Gift itself comparatively little

was said. That spiritual Birth which was pretended by the Calvinists to result from hidden causes, was truly assigned by the orthodox to its Divine, sacramental origin; but the religious language and theories of the times had made it difficult (perhaps impossible) to put forth with clearness the whole connexion and dependency of this and the cognate Catholic doctrines. Not indeed that such men as Bishop Bethell were unacquainted with the scientific statements of theological truth, which have so greatly formed the language and educated the mind of modern Christianity; but they were jealous of them, and hoped to be able sufficiently to vindicate the doctrines of Grace without the dreaded subtleties of "schoolmen." And the charitable extent to which even the venerated Bishop used the expressions of those whom he combated, ["conversion," "renovation," &c.,] contributed, doubtless, not a little to increase the apparent difference between his own phraseology and that of the schools.

As an example of this sensitive fear of the distinctions of the old Theology; and at the same time an ample justification of that recurrence to more scientific language, of which we have now a beginning; we may quote from the Bishop's Ninth Chapter of the "General View of the Doctrine of Regeneration :—"

"According to the schoolmen, man, when he is baptized, is endowed with a Habit of justifying Faith, containing in it the Habits of faith, hope, and charity, and of all Christian virtues." (p. 156.) "This scholastic notion of a Habit of grace involves two innovations on the known and received use of words." (p. 158.) "The ancient moralists make a just and reasonable distinction between Faculties or dispositions, and Habits. Faculties or dispositions are potential principles of action which must be elicited by education or opportunities, and formed into habits by use and exercise. Habits are the same principles in a state of activity, and of readiness and aptness for use. But, according to the scholastic divines, those principles which are said to be infused into the soul when it is regenerated, do not follow the order of moral causes, but are at once in a state of activity, and produce free acts as soon as they have an opportunity of exerting themselves.—But there is no ground in reason or Scripture for supposing that spiritual causes differ from moral, in the order of their operations, or in the manner in which they produce their practical effects.

The other innovation upon language consists in the sense which they have affixed to the word Grace, as a habit, or quality, inherent [indwelling] in the soul of man." (p. 158.)

Now as to both these supposed "innovations upon language," it will not be difficult to show that the schoolmen were right; and in fact that they were no innovations at all; while this disposition

to think them so, can itself only be accounted for by the disuse among us of the old theological accuracy, and the introduction of new modes of thought even among the orthodox. It is quite true, as his Lordship observes, that the ancients (i.e. Aristotle, &c.) in describing the order of *moral* causes would place faculties before habits, and attribute the latter to the action of the former. But the scholastics perceived that to assert this of *spiritual* causes might favour a subtle Pelagianism, and confound, if not identify, the operations of Grace and Nature. They therefore took a middle course, and spoke of the grace infused in Regeneration as a "Habit," but a *passive* habit. It would be for those who deny this to explain* how the Grace of Baptism could be "*Justifying* Grace," if it be no more than a faculty or "potentiality," and not a real virtual presence of that "faith, hope, and love," which is all that the term "passive habit" is meant to convey.—And as to the other alleged innovation, viz., in using the word Grace to describe a Gift really dwelling in the Christian, surely the learned prelate himself is as much accustomed so to use the word Grace as any schoolman from Peter Lombard to Gabriel Biel. But neither his own frequent assertions of the "*grace given us*" in our Baptism, the "*grace bestowed*," and the like; nor the Apostle's "let this grace *abound in you*,"—the "grace that is *in you*," &c.; nor the schoolmen's "*gratia gratum faciens et gratis data*;" are intended as descriptive of the gift itself: only that there *is* a gift; and since it comes to us *freely* from God, it is called "Grace."

But the passage of Bishop Bethell, on which we are thus commenting, is of consequence, as exactly illustrating the point of the inquiry concerning Regeneration, where his interesting work is defective; and where the present work of Archdeacon Wilberforce partly supplies a want. His Lordship is admirable in demonstrating that the new birth, or Regeneration, takes place in Baptism; but of the Gift itself he gives but a slender account, and of the position thereof in the scheme of the Gospel he is nearly silent, as we suppose, through a fear of scholasticism.

It is the peculiar excellence of the Treatise now before us, that it tends to remedy this defect in our theology. For popular use the work of Bishop Bethell will always be invaluable. For pious reading and learned reflection and research, Dr. Pusey's "*Scriptural Views of Holy Baptism*," are still unrivalled. But for a theological statement of the doctrine and its position in the Christian Revelation, the present book of Archdeacon Wilberforce at least surpasses anything in our language, with which we have become acquainted.

* They would be bound to explain too how the SPIRIT (Who is Love) could be given and dwell in us, *without* "Love," which is the "LAW written in the Regenerate."

The Archdeacon is not so afraid of the schoolmen, as was the Bishop of Bangor. He has abundantly shown this in his exposure, of what he properly calls Mr. Goode's "startling assertion," that Peter Lombard is "on his side." (It is humiliating to think that a writer whose want of acquaintance with his subject is here (pp. 192—203,) so painfully exposed should be regarded as their champion, even by an unlearned party in our Church; and more—should even have obtained in a high quarter the praise of erudition.)

It is observable, however, that the Archdeacon holds back from the school doctrine of Regeneration at the same point as Bishop Bethell, though not in so great a degree; which is the more to be regretted, as he almost shows an inclination to Augustinianism,* from which the Bishop is free. If we are to choose between Augustin and Aquinas, we certainly should not hesitate to prefer the latter as the expounder of a far more exact and critical theology; and most assuredly the doctrine of Habitual Grace, is not a portion of scholasticism which careful Theologians will willingly part with. The passage in which the Archdeacon refers to this, and sympathises with Bishop Bethell, is the following:

"Inasmuch as light puts something into the illuminated body, and grace is a sort of light of the soul, it was held that in the soul of the justified there was a Habit of grace, or a supernatural quality, which was something distinct from the Spirit which infused it. On this arose the further question whether the gift of the Spirit at Baptism, implied the infusion of that Habit of grace which was supposed to be its consequence." (p. 203.)

Upon this it is obvious to remark, that the presence of the Divine SPIRIT is spoken of in different ways. His Special Presence in the Divine Glory of the heaven of heavens; His Omnipresence in the whole universe; His conscious Presence in His Saints; His miraculous presence, with certain Gifts; His Sacramental Presence in the Regenerate. This last the Church, confessedly, believes to be a distinct *Gift*; and she has allowed it to be called "Habitual Grace."

The Archdeacon, however, refers to Morinus as having collected abundant proof that the doctrine of Habitual Grace is an "open question" in the Church of Rome; and even goes so far as to say that the question itself "arose only out of the reasonings of the schoolmen,"—a saying which we hope need not imply that the question has no reality in the nature of the Sacramental fact

* The Archdeacon slightly apologises indeed for S. Augustine's strong doctrine of divine decrees, by remarking on the *unsettled* character of the times in which he lived (p. 180): a similar reflection though of course with a very different animus is made by Dr. Hampden in his Bampton Lectures (p. 156): we do not see the force of the reflection in either case.

itself. We need not remind the Archdeacon, that Morinus is somewhat too prone to decry "distinctions," and would be far from satisfied even with getting rid of such discussions as we now refer to. It is too much the manner of that learned writer to disparage the accuracy of the later in comparison of the earlier theology : he more than hints his preference (as it seemed to us on reading him some time since,) for a *less definite* theology than that of the later Church.* But even taking Morinus's representation as a fair one—which we are reluctant to do—let us bear in mind that it is 200 years since he published, and 220 since he wrote a great part of his Commentary on the Penitential Discipline : and it is not too much to say that the course of controversy, on the subject of Baptism in particular, may have demonstrated the wisdom of distinctions which he may pardonably have treated as refinements. If we mistake not, this has been remarkably seen in the recent discussions as to the doctrine of Regeneration in our own Church.

As the consideration of this point will call our attention to that part of the subject where the Archdeacon's treatise leaves off, we must postpone the remarks we had intended to make on the chapters concerning Predestination and decrees ; and occupy the little space at our disposal with a few words on the whole doctrine of Baptism, and of that "Habitual Grace" which holds so important a place in the Great Theological controversy now pending among us.

The Church's doctrine of Holy Baptism has been practically settled since the days of the Pelagian controversy. The fathers of Carthage and Milevis (*Mila*) in Numidia, in conjunction with Innocent, (who, according to Tillemont, called a council also at Rome,†) condemned the distinctive heresies of Celestius and Pelagius, and defined the ancient faith as to this sacrament. Minor questions arose indeed in subsequent days, among the doctors of the Church ; but they did not mingle in the disputes between ourselves and Rome in the sixteenth century.‡ Before the great outbreak of those disputes, the council of Florence defines carefully the exact faith of Christendom as then understood, (A. D. 1439). Having declared that the Christian Sacraments confer grace on those "who worthily receive them," ("digné suscipientibus,") the Council says :

"Primum omnium Sacramentorum locum tenet Sanctum Baptisma, quod vitæ spiritualis Janua est: per ipsum enim membra

* As when he suggests that the "Forum internum" was not distinguished in "primitive times" from the "forum externum;" and that the early fathers did not make distinctions as to different sins, as we do.

† Of which however there seems to be no record.

‡ Nor even in the 17th ; the disputes for example of Usher, and Laud, with Jesuits, scarcely allude to Baptism.

Christi, ac de corpore efficimur ecclesiæ. Et cùm per primum hominem mors introierit in universos; nisi ex aquâ et Spiritu renascimur, non possumus, ut inquit Veritas, in regnum cœlorum introire. Materia hujus Sacramenti est aqua vera et naturalis: nec refert frigida sit, an calida. Forma autem est, 'Ego te baptizo in nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritûs sancti.'—Non tamen negamus, quin et per illa verba—'baptizatur talis servus Christi in nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritûs sancti':* vel 'baptizatur manibus meis talis in nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritûs sancti; verum perficiatur baptisma. Quoniam cum principalis causa, ex quâ Baptismus virtutem habet, sit sancta Trinitas; instrumentalis autem sit Minister qui tradit exterius Sacramentum, si exprimitur actus, qui per ipsum exercetur Ministrum, cum sanctæ Trinitatis invocatione perficitur Sacramentum, Minister hujus sacramenti est sacerdos, cui ex officio competit baptizare. In causa autem necessitatis non solum sacerdos vel Diaconus, sed etiam Laicus vel Mulier, immo etiam Paganus et Hereticus baptizare potest, dummodo formam servet Ecclesiæ, et facere intendat quod facit Ecclesia. Hujus Sacramenti effectus est remissio omnis culpæ originalis et actualis; omnis quoque pœnæ quæ pro ipsâ culpâ debetur. Propterea baptizatis nulla pro peccatis præteritis injungenda est satisfactio: sed morientes antequam culpam aliquam committant statim ad regnum cœlorum et visionem Dei perveniunt."

No word or phrase of this whole, and most exact, exposition has ever been denied by the Church of England. And yet this alone, if considered by those who would really weigh its precise meaning, would by its so clearly *defining*, be enough to settle most of the disputes which have arisen among us now, and correct the painfully loose ideas prevalent both as to what the Church holds, and what she does not hold. In defining this Sacrament, the council for instance, makes no more distinction than scripture itself, as to the *age* of the recipients; but quotes as a universal truth, the statement of S. John, of the necessity of being "born of water and of the Spirit." The "principalis causa" is declared to be the Holy Trinity;—the "instrumentalis causa," the minister: in connexion with the former phrase arises the doctrine of the "impressed character;" and the latter implies the "opus operans et opus operatum," so grievously misunderstood among us. The doctrine of Intention is simply affirmed to be, "facere quod facit Ecclesia;"—the effect of the sacrament, "remissio plena," and (if there be not subsequent sin,) salvation. And finally, (as if to cut off all excuse for disputes such as the present) here is the "dignè suscipientibus" of the council of Florence before our eyes,—the very last hope

* This is said in order to include the Greek Church.

of our modern sacramentarians ; for they surely have been persuading themselves that the phrase "them that worthily receive the same" is a Protestant qualification of the doctrine of the Sacraments unknown of old—Will they cast it away, as Luther did, on finding its catholic origin?

To what purpose is it, we would ask, that because we condemn the errors of the Church of Rome, we should exaggerate the distinctions between us on *all* points? And yet unhappily, even our mature Theologians have been so carried along by the animus of this antagonism, that they have sometimes been betrayed into this unfortunate mistake, to call it by the mildest name. What but the unconscious action of the spirit of the past generation, on his own higher spirit, could have produced from the thoughtful prelate (from whom we have already quoted) such a passage as the following, intended to describe the "pernicious doctrine" of the "*opus operatum*?"

"The doctrine of the *Church of Rome* was, that Sacraments operate upon the soul by a divine virtue communicated *to the elements*, and that where there is no obstacle of wilful sin they confer grace without any corresponding act on the part of the recipient." (Bethell, p. 136.)*

Now what *is* the doctrine of "*opus operatum*?" and how did the expression arise? The case is simply this; the Sacraments of the old law, (circumcision and sacrifices,) were contrasted by the Church with the Sacraments of Christianity. "Circumcision," (as said the apostle) was "the *seal* of the righteousness" of the faithful; nothing more than a "sign" and "seal" of that righteousness, for example, which Abraham had "being yet uncircumcised." (Romans iv. 11.) So also Sacrifices could only *typify* to the eye of faith, the future atonement, and could *do* nothing to "take away sin." As to the Christian Sacraments on the contrary, S. Peter says "Baptism *saves* us," i. e. instrumentally; and S. Paul, "as many as are baptized do put on CHRIST." "And we are members of CHRIST's one body," "*for* we all partake of that one Bread." The Christian Sacraments are not then "*signa inania*," they are "*instrumenta*." The doctrine of the "*opus operatum*" simply expresses this. The "*tanquam per instrumentum*" of our 27th article is *exactly* equivalent to the "*opus operatum*."

Then why (we again ask) try to make out a difference between the Churches on this point, even though some schoolmen might be found,—(though we know none)—who would seem to confer on the *water* in Baptism an independent sanctity and regenerating virtue?

* Other examples even in this valued author might easily be adduced; (see preface, p. xviii.) but an unfeigned respect for his services induces us to rest here.

The objections again pretended, at times, to any "intention" on the part of the Minister being required to validate a Sacrament are positively suicidal considering the quarter from which they come. Would any but the *most* unspiritual and superstitious say that a *pretended* Sacrament, celebrated in profane mockery, was valid because a real Priest had performed it? This is denied by the Church of Rome. And will our modern Sacramentaries affirm it?—Yet all the outcry about Intention is unjust unless they will so affirm. The Latin Church simply requires in the Minister of a Sacrament such intention as is required in all transactions of life even between man and man. The doctrine of Catharinus seems to demand even less than that; and that doctrine is allowed.

In professing our agreement with the Roman theology in the main as to Holy Baptism, we surely should be careful to state the doctrine clearly, in fairness to all sides.

Theologians make a distinction between "Sacramentum," and "rem sacramenti." A Sacrament, being God's gift, has grace in it, whenever, and under what circumstances soever, it may be received. The *fulness* of its grace is what is understood, however, by "rem Sacramenti." This is general.* In the Sacrament of Baptism there is impressed on the soul of every receiver, infant, or adult, in every case the indelible "character Christi," which is Regeneration. In opposition to those who said that this impressed "character" was unaccompanied by grace in the case of infants, S. Thomas says; "hoc patet esse falsum dupliciter. Primo, quidem, quia pueri *sicut et adulti*, in Baptismo efficiuntur membra Christi: unde necesse est quod a Capite recipiant influxum *Gratiæ et Virtutis*. Secundo; quia secundum hoc, pueri discedentes post baptismum non pervenerint ad vitam eternam; et ita non profuisset eis ad salutem baptizatos fuisse!"† Even adults, who receive the Sacrament "fictæ," he declares (art. 9,) to receive this indelible‡ character. "Ad primum ergo dicendum: quod baptizari in Christo potest intelligi dupliciter. Uno modo in Christo id est in Christi conformitate; et sic quicumque baptizantur in Christo Ei conformati per fidem et caritatem induunt Christum per gratiam. Alio modo dicuntur aliqui baptizari in Christo *inquantum accipiunt Sacramentum* Christi: et sic OMNES induunt Christum per configurationem characteris, non autem per conformitatem gratiæ; (i. e. plenæ)." Duns Scotus says the same, "Omnis baptizatus induit Christum quantum ad hoc quod *Christi*

* Our own Twenty-ninth Article makes the same distinction; the "wicked" receive the "Sacramentum" in the Eucharist, and not "res Sacramenti."

† Sum. Theol. 3a. Qu. 69. art 6.

‡ An "indelible character," we may observe has in like manner been assigned to Holy Orders, by the judgment of our own ecclesiastical courts.

familiaē ascribitur ; sed non induit Christum semper per charitatem vel gratiam.”—Dist. IV. lib. iv. 6 q. The Master of the Sentences had taught the same. And this “character” so impressed on the soul, is defined as “Signaculum spirituale quo anima insignitur ad suscipiendum ea quæ sunt divini cultūs.” Again it is described as “character Christi,” “character Sacerdotii Christi”—“character quo distinguuntur fideles Christi a servis diaboli,” &c. And without further quotations, we may add, that *all* infants and sincere adults were considered to receive both “Sacramentum,” and “rem Sacramenti ;”—and in sincere adults “Sacramentum solum.”

This being admitted as the Church’s doctrine, the inquiry next arises, *How can infants* be said to receive “rem Sacramenti” as the Church affirms?—receive it for justification,—receive it for salvation so long as they remain infants? In the case of adults, the “rem Sacramenti,” the full grace received, implies, on their part, (according to “the order of moral causes”) faith and repentance.* Can the “rem Sacramenti,” the full and justifying effect be possessed by infants without any grace of faith in them? The Doctors of the Church felt the difficulty of so concluding, and therefore (just as they attributed a moral nature to a child though incapable of moral action) they perceived and defined that the regenerated child had the “Habitūs fidei,” as a gift from God, from the first— which Habitual faith being a heavenly Gift, is perfect, and capable of spiritual action in future life. The consequences of any contrary conclusion might, if closely pressed, be fatal to the whole doctrine of the new-birth in Baptism. Baptized infants would be “membra Christi,” justified *without faith* and Baptized adults, “membra Christi, fidei justificati!”—It would be impossible even to conceive of two such classes of members, as pertaining to the one Mystical Body. If there be no “supernatural quality,” (to use the Archdeacon’s term)—no “Habitual grace,” infused,—regeneration is not the same among all the children of the Second Adam, not even among all the “undoubtedly saved!” A distinction would be set up which the Church has ever denied. But when we identify the “rem Sacramenti,” with an infused Gift of God in all cases, (which being perfect when given is termed a Habit and not a mere potentiality,) we assign the whole work of our salvation, from the first, as the Church has taught us,

* The question in the Catechism, “Why are infants baptized when by reason of their tender age they cannot *perform* faith and repentance?” is answered by saying that “they promise,” by their sureties to perform “them both”—a promise at once intelligible, if the baptized have the “Habitūs fidei,” whereby he may hereafter “perform” the “actum fidei.” The answer given (it may be added) in the Catechism is not intended to assign the Church’s *reasons* for baptizing infants ; but only to remove that one objection to the practice, which the question brings forward.

to the Divine Mercy alone ; whether " moral causes " have preceded, as with adults ; or not preceded, as with infants.

We cannot help deploring that this whole subject of the Sacramental doctrine of the Church was not more ascertained by those who argued (as well as by some who sat as judges and assessors) in the solemn discussion on the doctrine of Baptism in our highest temporal court, during the Ember week recently gone by.—The counsel for the Bishop of Exeter having asserted the Universality of *Regenerating Grace*—nothing could exceed the mixed bewilderment, astonishment, and even satisfaction of his opponents. The more zealous partizans of Mr. Gorham really could scarcely conceal their feeling of triumph at what they actually supposed to be the " slip " made by the learned advocate of orthodoxy ; and over and over again the Court interrogated the counsel also on the point, as if to make quite sure that that was really his meaning.—It was a melancholy sight ; and we stood by and saw it : their lordships (accustomed as they are to such rightful pre-eminence in their own high places of law and equity,) must themselves have felt the painfulness of the anomaly which (assuredly by no choice on their part), has imposed on them so unsuitable a duty. What would be said in any other court in England, if the high judges there were to manifest unacquaintance with the subject matter on which they were addressed, and the definitions of the terms employed !—But this we saw in the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council hearing an appeal in a cause unequalled in importance since the Reformation.—Yet we are glad that those Judges are laymen, (if we are to have such a tribunal at all,) since they will be at least free from prejudices and errors, which would be likely to possess unlearned ecclesiastics.

The heresy charged against the appellant is, that he holds the necessity of an act of " *prevenient grace*," to prepare infants for baptism, and convey to them the essentials of Regeneration *prior* to the Sacrament. The need of such " *prevenient grace*," he argued from the previous corruption of human nature, and the necessity of something which should supply in the case of infants, what faith and repentance guarantee in the sincere adult. Rightly to meet this heresy the doctrine of " *Habitual grace* " was required ; the perception of which would have removed even the pretence for alleging the figment of *Prevenient Grace*, the idea of which (as pleaded by the appellant,) was, of a justifying grace completing the sacrament in the same way as faith and repentance in those who receive Baptism in riper years. Another ground, and a just one indeed, was taken against this new notion ; viz. that it was new, and heretical too ; either supposing the foresight of future character as the ground of grace given, which would make man *deserve* his own regeneration ; or else referring the grace given to a divine

decree in favour of some infants, and not others! Indeed, all alleged reason for such prevenient grace, has a Pelagian sound, *ab initio*. So the "unworthiness" of the infant which was urged (taking advantage of the double meaning of the word) as a ground for some grace to make him "worthy" of the Sacrament, in the sense of "*deserving*" it, was plain Pelagianism.—But still—had the full doctrine of Regeneration been clearly put before the Court it would have left the advocate of such prevenient grace without "*locus standi*" for an argument. "*Gratia habitualis Prima dicitur quâ homo peccator primo justificatur, atque ex inimico amicus Dei constituitur: inde dicta Prima quia nullam aliam gratiam habitualement præsupponit; cum ipsa immediate sit expulsiua peccati mortalis; et talis gratia confertur per Baptismum.*"—Ferraris, T. IV. in loc.

An assertion however was said to be made, and passed without much notice, to the effect that no preparatories for Baptism had ever been heard of in the Church, except in the case of adults; that there was nothing correspondent in the case of infants to the instruction of catechumens before adult baptism; that their weakness and sinfulness were the only "preparation" of infants for the holy font. This was not only scarcely accurate, but very unfortunate; for by such a representation another opportunity was missed of showing by an affirmative argument, the opposition of the Church of England to that doctrine of "prevenient grace" now discovered.

S. Thomas (as others) discusses with his usual care, the "preparatoria" of Baptism—exorcism and other rites—which in the ancient Church, as well as the Roman, preceded; and he maintains their usefulness in removing some impediments of evil, at least in some instances. (Sum. Th. 3 Qu. 71, Art. 4.) So the *Rituale Romanum* still contains the old "*ordo ad catechumenum faciendum*" as the introduction to Infant Baptism; as well as a similar and rather longer order for adults. Now the important fact is that the Church doctors have been at the utmost pains to *deny* the imputation that any such "preparatoria" were essential to the Sacrament, or implied any doubt of its Divine and special power: But most remarkable in this argument it is, that the Church of England *has withdrawn* all these preparatory ministrations; and at the end of the article referring to Baptism, just before speaking of Infants, (in words which, otherwise, are introduced without an object,) distinctly mentions the "*Prayer to God*" [*Vis Divinæ Invocationis*,*—the Sacred Name pronounced over the person to be baptized] as adequately *confirming* the Faith and Grace then given; and so adds, that the "Baptism of Children is to be retained." So the Church of England is not open to the charge of giving

* Almost the *precise words* of the Council of Florence: "*cum Sanctæ Trinitatis invocatione.*"

even that remote countenance (if it be so deemed) to this "Prevenient Grace."

Let no one deceive himself by thinking that the distinctions, subtle and scholastic as they will be called, to which we have been referring, are unpractical, or unreal. To complain, indeed, of scholastic minuteness, when the whole question raised by the present opposition has been scholastic, can only betray the weakness or impatience of the complainer. To settle the dispute on "Prevenient Grace," (introduced by Mr. Gorham,) without reference to the Schools of Christianity from which the phrase is borrowed, would be like discoursing of the structure of the human body, without reference to anatomy; or examining the precession of the equinoxes, ignoring the existence of sun, moon, and stars. What can indeed be more insincere than for men who talk of "prevenient grace" to pretend to settle the question by "Scripture only?" The inquiry carries us at once into another region; as does, indeed, the whole subject of Infant Baptism.

Scripture makes no distinction between the effect of Baptism at an early, or at a late period of human life. What Scripture says of Baptism at all, it says of *all* Baptism. "*As many of you as have been baptized into CHRIST have put on CHRIST.*" The Church indeed has derived the practice of Infant Baptism from the beginning, we doubt not by a true inference from Holy Writ: but in so doing she did never pretend to alter the nature of Regeneration according to the age of the recipient. She has defined—she has explained—from age to age; and we cannot obtain her inferences, definitions, or explanations on this, or any other subject, without reference to antiquity. Indeed the disciples of Calvin are as little able to declare independence of their chosen traditions, as are the most docile children of the Church. If S. Augustine may be truly described as a precursor of the schools of the middle age, Calvin may as truly be said to belong to the middle age also, as a scholastic born out of his time.

The mind of man is obliged to some extent to think consecutively if it thinks at all; even though instincts, associations, and sympathies may, with the many, supply the place of logic. Hence certain doctrines and principles are invariably found together. The discussions of the schools attempted to explain the mutual relations and dependency of doctrines; because the doctrines were believed to correspond with the *facts* of our present and future being. Calvin's doctrine of Regeneration belongs to his doctrine of man's Fallen state, and to his doctrine of man's Original condition before the fall. The same connexion exists, as indeed it could not but exist, between the Catholic doctrines of Regeneration, and the Fall and the Primitive innocence. A half-thinker may suppose that he can hold Calvin's doctrine of

Regeneration with the orthodox doctrine of Original sin ; but in so doing he only manifests that he understands neither.*

Nor is there less vital connection between the various parts of these distinct systems ; than between each system as a whole, and the practical ethics of the people. According to Luther, for instance, the moral part, or faculty, in man was lost—utterly obliterated—at the Fall ; so that in his system, fallen man was not a moral agent at all. This part of Lutheranism could only be really met by exact statements of the Church's doctrine : but is the Church therefore to be complained of, for subtlety ? Before men complain, let them examine : for whoever will take the pains to investigate the Church's doctrines of Grace, will find them essentially affecting the whole Moral system—the whole law of man's probation here on earth.

We are not saying, of course, that false theories of morals in the schools exercise immediate influence in the world. It is a common remark that many men are better than their theories. The universal conscience of mankind is a living check on false ethical philosophy ; as is the universal conscience of the Church on false faiths. But will any one therefore say that to inculcate a corrupt morality will do no harm ?—nor to teach an erroneous creed ? Theories may, and do take time to work their way down to the vulgar ; but they do so infallibly at last ; and every man's moral conduct *implies* some theory, however unconsciously received or held.

The discussion is now over in that high court to which we have been referring. We dare not say that we are awaiting the decision of the judges without anxiety and misgivings too painful for utterance. We mean not to imply, of course, that any Doctrine is on its trial before this imperfect tribunal—or that any decision that may be announced will therefore become a doctrinal decision of our Church. The Church has recognized no such organ of opinion as the Judicial Committee of Privy Council. The Lords of that Council would themselves repudiate the responsibility of *framing* doctrines for the Church—and the Church has never yet owned, and will surely now repudiate, their power or right to *define* doctrine. The worst that can be said of us is that the strong arm of the State is over us, and Providence has not yet made a way of deliverance. Yet we say we look with dread and amazement at the bare possibility that a high Court of English Judges should, (as has been whispered,) affirm Baptismal regeneration “an open question”—an

* The Orthodox—the Lutheran—the Calvinistic—and the Zuinglian systems as to the Creation, Fall, and Restoration of Man are admirably expounded in the first volume of Möhler's Symbolism—and their “consistency” as systems well stated.

“open question,” whether we are christened effectually ! It will be a fearful position for a “Reformed Church” even to seem to be placed in, before the eyes of Christendom.—Who among us will patiently bear it ?

Any such decision—any decision which avoids the truthful and solemn settlement of the question of *fact* now raised—though it may be hoped to hold things together a little longer, will never commend itself to the honest minds of Englishmen in the nineteenth century—will be, in their minds, FATAL to the character of the Church. An equivocating, gainsaying Church, teaching one thing in her catechism, and another in her pulpits, and *each apparently by authority*—will not be—*ought not* to be endured if once she has so declared herself, or allowed others to declare for her, without universal protest. We can hardly overestimate the demoralizing effect, on all classes, of any announcement which shall be equivalent to a toleration of double meanings and mental reservations in such vital questions. Considering the common sense meaning of our Services and our manual of authoritative instruction—considering the known fact of the “*ex animo*” subscriptions of all the Clergy—we say, “with fear and trembling,”—a great question of public Morality is at stake. Let those consider it, if such there be, who, not caring for religion, would still desire to uphold and elevate the morality of our land. But another question may be laid bare also—viz., the ethical basis of our English Christianity, considered as a system.

We have a vivid conviction that not a Sacramental, but a Moral controversy has now arisen, of which the issue can be discerned by no human foresight. That controversy has its root in the past ; it stretches forth its branches into the future.—Wise men, whatever they may think, will not deem lightly of it, or dismiss it with a superficial sneer at the “*seal which would divide the world for an iota.*”

The free Kirk earnestness of Scotland may be but a shadow of coming events in England. We are not thinking of the threats of those who lately ventured to hint that they would contemplate following Mr. Baptist Noel ; they have had time to reflect again, and have withdrawn their threat. But we are thinking of the religious and moral spectacle for the eyes of Christendom :—we are thinking of the unsullied name of an English Judgment-seat :—we are thinking, and trying to realize the position, of the four-fifths of the English Clergy ; and the ten thousands of their Baptized people. We are thinking of the bare *possibility* of a vast community, like that which has leaned on and respected the Church of England, receiving a fatal shock from which Religion and Honesty will not recover for generations.

Postscript.—[We have been informed of a rumour circulated in the public papers, to the effect that the Archiepiscopal and Episcopal assessors to the Judicial Committee in the present all-important controversy, are expected to send *written opinions* to the Judges concerning the question at issue!—a question of *fact*! We can hardly think it credible that the Prelates will be placed in such a position, unless the Judges have vacated their own functions and promised to abide by the Episcopal decision, *if unanimous*. But what if it were not unanimous? Would not the dissentient prelate have made himself liable to an action for “heresy,” if, in writing, he avows sentiments ruled to be untenable, or contrary to the Church of England?]

THOMPSON'S ORIGINAL ILLUSTRATED BALLADS.

Original Ballads, by Living Authors. Edited by the Rev. HENRY THOMPSON, M.A., Cantab. Masters. 1850.

It may be accounted one of the symptoms of the old age of the world that artists in every line are driven more and more to a reproduction of the past. In an age peculiarly greedy of novelty, no new style has arisen in architecture, painting, or poetry, and the most successful results in each have sprung from a happy adoption of ancient models. This is the less to be regretted at the present day, because there seems to be a general tendency to revert to good, early, and vigorous sources, and, what is of great importance, to such as our own country affords. An instance of this is seen in the Volume of Ballads, of which the title stands above, and which, by the way, is one of the most beautiful specimens of typography, without archaism or eccentricity of any kind, which we have ever been greeted with in place of the sickly annuals of past years. Without being chargeable with the adoption of lines or phrases not their own, the authors have written in the form and spirit of an earlier age. Their joint production is one out of many cases in which the efforts of Bishop Percy and others have borne fruit. The rough and vigorous old English Ballad has been their model, and they have softened it without greatly impairing its strength, although in all repetitions of the type something of its freshness must be lost. The principal contributor to the work (after Mr. Huntley, whose contributions are rather too lengthy for a series the essence of which is variety,) is Mr. E. A. Freeman, and the ballads by him are of two classes, each representing (we may suppose) a leaning in his mind, on the one hand to the Romance of History in his own land, on the other, to an outpouring from a very rich store of classical ideas. Few persons are

better qualified than he appears to be to combine those objects with success. With a mind peculiarly Anglican, he enters with spirit into national feelings, virtues and prejudices, and strikes a stirring note on behalf of English Churchmanship and loyalty in such ballads as "The Martyrdom of Abbot Whiting," and "The Death of Lord Brooke." There is, however, this disadvantage in pieces of this kind, that, by long usage, a number of conventional or antiquated phrases have become identified with it, which are well suited to it, but are apt to satisfy the writer's, and perhaps the hearer's ear, so well, that they are often allowed to constitute the chief merit of the poem, rather than the thoughts to which they are meant to give expression. Many of Mr. Freeman's and Mr. Neale's historical ballads, in this volume and elsewhere, seem better examples of poetical language than of poetry itself. That they have done good service is undoubted, but, for our own part, we hold them in less esteem than the ballads of the classical age, also by Mr. Freeman, with which the volume opens. That these are, in one sense, not so original as their title affirms, is true; the spirit of Macaulay breathes throughout, but we do not quarrel with imitations in those rare cases in which it surpasses its model, and Mr. Freeman seems in many passages to have caught all Macaulay's fire, with more than his elegance and grace. Classical phrases seem to flow freely, as if from the mind of no common scholar, and they are never far-fetched or forced for the sake of effect. The following extracts, from "the Meed of Heroes," a ballad supposed to be sung at the tombs of the slain at Marathon, will, we think, justify our praise.

" For ever and for ever,
In bliss that passeth song,
The spirits of the blessed
Lead the fair hours along.
Theirs is no gloomy midnight,
Theirs is no noontide blaze;
But the Sun-God ever shining
Glads them with gentle rays.
No winter binds their rivers,
No summer blasts their fields;
But one fair spring for ever
Each choicest floweret yields;
Not such as here we gather,
Which wither and which fade,
But gleaming rich with golden light
In groves of sacred shade.
Beneath their feet like velvet
The softest grass they tread,
And all around the foot-path
The golden flowers are spread.

And culling choicest beauties,
The happy spirits there
Wreathe garlands gilt with brightest sheen
Around their flowing hair.
They labour not for ever,
Nor stem the tide of fight,
They pass not o'er the wine-dark seas,
Nor mountain's weary height.

" For ever and for ever
In bliss we may not tell,
By Father Chronus' hoary tower
The happy spirits dwell.
Fast by the stream of Ocean
They mark the passing tide,
But reckon not of the deeds men work
Upon its eastern side.
The Gods in all their glory
Each morn and eve they see ;
They bring no bleeding victims,
Nor offerings such as we ;
But with a holy pæan
Of calm and gentle sound
They hail the Lord of thunder,
And him who shakes the ground.
And the pure God Apollo
Deigns oft with them to dwell,
And blue-eyed Athenæa
Doth heavenly wisdom tell.
They never quake at Hades,
Nor dread Erinnyes near ;
For their blest souls are sinless,
And no avenger fear.

" For ever and for ever
In calm and holy joy,
There dwell the fallen heroes
Who fought at Thebes and Troy.
There dwell the bards who sang of old
Of all their deeds of might,
Orpheus and godlike Homer,
No longer lost to sight,
Full oft he strikes his golden lyre,
And tells of Ilion's day,
How Dardan and Achæan
Were matched in deadly fray.
Then flock the chiefs around him
To hearken to his song,
Achæan matched with Dardan,
But not in warlike throng.

The swift-footed Achilles
 And Hector ever bold
 Clasp their pure hands together
 When they hear their fights of old.
 And there in holy wedlock
 She who at Aulis died,
 Prize of the death she meekly bore,
 Is now the hero's bride.
 And Peleus eyes with gentle smile
 His children's holy joy,
 And deems their lot a fairer bliss
 Than fame of conquered Troy.

"So live they on for ever
 In bliss that knows no end,
 To whom the Gods that dwell on high
 Have granted there to wend.
 Who dies for truth and freedom,
 Who keeps his hands from wrong,
 Who gives his people holy laws,
 Who twines the wreath of song :
 These in the happy island
 By Ocean's western shore,
 Reck not of earth's wild passions,
 And fight and toil no more,
 There dwells Aristogeiton
 And fair Harmodius too,
 Who on Athena's festival
 The hated tyrant slew.
 And there they dwell for ever,
 The prize of holy deeds,
 Who vanquished on this blessed ground
 The quiver-bearing Medes."

We have devoted the greater part of our remarks to Mr. Freeman, because his contributions seem to offer a fair sample of the character and objects of the book. But we must not withhold their share of praise from the authors of several pieces of considerable merit. Archdeacon Churton has contributed two very musical and graceful translations from the Spanish ; Mr. G. W. Cox, a "Legend of the Alhambra," whose exceeding simplicity and pathos is not the least attractive part of the work. The editor's chief contribution is a spirited poem on the incident mentioned by Clarendon, of Cromwell and his dying daughter. Of Mr. Neale's effusions, it is sufficient to say that they sustain his reputation.

As a present or a prize, this volume may be warmly recommended. Its high tone of loyalty and religion throughout will ensure its good moral influence, and it will not be misplaced more

on the library shelf than on the drawing-room table. The "Illustrations," which are very varied in character, are from the first artists of the day, the whole of the engravings having been committed to the care of Mr. Linton. We should add that the volume appears to have originated in a theory of the Editor's:—

"As ballad poetry is the natural product of early times, it seems to have been allowed some natural, if not necessary, connection with them. Yet surely such a view is altogether erroneous. The very essence of the Ballad is broad effective painting of scene, sentiment, or narrative; and these are of no time or region. It is a species of poetry which originates direct from Nature, and therefore is not more appropriate in the days of palfreys and pages, than in those of locomotives and conductors. Wherever Nature is, there the Ballad may be. The present volume is given to the public in illustration of this view. A number of kind friends, to whom the Editor here desires to offer his most grateful acknowledgments, have taken an interest in exemplifying this position; and ballads of the most varied character—historical, narrative, imaginative, descriptive, ranging from fabulous antiquity to contemporary history—are the result. Three only are translations; two from a language peculiarly rich in ballad literature; one from a tongue supposed to contain nothing of the kind; and, though not called a ballad, sufficiently partaking the ballad spirit to show the universality of its prevalence."

LEWIS ON THE INFLUENCE OF AUTHORITY.

An Essay on the Influence of Authority in Matters of Opinion. By GEORGE CORNEWALL LEWIS, Esq. London: John W. Parker, West Strand. 1849.

It was a natural result of the prodigious strides which have been made of late years in the region of physical science, that mental science should for a season be discountenanced and undervalued. "In the railway, in the steam-ship, in the thoughts which shake mankind," writes a poet, who would fain be considered a bard of his own age especially.* And yet such a divorce augured ill even for the prospects of physical science itself. Bacon, striving to be "*Natura minister et interpres*,"† and leading others to extort her secrets, still built his admonitions for the investigation of the material laws of the universe, on the foundation of a knowledge of the rules and principles, according to which the mind of man must move. And the appearance of such writings as those of Sir John

* Tennyson, Locksley Hall.

† Nov. Org. Aphor. I.

Herschell, Dr. Whewell, and Mr. John Mill satisfactorily proved,* that a re-union between the two departments was again on the *tapis*. If, even in a quarter where its influence might be expected to be less felt, mental philosophy has again asserted her rightful claims, much more may she be expected to regain lost ground in domains where her authority is more generally admitted. "Speculative philosophy," says an author already named,† "which to the superficial, appears a thing so remote from the business of life and the outward interests of man, is in reality the thing on earth which most influences them;" and with due reservation for the effects of religious belief, the statement may probably be accepted as a true one. Which being the case, we cannot be surprised at the appearance of a treatise on themes which are portions, or at least offshoots of such philosophy, as that to which we have alluded, not unlike the old Aristotelian description of Rhetoric, *μοριόν τι τῆς διαλεκτικῆς καὶ ὁμοίωμα—παραφύεις τι τῆς διαλεκτικῆς καὶ τῆς περὶ τὰ ἥθη πραγματείας*.‡

For with the former of the two branches of philosophy here indicated by Aristotle, the dialectic, Mr. Lewis begins; and with the latter, ethical science, (in its largest sense,) he ends. Archbishop Whately, Dr. Whewell, and Mr. Mill, are his chief living authorities in all questions of logical science, and of these, the last mentioned is evidently his *magnus Apollo*. It is certainly no slight tribute to the powers of Mr. Mill, that they receive the homage of able men of very opposite tempers and opinions; of thinkers for example, so widely remote as the author of the "Ideal of a Christian Church," and the writer of the Essay now before us. Mr. Cornwall Lewis possesses much in common with his leader, and a third writer, whose History of Greece seems at present to be the text book among university students, may be not unfitly classed with these. For the *trio* amidst some diversities bear many points of resemblance. All three are men of thought and learning, combined with knowledge of practical affairs: they all exhibit many specimens of calm and dispassionate argument; all three are scholars and abundant in resources of illustration. Their mutual sympathy is shown by their citation of each other's writings, and it extends beyond the points already adduced: for these three authors, while they manifest such valuable gifts of head, do likewise, so far as their writings are concerned, exhibit a lamentable lack, not merely of religious feeling, but of all deep feeling whatsoever: rarely indeed have any of them penned one single sentence calculated to excite any generous emotion in the reader's breast; too often have they uttered such *dicta* as might be expected from spirits of hard, dry, cold, sceptical and latitudinarian temper. If

* The Discourse on Natural Philosophy, Philosophy of the Inductive Sciences. and System of Logic are the respective publications particularly referred to.

† Mr. J. S. Mill.

‡ Arist. Rhet. I., 2. (Ed. Bekker.)

any exception be made it must be certainly in favour of Mr. J. S. Mill: considered as directed against Messrs. Grote and Lewis, we feel no inclination to retract one *iota* of these epithets; although the men may very possibly be better than their writings. Mr. Grote has already come under our notice, and his materialised vein of thought has been contrasted with the noble and religious handling of Ancient History by Dr. Arnold.* We must now proceed to justify our comments upon Mr. G. C. Lewis, and this we are about to attempt with every wish to give him due praise where he deserves it, and with the full consciousness, that wherever we oppose his reasonings, we are risking our own cause by presuming to enter the lists with so powerful and weighty an antagonist.

A brief epitome of the main contents of the present volume will be necessary for the sake of such as may be perusing our remarks, without having seen the work in question. The book is an octavo of 400 pages, and contains ten chapters and an appendix. The commencing chapters bear titles of this sort.—On the nature of authority in matters of opinion. On the extent of opinions founded upon authority and the marks of trustworthy authority. The writer then proceeds to apply the principles asserted in these chapters to questions of religion, and subsequently to politics, interposing however between these subjects disquisitions on the utility and proper province of authority, and the relative proportions of the leaders and the led in modern communities. The propagation of sound opinions by the creation of a trustworthy authority is then considered, and the Essay concludes with a (mainly political) dissertation on the abuses of the principle of authority.

The Appendix adds some four and twenty pages to the number previously mentioned, and is occupied with the attempt to distinguish accurately between Aristocracy and Democracy in government, and to map out the province of political science in general.

It is not to be denied that a large proportion of this matter is most ably and solidly treated. No man could have produced such a work, who did not unite in himself much knowledge of the world with constant study of books. The style is well adapted to the purpose for which it is designed; and the richness of illustration, especially of classical illustration, supplied within the notes is rarely witnessed in these modern days, when superficial learning is so prevalent. Unlike most occupants of official station, who throw aside their Latin and Greek on leaving College, Mr. Cornwall Lewis has not allowed his acquaintance with ancient lore to become rusty, nor, although he has acquired the knowledge of modern tongues, has he merely made an exchange; but by union of the living and dead languages has richly earned the praise of being “a scholar, and a ripe and good one.” Accordingly his references

* See Ecclesiastic, Vol. IV. p. 210.

are made not only to the living writers of our own time already named, not only to Bacon and Locke, Ritter and Puffendorf, and Machiavelli; but the story of Herodotus and Livy, the sarcasm of Juvenal and Lucian, and above all, the philosophic writings of Cicero and Aristotle, are laid under contribution and most readily obey the summons. Cicero has indeed been a common favourite with men, who living in the political world, have also retained any fondness for abstract disquisition; as for example, the late Sir James Mackintosh; the respect which Mr. Lewis exhibits to the Stagirite dates most probably from the days of his Oxonian triumphs, and has been preserved by innate bias and inclination. For it can hardly be otherwise than a significant circumstance, and not the result of mere accident, that amidst the many Greek and Roman names (of which we have only specified a sample,) occurring in the notes to these pages, we look in vain for one glimpse of the profound and reverential Plato.

Turning from the notes to the text of the book, we must attempt to give some idea of the general character of its argument. And it were of course mere childishness not to admit, that the faults which we conceive to exist in the writer's temperament, do not in any wise exclude him from a claim to be heard with deference on many portions of his subject. We proceed to notice some such.

I. That a large proportion of the general opinions of mankind are derived merely from authority, and are entertained without any distinct understanding of the evidence or argumentative grounds on which they rest, (p. 7:);—that the principle of authority has great influence both in public and private life, (*ibid.*)—that it is desirable that those unable to verify processes for themselves should yet profit by the reasonings and investigations of others, (p. 9:);—all these are axioms undeniable. That children should respect their teacher and his precepts, even though they cannot comprehend the reasons; and receive principles and truths without comprehension of their evidence, and that this traditionary lore, whatever be its evils, mainly contributes to the preservation of national characteristics, and tends to preserve the general level of civilization—in all this we readily follow Mr. Lewis's leadings. (Chap. II. *ad init.* p. 10—12.) A little further he adopts one of the most just and unexceptionable passages of Locke,* upon a subject of some importance, namely the retention of some conclusion which we once sifted with care and attention, although the processes by which it was established have almost wholly faded from the memory. And not to dwell too much upon detail, we must be content to indicate our general willingness to admit the *criteria* which the author lays down, whereby trustworthy authority in matters of science and ordinary life may be selected. His applications of his principles to

* On the Understanding, Bk. IV. Chap. xvi. § 1, 2.

the subject of physical science seem happy and well chosen.* Astronomy, (p. 43,) furnishes him with a good specimen of a science in a forward state, on which the *consensus* of all real students is very decisive.

One feature prevalent throughout this portion of the work we cannot help remarking on, namely the extreme contempt displayed for the judgment of the *οἱ πολλοί*—a contempt almost always especially marked in the writings of educated men, who espouse what is termed the liberal side in politics.

II. How far Mr. Lewis has succeeded in reconciling a Shaksperian disregard for the multitude with a tolerably complete absence of Shakesperian loyalty and reverence,† we must leave to the decision of such as will peruse the work itself, merely observing that the political department of his subject is full of just and valuable remarks very copiously illustrated. If it be objected to this part of the book, or even to the entire work, that it leads to very scanty practical conclusion, it may still be rejoined in the language of an editor of Coleridge, that in the pursuit of such speculations, “it is the chase itself, the quickened eye, the lengthened breath, the firmer nerve, that must ever be the huntsman’s best reward.”‡ And such benefits may really, we believe, proceed from the study of this volume, although we cannot consider it on the same level with the writings of Mr. Mill.

III. We now turn to the consideration of those chapters which bear upon the subject of religion. The freedom from any very strong party bias and the wish to expose all apparent sophism have led to one or two useful passages, which we shall offer to our readers presently. But taken as a whole, we must pronounce the disquisitions to be extremely mischievous in their general tendency, so far as they can be imagined to exercise influence. This last salvo is necessary, because we can hardly conceive the possibility of Mr. Lewis’s mode of treatment producing any great effect upon the minds of any real student of theology, or even upon that of any sensitively religious person although destitute of such training. The spirits for whom we fear are those, who, being already inclined to latitudinarianism from the unsettled temper of the day, are casting about for grounds of argument, whereby they may justify to themselves and others their own laxity. But the application of rules and principles admissible in general science, and in the routine of daily secular practice, to the theory of religious belief, requires not merely the possession and cultivation of the logical

* We suspect, however, that Mr. G. C. Lewis is a little premature in setting down Mesmerism, (p. 51,) as pure *charlatanerie*.

† Compare with the satire in *Coriolanus* and *Julius Cæsar*, the teaching of such passages as *Richard II.* Act iii. Sc. 3 and 4; *Henry V.* Act iv. Sc. 1; *Troilus and Cressida*, Act i. Sc. 3.

‡ Notice prefixed to *The Friend*. Vol. I. Ed. 1837.

faculty, but likewise a keen experimental insight into the points wherein religion materially differs from physical and even moral sciences, as well as those wherein it resembles them. It does not, we trust, involve the presumption of claiming such high gifts, to assert that there are writers in whom we fail to recognize any such combination of powers, and that among such short-comers we cannot hesitate to class the author of the Essay now before us. We must distinctly charge him with the errors, (1.) of having neglected to apply some general canons of reasoning to matters of religion, in cases where the application is fair and just; and (2.) of having often omitted to take into account the generic differences of the subjects between which he directly or indirectly institutes comparisons.

Thus, for example, if there be any one precept which, more than another, Mr. Lewis presses upon his readers, it is the duty of giving proper weight to the authority of those whom the French term *hommes speciaux*, that is to say, able men who have given thought, study, and perhaps half of a lifetime to some special subject, to astronomy, diplomacy, statistical science, and the like. "This respect, however, should be the willing obedience of a freeman—not the blind submission of a slave: the teacher to whose authority we bow ought to be regarded rather as an adviser and counsellor, than as a dictator and master." (p. 366.) Thus much in the chapter which is intended to warn us against abuse of the principle of authority: but, whatever be the limitation laid down by such admonition, there is no doubt that the general tone of the work towards the *διδάσκειν* of every sort is somewhat as follows—you pretend indeed to judge between the Ptolemaic and Copernican theories; you know very well that you have never investigated one particle of the evidence, and you would be unable to do so if you tried; you take your opinions upon authority and nothing more, and would have believed in Ptolemy a thousand years ago, as you believe in Newton now: you offer opinions on international law, to whom Puffendorf is as a sealed book, Stowell unknown, and the very existence of the papers in the Foreign Office a mere matter of faith; go and humbly listen to my Lords Palmerston, and Aberdeen, and Clarendon, and see what they think upon the matter: you declaring that in your judgment Mr. Mill's doctrine of induction is most dangerous; where have you learnt enough of logic to presume to think about it at all?

Very forcible and weighty without doubt: but supposing that there exists a subject of study, requiring for its due treatment yet higher gifts than any of these, do the same reasonings cease to be applicable? We trow not; if rightfully in such provinces of thought as have been just alluded to, Mr. Lewis requires in the teachers ability superior to the mass of ordinary men—zeal, study and devotion to the subject, combined with honesty of purpose,

and claims a just respect for their decisions—then do we submit that wherever in the domains of Theology there shall be found teachers possessing these same requirements, a due respect should be likewise paid to the judgments which they form. Often does our author approach to such admissions, but he as constantly sheers off again: the results might, to be sure, prove unpalatable to many; might positively lead to priestcraft, and even make men imagine that some degree of respect was due to a *consensus Patrum*.

But the reply is prompt and easy. Astronomers, urge the class of thinkers represented by Mr. Lewis—astronomers are agreed in their decisions. Go where you will, to Berlin or Vienna, Paris or New York, the same problems are, similarly handled, and with like results. True in the main, (though the new planet appears rather provoking in his performances, refusing to conform to the regulations of Mr. Adams and M. Le Verrier); but what is to be said of those sciences where we find leading authorities differing on points of considerable importance? Will Dr. Buckland and Sir C. Lyell permit Geology to be struck out of the lists of physical sciences by reason of their disagreements? Do any dissidences of Malthus and Ricardo prove that there is no science of Political Economy?

Surely not: all would enunciate a principle implied, if not expressed throughout the work under review, that *the very existence of certain differences rendered the articles of agreement the more weighty*. And why shrink from applying the maxim to the dogmas of religious belief? Mr. Lewis replies to our question by asking on his side: "Of what avail is it to imagine an invisible ideal Church, formed of such heterogeneous and mutually repelling bodies, as the Church of Rome, the Greek Church, and the Church of England? What agreement exists or can exist between them, and how can it be defined or expressed?" (p. 99.)

The first objection here raised is, that the Church is hereby made invisible and ideal: and yet withal there may be faithful hearts attuned to catch the faintest intimations of any utterance which they deem Divine, though the speaker remain shrouded from their earthly sight.

O voice of Wisdom, goddess best belov'd,
How plainly do I hear the sound well-known!
(*Unseen albeit thou be'est*), and in my heart
Receive it, like the brasen trumpet's blast.*

Such is the speech of the wise man in the ancient drama; can it find no responsive echo in the bosom of the Church's children?

* "Ὁ φθέργμ' Ἀθάνας, φιλότατης ἐμοὶ θεῶν,
ὡς εὐμαθὲς σου, κὰν ἀποπτος ᾗς, δμῶς
φώνημ' ἀκούω καὶ ξυναρπάζω φρενί,
χαλκοστόμου κώδωνος ὡς Τυρσηνικῆς.—

Soph. Ajax. 14—17.

Deeply as we must ever deplore the severance of East and West, and everything wrong on either side, which has led to the other bitter rending since, still, if among serious differences there remain any articles of faith held necessary and fundamental by all these Churches, such credences have become rather strengthened than weakened by the circumstance that they are still held as such after the lapse of centuries, and the protracted contests of so many nations.

But do such points of agreement, in fact, exist between the Churches? Let us turn even for an instant to their symbolical books and catechisms. The English Church, by the retention of the Athanasian Creed, clearly lays down belief in the Holy Mysteries of the Trinity, and the Incarnation, as generally necessary to salvation. One of the earliest questions in the Douay (Roman Catholic) Catechism runs, if we mistake not, as follows, "What are the *principal* mysteries which CHRIST has revealed?" Answer: "The Unity and Trinity of GOD, and the Incarnation and Death of our SAVIOUR." For the consenting witness of the Oriental Church, we may refer the reader to Mr. Blackmore's work concerning the religious teaching in Russia, or to an epitome of the same contained in one of our earlier numbers.* We might dilate upon their agreement in such important matters as those of Sacramental grace, necessity of Episcopal Ordination for the Priesthood, and others. But time calls us onward to a further branch of the same subject.

We have briefly exhibited this Essayist's apparent want of consistency in the application of his canons of thought, as they may be termed. Let us now see how *e contrario* he neglects to take into account the points of dissidence between questions of authority, religious and secular.

If a young man be taught, let us suppose by his village schoolmaster, that the earth goes round the sun, and not the sun round the earth, he takes upon authority a teaching which contradicts the evidence of his senses,† and which (in the overwhelming majority of cases,) he possesses no real opportunity of verifying. The same person from the tradition of the Church receives, through the *media* of Priest and parents, and schoolmaster, the mysterious doctrines which lie at the foundation of the Catholic Faith. Now we will not refer to the authority of Holy Scripture for the moment, because however true it is that he may find these truths within its inspired pages, it is evident that it is not from them that he first obtains them. But we say that, even apart from that blessed gift, he enjoys an evidence corroborating the testimony of authority,

* Ecclesiastic, Vol. I. p. 310.

† *Cuique suum*: our illustration is suggested by that wise and witty little brochure of Sir Francis Palgrave, "The Merchant and Friar."

which in the case of the physical teaching he cannot possibly obtain. He enjoys the testimony of spiritual influences—a truth witnessed to not by himself alone, not by mere fanatics and enthusiasts, but by minds as sober and rational as any of our modern would-be scientific teachers of theology. Yes! “He,” saith the Apostle, “that believeth on the SON of GOD hath the witness in himself.” Receiving the Incarnation in the first place as an article of faith upon authority, he *acts* upon it, and the chords of his whole inward man respond to the striking. Believing that GOD the SON hath taken the nature of the sons of men, that we children of men might become partakers of the Divine nature; that in Him, the CHRIST, dwelleth all the fulness of the Godhead bodily, so that He is indeed our manifested GOD: that He died for our sins and rose again for our justification: that He our Worship, is likewise our Mediator and Atonement: all this becomes a portion of his prayers, thoughts, meditations, without which the life of his spirit would soon cease to beat. And in the covenant opened through the Eternal Word made flesh, he can address the FATHER as his own Parent, not by Creation merely, but by adoption and grace, and use the Church’s prayer, “take not Thy Holy Spirit from us,” in the full confidence that that awful presence has indeed been given and vouchsafed to him; and he strives to bring home to his heart and conscience, that his fellow Christians are also temples of the Holy Spirit, and fellow-members with himself of the mystical body of the LORD. That denial of verities so wound up with all his religious practice, would be the denial of what is to him saving truth, would be in one word *heresy*, is no startling proclamation in his ears: rather he is almost unable to conceive the contrary position, and deeply therefore must he feel shocked, and be grieved for the writer’s sake, when he lights on such sentences as these, “the great controversies between the Christian sects—turn upon questions *which have no direct bearing upon human conduct, such as the doctrines of the Trinity.*”—And these miserable words he will discover in page 74 of the present essay. What shall we say concerning them? That such talk was common in society in the 18th century seems probable from records which have come down to us,* but when a man, who must at least have had opportunities of learning better, utters such dicta, not in the haste of conversation, but calmly in a philosophic essay upon authority, he simply proves that on religious questions he himself can be no *authority* whatever. The very possibility of inward corroboration of the Church’s dogmas is utterly ignored by him throughout.

Many other questions suggested by this work we are at present compelled to leave untouched, more especially the deeply interesting

* E. g.—Boswell’s Life of Johnson; though of course that good and great man himself was far above the influence of such sophistry.

and serious one of the due relation of private judgment and submission to authority, and the explanation of the coherency of the belief in the visibility of the Church with the admission that her voice, like Wisdom's of old, need not necessarily be clearly audible to every description of listeners, no, not though she crieth in the streets.

But we do recommend the two following passages to the thoughtful consideration (1.) of our Irish brethren, who erred grievously some few years since in the matter referred to by the first extract, and (2.) of the many who re-echo the common silly talk about the intellectual feebleness of the schoolmen, without having read three pages of their works:—

“It may be here remarked, that an unjust prejudice has not unfrequently been raised in Protestant countries against the treatises which are prepared for the use of confessors in the Church of Rome. When confession, and the judgment of the confessor upon sins confessed, exists as an institution of the Church, the office of the priest becomes judicial, and it is necessary, in order to prevent erroneous decisions, and to preserve consistency, that a system of rules should be laid down for the general guidance of his discretion. The more difficult and doubtful of the cases likely to come before the confessor have been discussed separately, and have given rise to the branch of practical divinity called *casuistry*. *Casuistry* is the jurisprudence of theology: it is a digest of the moral and religious maxims to be observed by the priest, in advising or deciding upon questions which come before him in confession, and in assigning the amount of penance due to each sin. As confession discloses the most secret thoughts and acts of the penitent, and as nothing, however impure, is concealed from the confessor, it is necessary that he should be furnished with a manual in which these subjects are discussed. Now such a manual, if properly considered, is not more justly obnoxious to the charge of gratuitous indecency, than a legal or medical treatise, in which similar subjects are expounded without any reserve of language.” (p. 126.)

“The Arabian and scholastic philosophy, which had prevailed during the long stationary period after the extinction of Greek civilization, was doubtless founded upon the writings of Aristotle; but the scientific writers of that period did not bow to the authority of Aristotle, without examining, understanding, and reproducing his reasons. They were, as Dr. Whewell has remarked, distinguished by their commentatorial spirit—they translated the Aristotelian treatises, and illustrated them with elaborate expositions—they reduced the logical, physical, and metaphysical theories of their teacher into a connected system; but their assent was given to the argument, not to the conclusion without the proof. They repeated the Aristotelian philosophy as a system of deductive science, not as a series of axioms. In truth, the schoolmen adopted the physical tenets of Aristotle, as a modern astronomer adopts the *Principia* of Newton; they studied the system, understood the proofs,

and assented to the conclusions. Men such as Thomas Aquinas cannot be charged with a tame and sluggish acquiescence in conclusions, without troubling themselves to examine their connexion with the premises. The error of the schoolmen, in fact, consisted in the adoption of a defective scientific method—in the uninquiring acceptance of first principles, false, indistinct, and unverified—and in reasoning deductively from propositions, whose truth had not been established by proper preliminary processes. They received the Aristotelic treatises as the sum of a perfect philosophical system, not as the provisional researches of a progressive science. This error is not identical with a servile deference to authority. The schoolman who drew all his lessons from Aristotle—the ‘*Maestro di color che sanno*,’ as he was called by Dante—might have believed nothing on the mere authority of the philosopher; unless those first principles, which he doubtless considered as intuitive truths may be considered as derived from this source. He mastered the philosophical system in vogue, and understood its logical connexion; but it was built upon an unsound basis—and into the sufficiency of this basis, owing to the faultiness of his methods of investigation, he omitted to inquire. A modern student, who has access to the results of a better method, may exhibit equal want of originality of thought, and may merely repeat the deductions of his predecessor without verification or improvement; but if the conclusions are correct, he would not be censured for an undue submission to authority. On the one hand, then, a man who never adopts a speculative opinion without understanding its grounds may, from sectarian prejudice or some other cause, be infected with the intellectual slavishness of the scholastic or Arabian period, and may receive syllogisms as if they were the responses of an oracle. But on the other hand, a man who is strongly imbued with the progressive principle of science—who verifies all results by a rigid scrutiny within a certain circle of subjects, may, with respect to other subjects, cherish the principle of authority, convinced that he has not time for all things.” (p. 370, 2.)

We may perhaps recur again to the pages of this author, who with all his deficiencies possesses so many gifts of power and learning.

THE SACRIFICE IN THE HOLY EUCHARIST.

(Continued from *Vol. VIII.*, p. 817.)

Nine Lectures on the Holy Sacrament of the LORD's Supper, delivered at the Theological Lecture, in the Cathedral of Chichester, in the year 1848. By the REV. THOMAS S. L. VOGAN, M.A. London: J. H. Parker, 1849. pp. 244.

IN reverting to the subject of the Christian Sacrifice, on which we pronounced Mr. Vogan's book to be, in our judgment, defective, it may be as well to state in the outset, that we have before us those of the Thirty-nine Articles, which bear on the subject, and are convinced that we are not going to say anything at variance with them. If we are at no pains to reconcile what we may advance with those statements, it is not because we are unable to do so; but because we are satisfied that it is not the best way of setting forth the Truth, to confront it continually with statements made for controversial purposes.

Of Mr. Vogan's book we have little or nothing more to say, our present business being to make some suggestions as to the importance of a part of the doctrine of the Holy Eucharist, which (as we before observed) he has left untouched. Our examination of his lectures led us to hope that, on the whole, we might reckon him not to differ very widely from our own view of Gospel Truth. We have now to observe that although he highly approves of the view put forth by Cudworth, and maintained by Waterland, that the Holy Eucharist is a Feast upon a Sacrifice, yet that he has not followed those very able writers in making it his business pointedly to deny that it is a Sacrifice in any real sense; but has simply omitted to discuss the question, and has thus left open to us the hope of convincing him and his admirers, if any such be among our readers, that there is no occasion to do so.

Of course, if such a writer as Waterland professed to set his own or any modern interpretation of Scripture against the received doctrine of the Church from the beginning, it would be quite foreign to our purpose to make any reply to such vagaries: the fact is, strange as it may appear to those who are conversant only with writers of a different school, that he endeavours with some plausibility to show that the fathers did not, until a late age, assert or believe that they had any but spiritual sacrifices, by which he understands acts of the worshippers' minds, such as love, thankfulness, &c.

Now, this is, to our eyes, a morbid and chilling, we had almost

said a deadly misapprehension of the nature of Christian worship and devotion ; and we cannot afford to bestow any degree of commendation on a writer who appears to approach to it, without endeavouring to make some counter statements in maintenance of what we believe to be the truth.

If we inquire into the reasons which have led men to deny that we, Christians, really "have an altar," and consequently a sacrifice, and a priesthood (for these words are correlatives) we find it asserted that this doctrine interferes with the sufficiency of the One Sacrifice of the Death of CHRIST once offered. Now it is not too much to say that he who *consciously* maintains a doctrine which *has* this effect, has ceased to be a Christian ; and no one can too carefully guard against making or allowing any statement, the effect of which on people's minds is so thoroughly pernicious. But that *all* sacrifice *must* have this effect, or even that the benefits of the One Sacrifice *can* be applied to us without *any* sacrifice on our part, is what no one can maintain with any show of consistency ; for they who are most opposed to the proper Sacrifice of the Holy Eucharist, maintain the necessity of spiritual sacrifices such as prayer and praise, and the devoting of ourselves our souls and bodies to the service of God ; and assert (what is not entirely untrue, as we shall have to observe presently) that these sacrifices are far better and more valuable than any material sacrifice which man can offer. "I know not," (says Waterland) "how it comes to pass that *moderns* generally have reckoned all the *spiritual* sacrifices among the *nominal, improper, metaphorical* sacrifices ; whereas the *ancients* judged them to be the truest sacrifices of any, yea and infinitely more *excellent* than the other."* Well, let us apply this to the above accusation ; we suppose it to be self-evident that a thing is *sufficient* for its purpose, which requires nothing added to it ; nearly sufficient, which requires but a small thing added to it ; and far from sufficient, which requires a great thing added to it : if then it is no derogation from the sufficiency of the most Holy Sacrifice of the Cross, to insist on the need of the more excellent of our sacrifices, in order that It may be applied to our benefit, still less can it be so to require the less excellent for the same purpose. Not that we admit the truth of this distinction between spiritual and material sacrifices, but we contend that it does reduce to an absurdity the objection of those who advance it. Of course no sacrifice whether with or apart from the use of material things can add anything to the One all-sufficient Sacrifice ; but if what is thought to be less excellent be said to do so, then *a fortiori* the sacrifice which is thought to be more excellent must lie open to the same charge.

If indeed, any say that Priests do or can repeat the Sacrifice of

* Review of the Doctrine of the Eucharist, c. xii. p. 347.

the Cross in such sense that Its intrinsic efficacy would cease, were they to cease from doing so, in the same way as the efficacy of the Levitical High Priest's sacrifice of atonement determined in the space of one year, so that the people could not worship in the Temple, but lay under fallen man's natural unfitness to appear before God, till he had again entered into the holy of holies; in this case the doctrine of the epistle to the Hebrews is contradicted. Then must CHRIST "often have suffered," or else the blasphemy must be admitted that we can offer a Sacrifice literally and independently the very same in power and efficacy with the One Sacrifice once offered for the sins of the whole world; but we, at any rate, make no *such* assertion. We repeat it, the Jewish High Priest entered into the holy of holies, with his offering on the day of atonement, in order that other sacrifices and services might be accepted, and that the people might be permitted to come before God; and they were so accepted in consequence only for one year, after the end of which he must enter again; but CHRIST having entered, by His own Blood, into heaven itself once for all, has enabled His priests and people to offer acceptable service, such as apart from Him they cannot offer, not for a year only, but to the end of time: and it is simply nonsense to say that one action of ours *deriving its efficacy solely from that One Sacrifice*, trenches upon CHRIST's all-sufficiency more than another.

We believe that the real thing objected to by the generality of those who deny the Eucharist to be a Sacrifice, must stand or fall with the notion of feasting on a sacrifice, and with any real doctrine of Sacraments, viz. the notion that God has willed that our *individual* share in the benefits of the death of His Son shall depend, ordinarily, upon acts done in our *corporate capacity*, by the agency of those "Stewards of the Mysteries of God, whom He has set in the Body for that purpose." Not that we have seen anything in Mr. Vogan's book which leads us to think he would sympathize with *this* objection. We suppose he would agree with Waterland, that "the officiating authorized ministers perform the office of proper evangelical priests in this service, 1st as commemorating in solemn form the same Sacrifice here below, which CHRIST our High Priest commemorates above; 2dly as handing up those *prayers* and those *services* of Christians to CHRIST our LORD, who as High Priest recommends the same in heaven to God the FATHER; 3dly as offering up to God all the *faithful* who are under their care and ministry, and who are *sanctified* by the Spirit. In these three ways the Christian officers are priests or liturges, to very excellent purposes, far above the legal ones, in a sense worth the contending for, and worth the pursuing with the utmost zeal and assiduity."* We too wish to contend for all this

* Ubi supra, p. 350.

and for somewhat more besides ; but before we go on to add anything to it, we will observe that we cannot think thus much is best secured by endeavouring, as Waterland does, rigidly to separate the internal from the external, the spiritual from the material ; nor have we any doubt that his attempt to make out that the early Fathers agree with him in this, is an entire failure. They do indeed, some of them, say that Christians have none but spiritual sacrifices ; but they mean by this that the material part of their sacrifice is not accepted for its own sake, but for the sake of what it signifies, whereas under the Law God accepted of certain material offerings as means towards certain legal effects, as a mere act of obedience, independently of any typical signification they might have. Thus one or two passages may be produced in which the sacrifice of Melchisedec is called a spiritual sacrifice ; and *at the same time* asserted to be an offering of bread and wine. The extent to which Waterland carries this exclusion of material things from bearing any part in Christian sacrifices, and, as it seems to us, its mischievous tendency, are well exemplified by what he says of almsgiving : "the sacrifice of alms to the poor when religiously intended and offered through CHRIST is a Gospel sacrifice. Not that the material offering is a sacrifice to God, for it goes entirely to the use of man ; but the service is what God accepts."* Now what is this acceptable service, but presenting money (or other offering) before God, in the hope that it will then go to the use of the poor, with His special blessing upon it ? Is not the belief that God accepts our alms more likely to encourage liberality, and more in accordance with the language of Scripture, than this fine-drawn distinction, which would make the good disposition to be given to God, and the alms to be given only to our brethren ?

This writer defines a true and proper sacrifice to be something given by man to God, i.e., either in whole or in part devoted to and consumed in His service ; not—something which, though presented before God, is wholly used for the benefit of man. And we think it cannot be denied that the legal sacrifices all fall under this definition ;† (for Johnson's assertion that the blood of the paschal lamb was not eaten, *simply* because the Jews were forbidden to eat blood at all, is plainly at variance with the scriptural account of that sacrifice), whereas the Christian sacred use of bread and wine does not ; but we by no means allow that the distinction is sufficient to deprive this latter of its title to the name of sacrifice, even if the authority for giving it that name were (as it is not) such as we could venture to dispute ; for the legal sacrifices were so consumed, not because God needed *them*, or anything else whether material or immaterial, but because He was pleased to

* Page 348.

† Unbloody Sacrifice, ii. p. 53.

give certain blessings to His people on such condition ; and if He has commanded us to eat and drink Bread and Wine, which has been presented before Him, in His most solemn worship, and not to satisfy our hunger, but because He is pleased to give us surpassing blessings on that condition, unquestionably such Bread and Wine is consumed in His service, although eaten and drunk by His people. And thus the Eucharist is as proper a sacrifice as any that were offered before CHRIST came into the world ; certainly a spiritual sacrifice, but not on this account immaterial, inasmuch as it cannot be offered without the sacred use of material things.

We have before objected to Mr. Vogan's (apparent) denial that corporal eating and drinking is essential to the Spiritual Feast ; and we in like manner object to those who deny that the material elements are essential to the Spiritual Sacrifice, of the Eucharist. As in Communion we eat and drink Bread and Wine, and are made partakers of the Body and Blood of CHRIST ; just so in sacrifice we offer Bread and Wine, and call upon God to remember "CHRIST that died, yea rather that is risen again, Who is even at the right hand of God, Who also maketh intercession for us." The Sacrifice is material as much as, and no more than, the Feast is material ; and inasmuch as the Feast is spiritual, so is the sacrifice, though neither Feast can be eaten, nor Sacrifice offered without the sacred and appointed use of the material elements, Bread and Wine. In order that we may feast on the Sacrifice of CHRIST, we first solemnly offer to God the elements, by eating which He enables us so to be strengthened and refreshed ; nor know we of any sufficient authority for offering them to any purpose apart from this ; yet as in eating, so in sacrificing we think not of material Bread and Wine, but of the Human Nature in our Lord's Person, by suffering in which He is passed into glory, not as the only one who shall do so, but "the forerunner . . . made an High Priest for ever after the order of Melchisedec,"* not so as to have no consecrating effect upon the human nature of which we in common with Him are partakers, but so as to have become "the first fruits of them that slept," (1 Cor. xv. 20 ; compare Rom. xi. 16,) and "that He might be the First-born among many brethren."

It is the general belief of Christian antiquity, that our blessed LORD did offer Himself to His FATHER at His Last Supper. In the words of Bishop Jolly, whose work on the Christian Sacrifice, though some may think it, in places, too controversial, is far the best practical treatise, we are acquainted with, on this most important branch of the Doctrine of the Holy Eucharist : † "The sacrifices of old all looked forward to Him, and terminated in Him alone who is the end of the law for righteousness to all believers. The sacrifice was first offered, and then it was slain ; as our

* Heb. vi. 20.

† Page 54.

REDEEMER, the true and only meritorious sacrifice in reality, was once offered to bear our sins, offered by His own *voluntary* oblation of Himself, in the institution of the Eucharist, that He might *passively* bear our sins in His own Body on the tree of the Cross." On the Cross He was passive; He was "by *wicked hands* crucified and slain," yet He offered Himself without spot to God. (Heb. ix. 14.) He gave Himself for us an Offering and a *Sacrifice* to God for a sweet smelling savour," (Eph. v. 2,) and, as is beautifully observed by S. Gregory Nyssen, "lest wicked men should seem to initiate this Great Sacrifice for the salvation of all men, He anticipates their malice, and solemnly offers Himself a sacrifice—at once the Priest and the Lamb of God, which taketh away the sins of the world; and when did He this? When He gave His Body to be eaten, and His Blood to be drunk."* Nor is it easy to assign any other meaning to that remarkable expression "I sanctify Myself,"† which occurs in that Divine Eucharistic Prayer recorded by S. John to have taken place on this occasion, than that which is assigned to it by S. Chrysostom, viz. "I offer Myself a Sacrifice;"‡ which is proved to be the meaning of the word by Outram de Sacrif. l. ii. c. 3, and admitted even by Bishop Patrick, in Levit. xvi. The same truth is further indicated by the words "I have finished the work which Thou gavest me to do," (v. 4) so strikingly corresponding with the saying on the Cross, "It is finished," and by the change of tense which is observable if we compare the accounts of the Last Supper with the sermon at Capernaum in S. John vi. There "The Bread that I will give is My Flesh, which I *will* give for the life of the world." Here: "This is My Body, which is *now being given*," and "This Cup which is *now being poured out* for you is the New Testament in My Blood." Thus did our LORD, Himself both Priest and Victim, give Himself to God before He was *slain*, although Waterland can say that it does not *appear* that He did so: thus did He connect that offering of His very personal Body with the sacred emblems Bread and Wine, which were brought forth and, as the ancients believed, given first to God and then to Abraham, by the great type of the eternal Priesthood, Melchisedec; concerning whom Waterland's assertion "that the Fathers of the first two centuries and a half say nothing expressly of his offering to God anything," only furnishes another instance of the inaccuracies of which the best writers are sometimes guilty, as was observed and proved by a correspondent of the British Magazine, in March, 1835,§ who excited the wrath of E. B. by maintaining the doctrine we are now asserting, and whose own initials A. P. P. may not be unknown to some of our readers.

It being thus laid down that our LORD offered Himself in the

* Orat. de Resur. Christi, t. 3, p. 389, ap. Johnson. App. p. 24. b.

† Chap. xvii. 19.

‡ See Bp. Jolly, p. 65.

§ Page 290.

Institution of the Eucharist, we have now to observe the context in which He said "I sanctify Myself, or offer Myself a Sacrifice; sanctify them through Thy Truth; Thy word is truth, *as Thou hast sent Me into the world, even so have I also sent them into the world.* And for their sakes I sanctify Myself that they also may be sanctified through the truth."* We cannot now enter into an accurate examination of this text, which perhaps is not very exactly translated; we commend it to the attention of our readers, and content ourselves with observing that in connexion with the command, "Do this," or "offer this in remembrance of Me," it indicates the provision made by our LORD for the fulfilment of that prophecy of Malachi, "I have no pleasure in *you*, saith the LORD of Hosts, neither will I accept an offering at your hand. For from the rising of the sun even unto the going down of the same My Name shall be great among *the Gentiles*; and in every place incense shall be offered unto My Name, and a Pure Offering: for My Name shall be great among the heathen, saith the LORD of Hosts."† Which text the Fathers unanimously apply to the Sacrifice of the Gentile Church commemorative of CHRIST under the symbols of Bread and Wine; the original word which we render offering, viz. *Mincha* (in the Greek version *θυσια*), signifying, in distinction from bloody sacrifices, the oblation of fine flour, which when it followed sacrifices of beasts was always attended by its drink-offering. It has indeed been objected to this application of the prophecy that if the *Mincha* is understood to be material, the incense must be so also; to which it may be replied that we have express warrant of Holy Scripture, for saying that "odours" of incense (*θυμιάματα*) "are the prayers of saints," (Rev. v. 8) but no such authority for understanding *Mincha* to mean anything but an offering of flour, nor was this distinction unobserved by some of the earliest of the Fathers, who have applied the prophecy to the Eucharistic Sacrifice. And, so far from being any difficulty to them, it suits exactly with their prevailing belief, that the most prevailing method of offering up prayer to God was to offer it at the celebration of the Unbloody Sacrifice.

But before we speak of the purposes for which this Sacrifice is believed to have been instituted, we must endeavour to give some more exact account of what the Sacrifice is. That it is by no means easy to construct an adequate definition either of this particular sacrifice, or of sacrifice in general, must, we conceive, be admitted by any one who has observed how widely the definitions differ which have been given of sacrifice by theologians both ancient and modern. The Latin word *sacrificium* usually signifies rather the action of sacrificing than the thing offered. We will first endeavour to determine what that action is which is properly called sacrificing.

* S. John xvii. 17—19.

† Chap. i. 10, 11.

Verum Sacrificium (says S. Augustine) est omne opus quod agitur ut sanctâ societate inhæreamus DEO.* This, like that of S. Thomas, "Aliquid factum in honorem proprie DEO debitum ad Eum placandum,"† is evidently a very wide definition, applicable to all such inward acts of devotion as have GOD only for their object—prayer, praise, thanksgiving, almsgiving for GOD's sake, &c. &c. Now we are so far from denying that these inward acts are true sacrifices, that we assert there can be no true sacrifice, without all or some of them: "extiores actus religionis ad interiores ordinantur;" or, as S. Augustine says, "sacrificium visibile invisibilis sacrificii sacramentum, i.e. sacrum signum est;"‡ The misfortune is that people will not consider how impossible it is for us, who are composed of body as well as spirit, to preserve inward devotion without the use of outward acts, nor Who it is Who has appointed those particular acts which are best suited for this purpose. It belongs to the essence of all sacrifice, that it be such an act of worship as can rightly be paid only to the Supreme GOD; and, as long as we are in the body, there is great need of a visible sacrifice, in order to keep us in mind of what we are doing when we come together to worship GOD—not that this is the meaning of the sacrificial term ἀνάμνησις; or μνημόσυον; see Levit. ii. 2; vi. 15; xxiv. 7, &c.; the purport of which is that, in compassion to our infirmity, GOD has commanded that we, by an outward visible act, continually call upon Him to remember the Death of His SON, and so plead upon earth the merits of that One Sacrifice made once for all, which He unceasingly presents, on our behalf, before His FATHER in heaven—for however true it be that prayer is a sacrifice, do people, who never hear of any worship beyond prayer, at all realize to themselves that they come to the House of GOD to offer sacrifice to the Most Highest? We must say there is very little *appearance* of any such notion pervading our congregations; nor do we know of any more likely way of teaching them what it is to offer the sacrifice of prayer than by insisting on it, that the truest way of praying in CHRIST's Name, is to make His Name great among the gentiles by offering the incense of prayer, together with that pure Mincha, which He bade those, whom He sent as His FATHER had sent Him, to offer as His own memorial.§

To return to definition; S. Thomas says of outward sacrifices, "sacrificia proprie dicuntur, quando circa res DEO oblatas aliquid fit;" and his instances are remarkable; he proceeds, "sicut quod animalia occidebantur et comburebantur; quod panis frangitur et comeditur et benedicitur; oblatio autem directe dicitur cum DEO aliquid offertur etiamsi nihil circa ipsum fiat."||

* De Civ. Dei. x. 6.

† De Civ. Dei x. v.

|| II. 2dæ qu. 85, 3.

† P. 3, qu. 48, 3.

§ See Johnson, Unbl. Sacr. Part II. p. 122.

Of the words which we have italicized, we know not whether he had forgotten Transubstantiation, or whether he was speaking of some wholly different sacrifice; we only know that his definition and his example suit our purpose as well as any that we have met with: for though these words may seem to apply more strictly to the Sacrament, yet this is materially the very same thing, viewed as given by God to us, which has first been offered by us to God as a sacrifice, viz., the elements of Bread and Wine; for these are in strictness what the Church offers; the very same which Melchisedec offered; and the manner of their consumption, as before observed, may be regarded as a necessary part of the act of sacrificing, but cannot exclude them from being a sacrifice. Further it would seem that the general purpose of sacrificial acts, viz. to acknowledge the supremacy of God, never was lost sight of; it appears in the ancient Liturgies; and in what Moses tells us of Melchisedec, that when this priest of the Most High God brought forth (or offered) bread and wine, he said, Blessed be Abram of the Most High God, *possessor of heaven and earth*. Bread and wine then being the *matter* of the sacrifice, the ancient Liturgies would lead us to think of an express *verbal* form of oblation as the *form* of it; but much as it is to be wished that such form were restored to us, it may be observed that a sacrifice is, in its nature, not something said, but something done; nor is there any good ground for saying that words are *necessary* to a sacrifice, as they are to a sacrament, according to the well known dictum, "*accedit verbum ad elementum et fit sacramentum.*" In all the ancient Liturgies the sacrifice is offered between the words of Institution and the prayer for the descent of the Holy Spirit, thus forming part of the act of consecration, which was completed by this prayer; in our own Liturgy, as at first reformed, this prayer came first, then the words of institution, and after this, the words of offering sacrifice, as follows—Wherefore, O LORD and heavenly FATHER, according to the institution of Thy dearly beloved SON our SAVIOUR JESU CHRIST, we Thy humble servants do celebrate and make here before Thy Divine Majesty, with these Thy Holy Gifts the Memorial which Thy SON hath willed us to make; having in remembrance His blessed Passion, mighty Resurrection, and glorious Ascension; rendering unto Thee most hearty thanks for the innumerable benefits procured unto us by the same; entirely desiring Thy Fatherly goodness mercifully to accept this our sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving, &c., as we now have, though placed in the post-communion. Here we have mention made of the principal purpose of the sacrifice to "show forth the LORD's death till He come," and mention also of His Resurrection and Ascension; because His sacrifice was completed by His entering by His own Blood into heaven itself, there to appear in the presence of God for us, and because the benefits of His

Death are secured to us by His present Priestly Mediation and Intercession. When the bread is broken and the wine poured out, a representation is made of His Passion and Blood-shedding; when they are blessed to be the means of our present union with Him they plead His present advocacy in that heavenly glory with which He is crowned for the suffering of death: and *this* is our sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving; not simply praise and thanksgiving considered as a sacrifice; but a real visible sacrifice made by Divine appointment, in order, among other high and holy purposes, to be expressive of our praise and thanksgiving for the most inestimable benefits; for, not to insist on the argument that the words being ancient cannot lose their proper meaning by being somewhat disconnected from the action to which they belong, this is the true scriptural notion of a sacrifice of thanksgiving—an offering made to express thanksgiving—as may be seen in Leviticus xii. 29; and as is proved at large by Johnson, Unbloody Sacrifice, i. 380.

We would next observe that the offering and presenting ourselves, our souls and bodies to be, &c., is according to S. Augustine's view, much more nearly connected with the Sacrifice in its strictest sense than is commonly supposed. He seems to understand that the Church fulfils the command, "*hoc facite in Meam commemorationem*," by offering the mystical Body of CHRIST, i.e. herself together with the appointed memorials of her LORD's death, as He offered His personal Body to be put to death upon the cross. After stating that sacrifice is the distinguishing mark of the worship due to GOD only, he continues as follows, "*Unde Verus Ille Mediator, in quantum formam servi accipiens Mediator effectus est DEI et hominum Homo CHRISTUS JESUS, cum in forma DEI sacrificium cum Patre sumat, cum Quo et unus DEUS est; tamen in formâ servi sacrificium maluit esse quam sumere, ne vel hâc occasione quisquam existimaret cuilibet sacrificandum esse creaturæ. Per hoc et sacerdos est, Ipse Offerens, Ipse et Oblatio. Cujus rei sacramentum quotidianum esse voluit Ecclesiæ Sacrificium; quæ, cum Ipsius Capitis corpus sit, se ipsam per Ipsum discit offerre.*"* And again, (Ibid. c. 6.) after quoting Rom. xii. 1, he adds, "*Hoc est sacrificium Christianorum, multi unum corpus in Christo, quod etiam Sacramento Altaris fidelibus noto frequentat Ecclesia, ubi ei demonstratur quod in ea re quam offert Ipsa offeratur.*" Other passages might be produced in which S. Augustine dwells with great emphasis upon this sacrifice of the Mystical Body of CHRIST, and surely it is important to observe that we offer and present ourselves at the altar of Almighty GOD, not as being in ourselves fit to be so presented, but because CHRIST dwelleth in us, nor yet as individuals only (though every one who so offers himself ought to have a well grounded

* De Civ. Dei. X. c. 20.

hope that he remains in CHRIST,) but with that larger and more comfortable assurance of faith, which results from the consideration, that we are members of that mystical Body of which CHRIST is the Head, and are ourselves too represented in the oblation of those sacred symbols, which are the appointed memorial of the One abiding, all-sufficient Sacrifice, "for we being many *are one bread* and one body, for we are all partakers of that one Bread."*

But it must not be thought that this is the only sacrifice of which S. Augustine speaks: he often speaks of Christians offering what Melchisedec offered, and thereby celebrating the memorial of the Passion. If ever he speaks of offering or sacrificing CHRIST, the following passage may serve to explain what he understood by such expressions, "*Sæpe ita loquimur ut Paschâ propinquant dicamus crastinam vel perendinam Domini Passionem, cum Ille ante tum multos annos passus sit, nec omnino nisi semel illa Passio facta sit. Nempe ipso die Dominico dicimus, Hodie Dominus resurrexit. Cur nemo tam ineptus est ut nos ita locutus arguat esse mentitos? nisi quia istos dies secundum illorum quibus gesta hæc sunt, similitudinem nuncupamus, ut dicatur ipse dies, qui non est ipse, sed revolutione temporis similis ejus. . . . Nonne semel immolatus est Christus in Seipso, et tamen in sacramento omni die populis immolatur, nec utique mentitur qui interrogatus Eum responderit immolari.*"† He asserts that it is no more false to say CHRIST is sacrificed every day in the Eucharist, than to say He died every Good Friday, or that He rose on Easter day, or on Sunday, obviously because everybody then understood what was meant by such expressions: and, if they will not do so now, such expressions as *Christus immolatur*, are rightly avoided; but we must not therefore give up the doctrine that the Sacrifice after the order of Melchisedec must be offered in order that it may be feasted upon; and that the one is as important a part of our LORD's institution as the other. It cannot be too clearly asserted, if such assertion be required, that no man can possibly be authorised to add anything to, much less to repeat the Sacrifice of the Cross; nor yet to apply the benefits of it to whom he will irrespectively of their fitness to receive them; nor to impart the Body and Blood of CHRIST to any who are not partakers of the commemorative sacrifice; but on the other hand, it must be said that such assertions as that of Waterland,‡ that no one has any authority or right to offer CHRIST as a sacrifice, (whether really or *symbolically*), but CHRIST Himself, since He is not the matter or subject of our sacrifices, but the Mediator of them, are too sweeping to stand the test of fair examination; it would be just as true to say that He is not the matter or subject of our spiritual food, and suste-

* 1 Cor. x. 17.

† Ep. 98. t. ii. Bened.

‡ Review, &c. p. 377.

nance, but the Giver of it. Doubtless He is so, but He is the Giver of Himself; and if, as S. Paul assures us, He, as the eternal Priest,* has entered into heaven itself *with a sacrifice*, viz., Himself, Who is at once Priest and Sacrifice, there is no contradiction in the assertion that He has set some in the Church with His commission on earth to call upon our Heavenly FATHER, mercifully to remember that Sacrifice by presenting His appointed symbols, as He the One High Priest and Mediator of the new Covenant, does in heaven by presenting Himself. We believe it will be found to be the general doctrine of the Church from the earliest times that they who act in His Name on earth, plead the merit of His Sacrifice by sacred symbols; as He pleads it in heaven by personally appearing in the Presence of God for us: in the language of S. Ambrose, “*Umbra in lege, imago in Evangelio, veritas in cælestibus: Ante agnus offerebatur, offerebatur et vitulus; nunc Christus offertur—et offert Se Ipse quasi Sacerdos ut peccata nostra dimittat. Hic in imagine, ibi in veritate, ubi apud Patrem pro nobis quasi advocatus intervenit.*”† In this view the sacrifice is offered for the whole mystical Body of CHRIST, both those who are departed in the faith of CHRIST, and those who are yet in the body—for all whose condition admits of any benefit or blessing which it is not inconsistent with God’s will to grant. It is believed to be the most prevailing method of intercession for all for whom we ought to pray.

When we speak of this Sacrifice as in *any* way benefiting others besides those who partake of it (and the ancient Church undoubtedly did so speak of it), it must be remembered that the outward act of offering sacrifice is *necessarily* accompanied by the inward act of prayer; otherwise it were a profane mockery, of which we need not speak: the outward act is so intimately connected with the inward act, that some have spoken of Sacrifice as a species of prayer. As then it is a part of Christian piety to believe that the prayers of the Church may be allowed to prevail with God, so as to draw down blessings upon others as well as those who join in them, surely it is no less so to believe the same of the Christian Sacrifice, which is always offered with prayer that the benefits of the one all-sufficient Sacrifice which it represents may be applied to those for whom it is offered. In the words of Cassander:‡ “*Cum hæc Victima [JESUS CHRISTUS in cruce] semel oblata sit pro communi totius orbis salute, tam vivorum quam mortuorum, et ad eam salutem quotidie efficiendam perpetuam virtutem obtineat, nihil est absurdi si in sacrâ hac actione pro vivis et mortuis et communi omnium salute offerri dicatur, quando non solum pro iis oblata commemoratur, verum etiam solenni*

* Heb. ix. 24.

† Consult. de Iteratione.

‡ Ap. Johnson, i. app. 27m.

prece pro iis omnibus efficax et salutaris esse postulatur. Itaque hoc modo sacrificare est preces et gratiarum actiones ad impetrandam virtutem propositæ Illius perennis Victimæ Deo Patri offerre." Provided the word *propositæ* be not understood to imply Transubstantiation, we are so far from thinking there is anything absurd in this statement, that we are at a loss to know how else S. Paul's injunction can be complied with, *πρῶτον, πάντων τοιῦσθαι . . . Εὐχαριστίας ὑπὲρ πάντων ἀνθρώπων*; (1 Tim. ii. 1;) for though we admit that he does use *ὑπὲρ* to signify "on account of" as well as "in behalf of," yet it is very harsh to give it in the same sentence one meaning when coupled with *δέσεις*, and another when coupled with *Εὐχαριστίας*, and it seems far more natural, (prejudice apart), to understand that the Apostle bids us offer in behalf of all men that most holy service, which takes its name Eucharist from what is indeed a prominent part of it, the thankful remembrance of CHRIST'S Death. And S. Augustine* understands the whole passage of the Eucharistic sacrifice, though he does not make this exact application of the words.

Now that which is allowed to procure GOD'S favour towards any of His creatures may rightly be called propitiatory; to quote again from Cassander—"Hoc sacrificium, quatenus sacerdotis piâ supplicatione peragitur, non modo Eucharisticum sed etiam propitiatorium dici potest; non quidem ut efficiens propitiationem, quod Sacrificio Crucis proprium est, sed ut *eam jam factam impetrans*; quomodo oratio, cujus hoc Sacrificium species est, propitiatoria dici potest."

Of course such words as these must not be understood as superseding the necessity of the outward visible act of oblation: it is true of the Sacrifice as S. Augustine says of the Sacrament, "*Etsi necesse est illud visibiliter celebrari oportet tamen spiritualiter intelligi.*"† And it is much to be lamented that the words of oblation have been in part withdrawn altogether, and in part removed from their proper place in our Liturgy: yet there can be no doubt that the Rubric directing the *Priest* when there is a communion *then* to place on the table so much bread and wine as he shall think sufficient, with the word "oblations" added at the same time, were intended to recall its due attention and reverence to the sacrificial nature of the service, as expressed in the first Liturgy put forth by our Reformers, which was allowed even by those who mutilated it, to have been "very godly and agreeable to the Word of GOD and the Primitive Church."‡ This has been shown clearly by Bishop Jolly in the work we have

* Epist. 149 § 16.

† See also S. Chrysost. in Matt. 83, 4, quoted by Mr. Williams on the Holy Week, p. 455.

‡ See the Act prefixed to the Book of 1552.

already mentioned, (pp. 140, sqq.); and though we rather assent to their view who understand the Sacrifice to be offered in the act of consecration—a thing then necessarily *done* whether spoken of or not—which excludes the supposition that no sacrifice is offered in the Communion of the Sick, yet this certainly does not exclude a previous oblation in order to the Sacrifice; and we fully agree with the venerable Bishop just now mentioned, that “If the clergy of the present day do not very generally comply with the order of the Rubric—the intent of which plainly is to make a presentation to God of the bread and wine upon the altar, in order to their most sacred use of showing forth before Him the broken Body and shed Blood of our REDEEMER—the governors of the Church, the guardians of the altar (most humbly be it said), should in duty correct and admonish against the deviation.” We will add that it seems a fit subject for similar admonition that children are not commonly taught why it is that the Catechism has four questions concerning the Sacrament of the Lord’s Supper in place of two only concerning Baptism. We need hardly particularize what we mean. It is asked of both these Sacraments what is the outward part? and what is the inward part? but of the latter also, Why was it ordained? which is absurd unless referred to some *other* purpose of its appointment besides the inward and spiritual grace given to the recipients of it through the outward and visible sign; but very necessary, seeing that it is a Sacrifice as well as a Sacrament; and *that* in a more proper and eminent sense than Baptism, which we are aware has sometimes so been called: it is a commemorative sacrifice, *ἀνάμνησις*, a calling upon God to remember the Sacrifice of the Death of CHRIST, and so propitiatory, i. e. applicative of the One only Propitiation: it is also a solemn declaration before Him that we remember the benefits which we receive thereby, and so Eucharistic. The other point of difference in the treatment of the two Sacraments is, that whereas it is asked of Baptism in one question only What is the inward and spiritual grace? in speaking of the Eucharist, the inward part or thing signified is distinguished from the benefits whereof we are partakers thereby—obviously because Baptism requires, in order to its *validity*, no consecration except the application of the matter to the recipient with the appointed form of words; whereas in the Eucharist the *matter* is of necessity first consecrated by a Priest; and then by a separate act distributed to the recipients; a distinction which is intimately connected with the doctrine of Sacrifice; which doctrine supplies the true reason of that universal practice of the Church that none but a Priest may administer the Eucharist; whereas any Christian may, *in cases of necessity*, administer Baptism.

We conclude with one or two remarks on some of the authors

we have quoted. It seems to us that the very learned author of the Unbloody Sacrifice has somewhat perplexed the whole subject, by using such terms as the Sacramental Body, the Eucharistic Body, the Spiritual Body, and the like, which he distinguishes from the True and Personal Body of CHRIST. Neither these expressions nor, as it seems to us, anything equivalent to them, occur in the passages which he has cited from the Fathers, nor in any others we are acquainted with. They for the most part say plainly either "Bread and Wine," i.e. the signa, (*efficacia*, be it observed, not merely significantia, but still signa;) or else they speak with equal plainness of the signata, and say without any qualifying epithet, "the Body and Blood of CHRIST." The expressions objected to have led Waterland to class Johnson "among those who admit not that the natural Body of CHRIST is in any sense received at all; but imagine that the elements as impregnated or animated with the Spirit, are the only Body received, and are made our LORD's Body by such union with the Spirit."* And we must own that before we met with this remark of Waterland, we had misgivings as to what Johnson's doctrine is, which are not diminished by what he says in p. 28 of his prefatory epistle. Nothing can be plainer than that S. Augustine knows of no Sacramental Body which is neither Bread nor yet CHRIST's Personal Body: His doctrine is that signs are rightly called by the names of the things which they signify; and that when they not only signify, but by Divine appointment convey, they are rightly esteemed to be as sacred as the things which they convey, though in substance they remain what they were before God so applied them. And this appears to us "to solve the notions of the ancients in relation to the reality, &c."† much better than such expressions as Johnson uses, whatever be the exact thing which he means by them.

Lastly, we have quoted more than once, from S. Augustine, (and might very frequently from earlier writers also,) such expressions as *quotidianum sacrificium*, and though it appears from his 54th Epistle c. 2, that daily celebration was not in his time universally practised, nor by him considered necessary; yet we are sorrowfully impressed with the conviction that for large and numerous dioceses, and even whole provinces and nations not to have a daily celebration of the Christian Sacrifice in any one even of their largest and most frequented Churches, is a thing unheard of in the best ages of the Church; nor can this neglect to show forth the LORD's Death every day till He come be justified by the admitted propriety of forbidding the Sacrifice to be separated from the Communion. Are persons desirous of daily communion to be found nowhere among us? can it nowhere be arranged that some should come every day out of those who now come frequently? Much improvement

* Review, p. 194.

† Johnson, *ubi supra*.

has taken place among us with respect to Holy Communion, but much surely remains to be done; and we venture to hope that some attempt at restoring a daily celebration will not be lost sight of by those whose heart's desire it is to "be watchful and strengthen the things which remain that are ready to die."

ACADEMICAL SERMONS BY PROFESSOR HUSSEY.

Sermons mostly Academic. With a Preface containing a refutation of the theory founded upon the Syriac Fragments of the Epistles to (of?) S. Ignatius. By ROBERT HUSSEY, B.D., Regius Professor of Ecclesiastical History.

THE first Nine Sermons in this Volume form a connected series, and are intended to point out the nature, privileges, and history of the great Christian Society, and the relation of each member of it to his fellow-members and to its Divine Head. They are characterized by Mr. Hussey's usual calm and solid manner of argument; and, indeed, the whole volume leaves us only one point of regret, viz., that the "main object" which Mr. Hussey tells us he has always had in view, to wit, "peace in the Church," has led him rather to understate the truth—that "*positive truth*," which he wishes "to suggest to the unprejudiced and religious mind." These are not times—no one will be more ready to confess it, we are sure, than the author himself—in which we may shrink from the avowal of that which is, or endeavour to purchase quiet by compromise; for Holy Scripture itself warns us, that there may be a cry of peace when there is no peace. In saying this, we allude more particularly to the view taken of the Christian ministry in the Fifth Sermon. In the Ninth Sermon, on "Past Ages in the Church compared with the present," a noble protest is made against the subjective character of modern religion, and modern religious instruction, as compared with the objectivity of that simple dogmatic teaching which the Catholic Church of old provided for her children. And in the Preface this protest is still more clearly made, with especial reference to "two works from authors educated in this University, and for some years members of it, which appeared, one not long before, the other a little after, the last of these Sermons was preached." One of them is stated to be Mr. F. Newman's work on the Soul; the other, we presume,

is Mr. Froude's *Nemesis of Faith*. Both these works refuse the authority which the Church has allowed to Holy Scripture, by making the criterion of religious belief simply subjective. But Mr. Hussey shows very clearly that the line of argument they adopt involves an "argumentum in circulo," for they appeal to inward sense or feeling as a test of truth, and by virtue of such inward sense, decide against the authority of Holy Scripture, anathematizing the "current Bibliolatry" of the day; a course which *assumes* the point in question, viz., that there has been no revelation made to men, save through this inward sense or feeling to which they appeal. These works are, Mr. Hussey well observes, only the legitimate development of the principles of those popular moralists and popular religionists, who contend for the reception of Holy Scripture, and the Christian faith, because "they commend themselves to our best feelings;" thus virtually erecting man into a judge of what is revealed, and debasing Christianity into a mere slave to the vagaries of an erring intellect or a morbid imagination.

To the preface is added an examination of, or rather a critique on, Mr. Cureton's *Corpus Ignatianum*. It is really quite refreshing to see a fallacious and one-sided theory so admirably and logically taken to pieces as Mr. Hussey has done with that advanced in this work. S. Ignatius is a great *crux*—indeed an insuperable obstacle—to all impugnors of the Divine authority of Episcopacy, and despisers of Apostolic tradition. The value of his Epistles is easily to be seen by any one who will compare the difference between the high ground taken in favour of the Episcopate by the Caroline Divines, who came to the field fresh from the discovery of the Medicean MS., joined with the learned criticism of Vossius and Ussher, and the arguments alleged by Hooker and his contemporaries, who hardly ever allude to S. Ignatius, his works being little known, and that through a doubtful medium; and being, above all, destitute as yet of any firm authority.

Accordingly, the first thing to be done in a Protestant argument is to throw a cloud over S. Ignatius, and castigate his Epistles *ad libitum*; a task, unhappily, in spite of Bishop Pearson, too easy, because of the undoubtedly spurious character of eight out of the fifteen published as his in the editions of Chamberius and Pacæus.

Mr. Cureton, to whose oriental learning and research the world is much indebted, has, unhappily, taken this line. His argument is excellently well exposed by Mr. Hussey. It appears that some Syriac MSS. of the seventh century have been discovered, containing among other works a version, (and that not a very correct one), of three out of the seven Epistles, viz., those to S. Polycarp, the Ephesians, and the Romans. *Therefore*, argues Mr. Cureton, the testimony of Eusebius, S. Athanasius and S. Jerome, is of no avail—a Syrian copyist of the seventh century is worth much more than a father of the fourth. S. Ignatius could not have written more

than three epistles—the rest were forged for some “hierarchical purpose.” The Chevalier Bunsen also takes up the question, and argues from the language of the MSS., in one of which the title is “The Three Epistles of Ignatius.” The use of the article in this title, he contends, must afford a strong presumption that these three are the only epistles of S. Ignatius. Some of our readers are probably aware that there is properly speaking no *article* in Syriac; but nouns to which the writer wishes to call attention, or fix any particular emphasis,—especially if preceding one in the genitive or *construct* state,—are by the annexation of the letter Olaf, put into what is called the *emphatic* state. But the use of this Syriac article is hardly sufficient to prove that S. Ignatius could not have written more than the Syrian copyist chose to insert in his Spicilegium, as *the* epistles, of “my lord Ignatius.” It means nothing more, in point of fact, than “here are the epistles, which I have thought fit to copy.” It is obvious that the discovery of a MS., containing even a fragment of another epistle (and a learned German has shown good grounds for believing that several more exist, or have existed), would scatter this theory, which we apprehend Mr. Cureton has only borrowed from Chevalier Bunsen, to the winds. Mr. Hussey goes at some length into the argument, confessing his ignorance of Syriac, and putting the question on its true ground, that of Patristical testimony, of which he is *not* ignorant. So fallacious an argument as the one he is combating hardly deserved to be refuted in so masterly a manner; but we cannot help feeling the utmost satisfaction at Mr. Hussey’s triumphant conclusion: “I conclude therefore with asserting that nothing has yet been proved which can at all shake the credit of the seven epistles of S. Ignatius. The evidence for them stands exactly where it did before the Syriac MSS. were known, and is no way affected by the negative argument drawn from these. The negative argument is, in all probability, refuted by the positive evidence of an independent witness, the Armenian version: but even if this should not be so, nothing positive is established against the authenticity of the received (shorter) Greek text of the seven epistles.”

It would be scarcely fair to Mr. Hussey, or to the reader, were we to omit giving an extract, to show the manner in which this conclusion is arrived at.

“The main foundation of the argument, as was said before, is the omission of the four epistles in the Syriac. If therefore the idea of comparing the authority of the Greek copies with that of the Syriac, in the way in which they are now compared, had happened to occur to the minds of those who have adopted this theory in the interval between 1839 and 1843, before the arrival of the second batch of MSS. containing the three epistles, while the British Museum con-

tained only the copy of the epistle to Polycarp in the Syriac, the same principles and the same method of argument which have been advanced in this theory, would have led to the conclusion that the epistle to Polycarp is the only one genuine epistle of Ignatius. It would have been as easy to get over the authorities for the other *two* epistles (which authorities have been so much insisted on in this theory in order to make out a difference in favour of the *three*, and against the other *four* epistles) as it is to get over the authorities for the four of Eusebius' seven epistles which are rejected in this theory: they who reject Eusebius, Athanasius, Theodoret, and Jerome, to favour the Syriac text, would not have scrupled much at Origen's two passages, and one in Irenæus, and another in Chrysostom. And if we had known of no other Syriac MSS. of Ignatius but those acquired by Archdeacon Tattam, it would be at least as reasonable to say that the epistle to Polycarp was the only epistle, as it is now, because we have found three epistles in Syriac, to affirm that these three are the only genuine epistles of Ignatius. If it would be justly deemed by sound critics absurd to have maintained the former position upon such grounds, it is also absurd now to assert a similar conclusion from the same line of argument. * * * * Hitherto the epistles in the Syriac have been supposed in this argument to be but *three*; but, in truth, upon a different hypothesis, they may after all be portions of *four*. If instead of assuming that the Syriac is genuine, and the differences in the Greek the work of 'the interpolater,' we suppose, (as many readers will think most probable), that these MSS. were (part of) a collection compiled by hands who (without any fraudulent intention or 'hierarchical purpose') copied such things as they liked, or as they had opportunity to copy, and who in adding a transcript of a striking passage from a fourth epistle, did not think themselves bound, or forgot, to add a title, or to alter the title of the third epistle to which they subjoined it, we shall find, without any improbable supposition or forced assumption, that we seem to have before us actually four epistles of Ignatius in Syriac. And if so, this great discovery of the normal text of *the three epistles* turns out to be no discovery at all."

THEORY AND PRACTICE OF DOMESTIC WORSHIP.

1. *The Order for Prime.* London: Joseph Masters.
2. *The Order for Compline, or, Prayers before Bedtime.* Second Edition. London: Joseph Masters.
3. *Family Offices*, by the REV. WILLIAM P. WARD, M.A., Rector of Compton Valence. London: Joseph Masters; Dorchester: W. Barclay, 1849.
4. *Family Prayers.* Ibid.
5. *A Collection of Private Devotions, in the Practice of the ancient Church, called the Hours of Prayer; as they were much after this manner published by authority of Queen Elizabeth, 1560. Taken out of the Holy Scriptures, the Ancient Fathers, and the Divine Service of our own Church.* Twelfth Edition. London: Printed for J. G. F. and J. Rivington, 1841.
6. *A Collection of Private Devotions for the Hours of Prayer.* Completed by JOHN COSIN, D.D., Bishop of Durham. A new edition. London: Joseph Masters, 1848.

ONE natural and very happy effect of the increased and, we trust, still increasing attendance upon the daily Offices in our Churches, has been, there are good grounds for believing, a corresponding increase in the use of Family and Private Devotions. In regard to the latter class, of course, from the nature of the case, our conclusions can scarcely amount to more than a reasonable surmise; but, if the present *supply* of Manuals for private use be, in quantity and quality, at all proportioned to the actual *demand* for them, we certainly cannot be very greatly deluded in our charitable conjecture. Experience, observation, and hearsay, in every direction, often where one least expected such a favourable issue, afford a still less suspicious criterion of advancement amongst us in the other mode of formal and external worship above referred to; namely, that of assembled households in their private homes. And this result, we repeat, is only a natural and necessary consequence, such as thoughtful persons always looked for and had in purpose, upon multiplying the opportunities of frequenting common Prayer in churches; although, we well remember, the alleged obstruction to family and private devotion was at one time among the most rife and plausible of all the popular excuses for neglect of the daily service. That excuse, with all candid reasoners, happily has now exploded; and the experiment has practically demonstrated, what it required no deep philosophy to divine, that the temper of Prayer, and all mental and moral qualities involved in and superinduced by it, are, like other habits, under Grace, indefinitely strengthened and increased by *repeated practice*, by again and again energizing, as our Aristotle

tells us in particular acts. "Short Prayers a hindrance to devotion," the title of a sermon in Archdeacon's Manning's second volume, is only a pithy (though not quite exact) statement in its negative form of this common-place and eminently practical truth. It is not, of course, the mere brevity, either in point of form or even length of continuance at one period, but the *infrequent use*, of devotional offices, which can be condemned as a prime cause of unreality in prayer.

Nor is a numerical accession in the observance of family devotions the only incidental good result already manifested from a recurrence to the Catholic usage of the daily public offices; it has, again naturally, eventuated in a growing appreciation of ancient Catholic forms. For what are these, generally speaking, those in our own Prayer-book of course inclusive, but the outward expressions in which natural piety, highly wrought and moulded under various influences, has, from time to time, most fitly found an utterance; the body, in which the life and breath and soul of sanctified emotions have spontaneously developed, and changed from lifeless form to living being? But if this be, in any measure, a correct *rationale* of the early offices of the Church, it follows that, as the true spirit of prayer and praise, in one word, of Christian worship, be quickened among ourselves by a more frequent exercise of the faculty, and confirmation of the habit, of devotion, so it will naturally settle down, compose itself, and find a sympathizing pleasure, in the same forms and order of arrangement; and appropriate them, as the most satisfying answer to its own conscious needs and yearnings. For proof of such an issue in the present instance we need but compare the offices placed at the head of this article, and others of a similar construction, both published and privately printed, which lately have come under our notice, with the most popular Manuals of the last and present centuries down to the time of the revival; not excepting Dr. Hook's (though a first step in the advancement), and directly adverting, of course, to those of the Bishop Blomfield and the Thornton class.

On Dr. Hook's "Book of Family Prayer," some free strictures have already been advanced in an early number of the *Ecclesiastic*. The obvious objection to it (over and above its being a mere mutilated *substitute* of the Church's authorized daily Order of Matins and Evensong), is, that, in common with all the numerous contemporary Forms of Family Devotion, it unaccountably ignores an essential, not to say the principal, constituent of Christian worship,—that which most exalts to the Angelical Service round the Throne,—even Praise! "An objection is raised," says Dr. Hook in his Preface, "on account of the length of the services, as they are found in the Book of Common Prayer, and to obviate this objection, the *Psalms*," (he might have added also the *Hymns*, the *Creed*, the *Glories*, and the *Anthem*,) "are omitted!" In the Order

for Prime and Compline, which (excepting literal translations) approximates more nearly than any we have yet seen to the ancient offices, not only are all these necessary parts provided for, without protracting the office to an inconvenient length, but, we may mention with approval, that suitable music for the hymns is also printed with it.

Our readers will observe, that we are all along assuming the *duty* and *propriety* of regular family worship in some stated form. We acknowledge that, *absolutely* speaking, we do not perceive any difficulty, nor entertain misgivings, upon this point; although we have sometimes heard the question seriously argued by thoughtful persons in the negative; and there are, no doubt, very grave exceptions to be taken against the customary methods of performance, and against the use of all religious formularies under certain untoward circumstances in particular households, as tending only to harden in us a fatal habit of irreverence. We can quite understand a great variety of application of the general principle applied by the Apostle to the most important relation in a family—"Husbands, dwell with your wives according to knowledge; giving honour unto the wife, as unto the weaker vessel, and as being heirs together of the grace of life, *that your prayers be not hindered.*" But, surely, the true *theory* of a Christian family is implied in this very passage—"being heirs together of the grace of life, that your prayers be not hindered!" It is one little dissimilar in its details to that of a Religious House; namely, a number of baptized believers gathered into one society—a brotherhood and sisterhood providentially united—bound together by far holier ties than those of consanguinity; living by a common rule; obedient to the same Superior; each member provided with his several employments, but meeting at the regular hours for meals and recreations;—and what is needed, to perfect the idea, but meeting also at set times and place for purposes of praise and prayer? We draw, then, our conviction of the obligation of family devotion, not from any picturesque analogy with patriarchal worship, or the heathen *cultus* of Lares and Penates, (two not unpopular topics in treating on this subject,) but simply from the universal duty and practice of assembled Christians, grounded upon their native and indefeasible possession of a real individual Priesthood. "Ye shall be named the Priests of the Lord; men shall call you the ministers of our God." We do not adduce the hackneyed text, "Where two or three are gathered in My Name, there am I in the midst of them;" because the words do not *necessarily* refer to any besides the Apostles.

This view, we repeat, sets forth the true theory of a Christian family: a theory, indeed, we admit, with humiliation, rarely and exceptionally realized in perfection; only in such peculiarly gifted homes, for example, as that of Little Gidding. But, although providential opportunity, or other plain vocation does not ordinarily

lead on to so high a reach of excellence, we rejoice in the persuasion that instances in various lower degrees are not altogether foreign and out of date amongst us ; nay, that, for a reason already assigned, they are perceptibly on the increase ; and the more nearly and extensively we approach the normal state, the more urgent we may expect will be the desire and necessity for more Catholic formularies, and a ceremonial suited to domestic use.

The *place* for reciting offices in a private family is not the least important consideration. There surely ought always to be *some* place, (if only a common room of suitable size and furniture,) especially appropriated to the purpose.* A characteristic passage in one of Dr. South's Sermons is exactly to the point—"It has been the advice of some spiritual persons, that such as were able should set apart some certain place in their dwellings for private devotions only, which if they constantly performed there, and nothing else, their very entrance into it would tell them what they were to do in it, and quickly make their chamber thoughts, their table thoughts, and their jolly, worldly, but much more sinful thoughts and purposes, fly out of their hearts. For is there any man, whose heart has not shaken off all sense of what is sacred, who finds himself no otherwise affected when he enters into a church, than when he enters into his parlour or chamber ? If he does, for aught I know, he is fitter to be there always than in a Church. God knows how hard a lesson devotion is, if the senses prompt one thing when the heart is to utter another. And, therefore, let no man presume to think that he may present God with as acceptable prayer in his shop, and much less in an ale house or tavern, as he may in a Church, or in his closet : unless he can promise himself, which is impossible, that he shall find the same devout motions and impressions upon his spirit there, that he may here." Thus far, as to the principle, Dr. South. At the present day, if a somewhat extensive and varied experience in this respect has not deceived us, the prevailing custom, even since the revival, hitherto has been, for the family to gather around the breakfast-table on a morning, and among the albums and ottomans in the drawing-room at night ; the "family" taking up their position on one side, (if in winter, near the fire,) the servants on another, towards the door. Now, the tempting sight of buttered toast and steaming tea-cups—the sound of hissing urn or kettle—the savour of broiled rashers and still racier bloater, are not quite the accompaniments of prayer most provocative of undistracted devotion ; nor are feet snugly extended on the fender, or open palms stretched out for warmth, or luxurious lounging on a sofa or easy chair, the most reverential postures. Yet

* As regards the practice of some of the best of English Churchmen, the case of Bishop Butler amongst others was mentioned, our readers will remember, by the Bishop of Exeter, in the investigation at Devonport.

such, we submit, (not necessarily, of course, but practically,) is almost the invariable result of family worship in the rooms afore-said. There is a serviceable paper on the arrangement of Domestic Oratories in our contemporary, the *Ecclesiologist*, of June last: we have no further suggestions at present to make on this point. The entrance-hall is sometimes used with advantage, as a far preferable place to the ordinary sitting-rooms; and, where there is no distinct apartment available for the purpose, we are disposed to recommend it, as the best. A picture, suspended there, on some sacred subject, veiled at common times, might help, very simply, to impart a religious character; and what, more than any other single circumstantial, perhaps, has been found to add an affecting solemnity to the service, is, that all the worshippers face one way, in the middle space, without chair or other prop. To this might be added, the recitation of Our FATHER at the opening, *in secret*,—"for the which there shall silence kept for a space;" the words "lead us not into temptation. But deliver us from evil," being said *aloud*, in the way of versicle and response. In Parsonage Houses the Priest, we may assume, will be in his Cassock.

A scarcely less important, and more difficult, question regards the proper *times* of family devotion. These must, of course, considerably vary according to the general habits of the household, and the opportunity of attending Daily Offices at the parish church. We might quote one noble example within our acquaintance of a yeoman, whose family, himself always included, customarily offers up a short grace, on first assembling in the breakfast-room; and afterwards, in the course of the morning, about ten or eleven o'clock, A.M., recites the Matin office in the Prayer Book: and again the evensong at night. An arrangement of this sort possesses the no trifling advantage of avoiding hurry over prayer, and the attendant ill-humour about delay in getting breakfast; of which our readers have been much more highly-favoured than ourselves if they have not experienced many distressing instances. It provides also for those, who from ill health or accident or slothful habit, (not hopelessly confirmed,) have loitered in their bedrooms, and so would often miss the earlier prayers. Where a majority or any members of a household attend the daily office at church, a *mid-day* (instead of morning) service in the family would secure the observance of another hour. Indeed, we are sanguine that this, in any case, is growing to be much more generally kept. With regard to the service at night, we consider an *early* hour best, about eight or nine o'clock, not immediately before the sleepy household separate to bed. Thus not only would the gapes, and winks, and hard-drawn breathing of the poor domestics, heavy with their long day's work and recent supper, so often observed during prayers at night, be for the most part avoided, but the interval before retirement might further have a practically beneficial effect upon all

the members of the family, by leaving them less wearied for devotions in their private rooms.

But the most important point of all should furnish the main subject of this Article—the *offices themselves*. We have already noticed, and explained, the growing tendency to prefer the ancient method of arrangement. This ordinarily included *seriatim*, Our FATHER, a Hymn, Psalms, an Antiphon, a Benediction, a Lesson, Versicles, Responses, and short Prayers. The list sounds overlengthy to those not acquainted with the forms; whereas, although all these parts of Service now commonly found separate in the practice of different families, (so that in one a hymn is sung, in another a lesson read, in a third the psalms of the day, or others chanted or recited antiphonally,)—although *all* these several parts are united in the ancient offices for the hours, yet, in fact, the whole service does not exceed, nay, seldom equals, in its performance the length of time most frequently allotted amongst us to family worship; and besides, owing to its diversified and responsorial character, is felt to be much less fatiguing. Now, when we regard the mixed dispositions brought together in families, and generally the busy temper of the age, we consider this a very important practical point gained. Domestic offices hitherto have, almost universally, been *too long*,—or rather, too continuous, in the same unvaried and unbroken form; and, therefore, dry and wearisome in their effects upon ordinary minds. This remark particularly applies to the usual length of the *lessons*,—often one and sometimes two chapters, from the Old or New Testament, or from both, consisting of many verses bearing upon a great diversity of subjects; to which, in some families, a running commentary is further appended. The length of the lessons is a serious mistake, we are of opinion, in the daily offices of our own Prayer Book; originating, no doubt, in the prevailing charm of the newly translated Scriptures into “a tongue understood of the people,” and in the genuine Protestant notion of an *opus operatum*, proportioned to the amount of Bible read. The result naturally has been, that out of the great variety of subject-matter thus introduced at once, very little has been really mastered and remembered; while the length, extending not unfrequently to sixty or seventy verses, is apt to induce habitual inattention in reader and listeners alike. In the most ancient and Catholic portion of the Prayer Book, the Epistles and Gospels, a different rule, founded upon a truer principle, is followed. There we have some short striking passage of Holy Scripture selected with reference to the day or season, commemorative of that single subject, and suggestive of deep thoughts and meditation upon it. The same, still more concisely, and therefore, we think, effectively, is found in the antiphons, and “little chapters” of the ancient offices for the Hours. This principle is wisely recognized and adopted in the Manuals for domestic use now under our

review. Of these, as we have already hinted, we consider that the orders for Prime and Compline are the most successful adaptation. Mr. Ward's "Family Prayers," and "Family Offices," endeavour, not unsuccessfully, to combine the two. But there is rather a cumbersome and involved appearance given to them by the frequency of rubrical direction and an unnecessary multiplication, not to say unreal reiteration, of *preces*, which will stand in the way, we fear, of their becoming very popular.

Perhaps, no published form of offices would be so generally acceptable and satisfactory to English Churchmen, as the "collection" of Bishop Cosin. It possesses, over and above its Catholic origin, some claim to special Anglican authority. "The Bishop of London, (Mountain), who was commanded to read it over and make his report, is said to have liked it so well that, instead of employing a chaplain, as was usual, he gave it an '*imprimatur*' under his own hand." We quote from an admirable preface to the Messrs. Rivington's (the twelfth) edition of 1841, which describes the work as "an attempt, in full consistency with the spirit and in studied accordance with the formularies of the Church of England, to recover or retain, at least in private devotion, a portion of that undoubtedly Catholic and Apostolic system which forms so beautiful a feature in the Breviaries." "'Not one book,' it was said, was in more esteem with the Church of England, next to the office of the Liturgy itself. It appears, in fact, to have become exceedingly popular; and ran through ten editions, the last of which was printed in 1719. Since that, an age has passed over us, which would be little likely to appreciate it, and it has become extremely rare." We cannot forbear adding to this notice part of the exceedingly interesting account of the occasion which led to its original publication. "At the first coming of the Queen Henrietta, into England, she and her French ladies, it appears, were equally surprised and dissatisfied at the disregard of the hours of prayer, and the want of breviaries. Their remarks and perhaps the strength of their arguments, and the beauty of many of their books, induced the Protestant ladies of the household to apply to King Charles. The king consulted Bishop White as to the best plan of supplying them with forms of prayer, collected out of already approved forms. The Bishop assured him of the ease and the great necessity of such a work, and chose Cosin as the fittest person to frame the manual." The result, in three months, was the present collection.

Although originally prepared for private use, it might (with a very slight alteration,) be adapted to the purpose of family devotions, many of the prayers (as commonly in Catholic forms, on the pattern of our Blessed Lord's own,) being constructed in the plural number. A cheap edition has already been published by Mr. Masters in "The Practical Christian's Library;" but we think

that the offices for the Hours *alone*, separated from the other contents of the volume, adapted, as above suggested, for domestic use, and published in a pamphlet shape with, perhaps, the music for the hymns inserted, might be brought within a compass of expense likely to ensure a sale for distribution, not only among the members of single households, but extensively in parishes, where it is sought to encourage family worship. If it is objected, that Cosin has departed from the authorized Psalms of the Roman Breviary, it is only what was subsequently done by the framers of the Parisian Breviary.

When the family attended matins and vespers at the church, these hours, we suppose, would not be also kept at home; the offices, therefore, for either terce, or sext, or both of them, might be used in the morning, and the compline at night. In some families, wherein circumstances admitted of it, either always or on certain days, or during seasons, nones also would, no doubt, be recited. If anything be needed in addition to Bishop Cosin's offices for this hour, it is some special occasional commemorations in the hymns, antiphons, and lessons. These, however, might be easily supplied from the proper Gospel and Epistles of our Prayer Book, carried on through the week; and by popular metrical hymns, such as "Hark, the Herald Angels" at Christmas, and "JESUS CHRIST is Risen" at Easter, or by translations from the Hymns of the Breviary, substituted for those appointed in the Bishop's "collection."

One more suggestion, and we have done. It is a practice with some families to read commentaries, in preference or in addition to Holy Scripture, for the lessons; a practice quite in accordance with Catholic precedent. The *De Imitatione Christi*, with its wonderful depth and fulness, combined with singular simplicity, of thought, broken up, too, as it is, not only into short chapters, but these chapters also into paragraphs and sentences, would be found admirably adapted to the purpose.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES.

The Greek Testament, for the use of Theological Students, and Ministers.

By HENRY ALFORD, M. A., Vicar of Wymeswold. In two. Vols. 8vo ; Vol. I. containing the four Gospels. Pp. 664 : Rivingtons and Deighton, 1849.

WE had fully intended reviewing the volume at length. But, on further acquaintance, we consider that a brief notice will be abundantly adequate to express its character, which is in no sense original or peculiar, but shared by a herd of publications now issuing from the press in the borrowed display of German "criticism." We are aware that this school of writers, owing to accidental personal qualifications, are attractive to many, as their views are too much in harmony with modern indifferentism. But we have to do with systems rather than men, and regarding this developement as a theological system, and stripped of all the eclat which novelty, and an affected candour, and liberality, and some pretence of scholarship naturally confer, we cannot see that in any essential points it differs from the conclusions of that class of Dissenters called Independents. On the great doctrines of the HOLY TRINITY, and the Incarnation, they are as yet by a happy inconsistency, as the Schismatics above named, with some other denominations, delight to style themselves, "orthodox": moreover, they accept the miracles of our blessed LORD as true. *For their own sakes* we most unfeignedly rejoice that they do so: but as regards their probable effect on English Theology, we have much less to fear from the undisguised scepticism of Strauss, than from the more subtle poison of Neander, and the class of writers who are in favour with Mr. Alford. The *object* of this Commentary (the author we think would not deny it) is to *eliminate the whole sacramental and ecclesiastical character out of theology*; and when this is gone, can any student of Church history believe that the more objective truths of the Gospel will long survive uninjured? The assaults which Luther and Calvin made upon Catholic doctrine were far less fundamental than what the modern German critical school, which Mr. Alford is here adapting to the English taste, is now essaying. We all know what the Lutherans and the Calvinists have become; can any one doubt that were a Church founded on the model advocated by these writers, in another generation it would have fallen far below the level of Berlin or Geneva?

We do not intend, as we have said, to follow Mr. Alford into all his devious courses; still less would it be worth while entering on a refutation of these revived heresies. It will be enough that we quote two passages; they will unmistakably characterize the theology of the whole. The first is Mr. Alford's comment on the Apostolic commission. (S. John xx. 22, 23.) "He breathed on them and said, Whosoever sins," &c.

"The words closely considered, amount to this: that with the gift and real participation of the Holy Spirit, comes the conviction, and therefore the know-

ledge, of sin, of righteousness, and judgment;—and this knowledge becomes more perfect, the more men are filled with the Holy Ghost. Since this^{is} so, they who are pre-eminently filled with His Presence, are pre-eminently gifted with the discernment of sin and repentance in others, and hence by the Lord's appointment authorized to pronounce pardon of sin and the contrary. The Apostles had this in an especial manner, and by the full indwelling of the Spirit were enabled to discern the hearts of men, and to give sentence on that discernment: see Acts v. 1—11; viii. 21; xiii. 9.—And this gift belongs especially to those who by legitimate appointment are set to minister in the Churches of Christ; not by successive delegation from the Apostles, —of which I find in the N. T. no trace,—but by their mission from Christ, the Bestower of the Spirit for their office, when orderly and legitimately conferred upon them by the Churches. Not however to them exclusively,—though for decency and order it is expedient that the outward and formal declaration should be so:—but in proportion as any disciple shall have been filled with the Holy Spirit of wisdom, is the inner discernment, the *κλος*, his."

The other relates to the institution of the Sacrament of CHRIST'S Body and Blood; (S. Matt. xxvi. 26;) the exceeding transcendentalism of which, we conceive, can scarcely conceal its positive opposition to the plainest teaching of the Church in all ages. "The assertion" (he says) "is literal."

"And it is the *literal* meaning which gives to the *symbolic* and *representative* meaning its fitness and fulness. In the *literal* meaning then, *this* (is) my Body, we have bread, 'the staff of life,' identified with the Body of the Lord: not that particular *ἄρτος* with that particular *σῶμα* which at that moment constituted the Body before them, nor any particular *ἄρτος* with the present Body of the Lord in Heaven: but *τοῦτο*, the food of man, with *τὸ σῶμα μου*. Now the mystery of the Lord's Body is, that *in and by it is all created being upheld*: *τὰ πάντα ἐν αὐτῷ συνίστηται*, Col. i. 17. *ἐν αὐτῷ ᾧ ἦν*, John i. 4. And thus generally, and in the widest sense, is the Body of the Lord the sustenance and upholding of all living. Our very bodies are dependent upon His, and unless by His Body standing pure and accepted before the Father, could not exist nor be nourished. So that to all living things, in this largest sense, *τὸ ἔσθ' χριστός*. And all our nourishment and means of upholding are Christ. In this sense His Body is the Life of the world: and *τοῦτο*, man's daily bread, is *τὸ σῶμα αὐτοῦ*. And this general and lower sense underlying, as it does, all the spiritual and higher senses in John vi., brings us to the *symbolic* meaning which the Lord now first and expressly attaches to this sacramental bread.—Rising into the higher region of spiritual things,—in and by the *same Body of the Lord*, standing before the Father in accepted Righteousness, is all *spiritual being upheld*, but by the *inward and spiritual process of feeding upon Him by faith*: of making that Body our own, causing it to pass into and nourish us, even as the substance of the bread passes into and nourishes our bodies. Of this *feeding upon Christ in the spirit* by faith, is the Sacramental bread the *symbol* to us. When the faithful in the Lord's supper press with their teeth that sustenance, which is, even to the animal life of their bodies, the Body of Christ, whereby alone all animated being is upheld,—*they feed in their souls on that Body of Righteousness and Acceptance, by partaking of which alone the body and soul are nourished unto everlasting life*. And as, in the more general and natural sense, all that nourishes the body is the Body of Christ given for all,—so to them, in the *inner spiritual sense*, is the Sacramental bread symbolic of that Body given for them,—their standing in which, in the adoption of Sons, is witnessed by the sending abroad of the Spirit in their hearts."

Directorium Chori Anglicanum. The Choral Service of the United Church of England and Ireland, compiled from authentic sources. By BENJAMIN S. JOHN BAPTIST JOULE, Honorary Organist and Choir Master at the Churches of the Holy Trinity and S. Margaret, Manchester. London: J. A. Novello. 1849. 4to. p. 56.

WE cannot award higher praise to this very beautiful volume, than by saying that it answers in all respects to the title claimed for it. It is a complete directory for such as would desire to have the Service of the Church properly celebrated; and in all essential points commands our entire approval. The work, which, we are glad to observe is dedicated "by permission" to the Bishop of Manchester, is preceded by a very satisfactory vindication of the true principles of ecclesiastical Ritual Music.

In one important point (it is almost the only one), Mr. Joule departs from ancient precedent; viz., by putting the plain song in the treble. The lower parts he argues will thus naturally take it an octave below, and so maintain an effectual unison quite as easily as the trebles and counter tenors would rise above the melody, if placed in the tenor.

The following extract from a modern writer in justification of this step seems to deserve attention: "Whatever may have been the original reason for giving the melody to the tenor part, it has long since been felt and admitted that it is at variance with the natural order of the different registers of the scale, both vocal and instrumental. From the acute, penetrating quality of the higher sounds, they are found to predominate in harmonic combination. The part consequently assigned to the treble will always appear to be the principal melody; so that in a Psalm sung to the old arrangement we seem to hear *another* tune, while the real melody becomes a mere accompaniment. This evil is aggravated when not only one, but two (or three) vocal parts are placed above the melody. Of all the four parts, the tenor, though not the least essential to the beauty of the harmony, is that which, singly, makes the smallest impression on the ear; and of all the four parts, therefore, the tenor is the least fitted to sustain the principal melody."

An abridged edition of this work, which is sufficient nevertheless for the choir and congregation, may be had, we are glad to see, for one shilling.

The Nation, the Church, and the University of Oxford is the title of two very stirring Sermons (J. H. Parker), lately delivered by Mr. SEWELL from the Pulpit of S. Mary's. The writer is well known to be among the most devoted sons of the University which he adorns, and the advice contained in these Sermons is such as we should desire to see universally disseminated. It is a call upon the University to continue to maintain her present high tone and standard, yea, and still more earnestly to realize its significance, and while she does this, to bring more minds within the reach of her education, and specially "to remember the poor." Of the various methods which have been proposed with this view he does not advocate any one to the exclusion of

the rest. *All* he feels are not too much. And unless a vigorous and costly effort be immediately made, he is of opinion that great danger is to be apprehended for the University. Our readers are probably aware that an effort is now being made to establish a college for poor scholars, which is worthy of all confidence and encouragement. We trust that Churchmen will not be slow in responding to the call upon their support.

"I will venture to suggest what follows.

"First, that there is no time to dally. The day is past for ever, when we could sit as a 'rejoicing city,' as one 'that dwelleth carelessly.' There is a sword suspended over our head. And a blow is ready to fall. And only one thing, without a miracle from heaven, can avert it,—that we should stand before the country, and before GOD, having done our duty. Cavils, postponements, subtle objections, hopes delayed, indolent preparations, these will only provoke our ruin. Before the Legislature assembles in the spring, it is our wisdom to have done something.

"Secondly, let us not trust to any arm of flesh to save us from the danger which is menacing us, much less to any supposed friends of our existing Institutions. We know little of the language and opinion of the world beyond our walls, if we calculate upon assistance from any quarter, unless we earn it by our own exertions. There is indeed, never was there more of it, love, gratitude, reverence, admiration, in the wisest and best hearts of the age, centring round this place, and clinging to it, not indeed without some most bitter recollections, but still with longing visions, and with an intensity of affection, as the last hope and sanctuary of the Church. They cling to it, let us not delude ourselves, not for its wealth, not for its splendour, not for its antiquity, but for the holiness which it has nurtured, and the truths which it has saved. Still nurture that holiness, and fight those truths; and they will drain their purses, I do believe they would shed their blood, to save us from destruction. But lower our tone, compromise our faith, debase ourselves to a level with the world, show ourselves insensible to our duties, or incapable of fulfilling them, and they would see us scattered to the winds, without lifting a voice or a hand to shield us. And be assured, they are not without alarm. 'What effort, in this crisis, is Oxford making?' is the question asked each day. 'Remain at Oxford, do not quit it for any temptation, for on that spot the battle must be fought,' is the almost despairing advice given, by the wisest of the sons of the Church without our homes, to the most devoted of her sons within. There are lips praying for us all around, in the most distant regions; thanksgivings for every sign of life within us; blessings poured on us for every good which God's mercy has effused from this well-spring. But there is also a growing grief, a deep-seated anxiety, a gloomy foreboding, a disquietude, and disappointment, and resentment, even in those whose love is warmest. Let us beware how we neglect them."

Mr. NEALE has again taken up his pen in that branch of literature in which we think he stands unrivalled; the portraying of sacred Biographies for the young. His *Deeds of Faith* (Mozleys) are quite on a par with his *Christian Heroism*, and are adapted even for younger children than the previous volumes. We should not have needed the "dedication" to tell us that they had not been written for children *in the abstract*.

The Heavenly Lives of the Primitive Christians,—an excellent little Tract selected from the works of HORNÆCK, and reprinted in very good taste by Mr. Masters.

Four more Tracts have reached us from the "Scottish Church Society," two of which appear to be original; one is a reprint of a Sermon of Bishop Seabury's, and one from the works of Alexander Knox. (Edinburgh: Lendrum.)

An Introduction to the Study of Gothic Architecture displays all that copious knowledge of details for which Mr. Parker is distinguished as an Architectural writer, as well as all that beauty of printing and illustration for which he is remarkable as a publisher. Appended is an interesting chapter on *French Gothic*,—the result, apparently, of extensive personal observation.

Messrs. Mozleys have just published a useful little book containing short notices of "such as are named in the Calendar of the English Church." It is entitled *Holy Men of Old*. In two or three instances we observe there is merely a short fragment of poetry given. This appears to us a mistake; for what persons now really want is information.

Short Conclusions from the Light of Nature (Rivingtons) are in the highest degree false and dangerous.

We need only announce the conclusion of Mr. ISAAC WILLIAMS' *Gospel Narrative of our Lord's Ministry, harmonized with reflections*. (Rivingtons.)

There is a good deal to admire in *Ten School-room Addresses*, edited by J. P. NORRIS, M.A., Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge. (Macmillan and Rivingtons.) The theological part is unobjectionable; and some of the more secular Addresses (especially the first,) are very spirited.

We have been much pleased both with the idea and the execution of *Church Walks in Middlesex*, by MR. HANSON SPERLING. (Masters.) If the County of Middlesex is not the richest in ecclesiological treasures, it is more within the reach of tourists than any other, and possesses features of interest quite enough to repay research.

MR. TEARLE has published some useful "Questions on Mental Arithmetic" for Village Schools. (Robinson.) Their object is to strip arithmetic, as far as possible, of that abstract character, which makes it commonly so repulsive to the young.

MR. MASTERS has published two Sheets that will be found useful by many Parochial Clergymen—one a form of *Services in this Church*, to be put up on the Church Door; and the other the Psalms from the Burial Office, with directions to the people for standing and taking their part properly in them.

THE REV. C. J. ABRAHAM'S *Festival and Lenten Lectures* delivered at S. George's Chapel, Windsor, (Parker, Oxford, and London), will be read with pleasure by all who appreciate plain, good sense, and sound *Church-of-England* teaching. If not eloquent, they are affectionate and earnest, and do not scruple to apply the principles inculcated to "the ecclesiastical and social questions of the day." The author himself, it appears, is about to join the New Zealand Mission: he will carry with him the prayers and good wishes, not only of Eton and Cambridge, but of the entire Church at home.

NOTICE TO CORRESPONDENTS.

A special pressure of business has prevented the Reviewer of Stephens' Irish Prayer Book replying in the present number to Dr. Elrington.

THE LIFE AND CORRESPONDENCE OF ROBERT SOUTHEY.

The Life and Correspondence of Robert Southey, edited by his Son,
the REV. CHARLES CUTHBERT SOUTHEY, M.A., Vols. I. & II.
London : Longmans.

THESE two volumes, the only two which have yet been published, consist almost entirely of Mr. Southey's correspondence. The portion supplied by his son is little more than is sufficient to connect the letters. The former half of the first volume is a series of letters addressed to his friend Mr. May, commenced in 1820 and continued at intervals till 1825, giving the history of his own life—so far as a boy's life can be called a life—till the age of 15; but embodying very many reminiscences of his early friends—of his family and relations—of his schools and school-days, his employments, and especially of the history of his own mind. The remaining portion of the two volumes is made up of letters to his relations and intimate friends written between the time he entered the University in 1792, till the close of the year 1805, when he had been for rather more than two years settled at Keswick—in the home where he continued the quiet and even course of literary labours till the time of his death. They carry us through the changes of his early manhood to that settled state of opinion in which he continued. This portion of his life is the most interesting as well from the changes of fortune which it records, as from the picture it presents of the modifications in the writer's own views. The early letters—the autobiography or reminiscences—are scarcely less so from the facts which they supply to show the causes which bore on the formation of Southey's mind—and the abundance of anecdotes, which record the characteristics of an age and state of society now gone by. Of all our later writers none surpasses Southey in grace of style and agreeableness of narration: and it seems to have been his delight in later years to live over again the days of his boyhood. He recalls and depicts for perpetuity the relations and friends of his youth—their houses, their furniture, their own habits and peculiarities and the curious passages of their lives. Then again the schools, schoolmasters and playmates are brought before us, reviving the like recollections of our own boyhood and calling old men back to the cheerful and uncareful days when they themselves were young. These things may be called trivial: but they are far less trivial than nine-tenths of the matter produced under the name of light reading, and they are written in a way calculated to awaken good and improving thoughts, in the most charming and interesting

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style. Indeed, this part of Southey's life is one of the most engaging books we have ever read. We will, however, give our readers specimens from the work with some sketch of the history, with special reference to one point, the development of the literary genius of this distinguished man.

Robert Southey was born at Bristol, on the 12th of August, 1774, in a house in Wine-street, where his father carried on business as a linen-draper; his shop being distinguished by the sign of the Hare—a device indicative of his own partialities for the rural pleasures which he had enjoyed as a boy. The earliest letters contain all that Southey could gather in the way of anecdotes and recollections of his family by the father's and mother's side; both appear to have been of the respectable middle class, and for those days his father was engaged in a way of life not at all below the position he would naturally have taken by birth; and had it not been for two of his relations on his mother's side, the future laureate might have been lost to the world: indeed, so much does the formation of his mind appear to have been influenced by the circumstances of his bringing up—that it quite admits of a question—and it would be a very interesting question to decide—whether he would have shown any remarkable genius if he had not enjoyed advantages in childhood and early youth which his father's house could not afford. These two relations were an aunt, Miss Tyler, at whose house most of his time was spent till he entered the University, and his uncle, the Rev. Mr. Hill, chaplain at Lisbon, who paid the expenses of his education at Oxford. His aunt had lived in the society of persons of a higher station, and had had a considerable fortune bequeathed to her, so that she had the manners and lived in the style of a lady of some consideration; it was from living with her that Robert acquired the refinement of ideas and habits, as well as the literary tastes which stamped his character through life.

Miss Tyler was not herself a literary or apparently an intellectual person; but she was devotedly addicted to play-going—a habit which was much more common among the higher classes sixty years ago than it is now, and during the theatrical season at Bath, she, and her little nephew were regular frequenters of the play-house, and the actors and dramatic writers were her principal guests. Thus the boy's earliest object of admiration and ambition was dramatic authorship.

“Miss Tyler, through her intimacy with Miss —, had the command of orders for free admission. She was exceedingly fond of theatrical representations, and there was no subject of which I heard so much from my earliest childhood. It even brought upon me once a most severe reprehension for innocently applying to the church a phrase which, I then learnt to my cost, belonged only to the playhouse, and

saying one Sunday, on our return from morning service, that it had been a very *full house*. When I was taken to the theatre for the first time, I can perfectly well remember my surprise at not finding the pit literally a deep hole, into which I had often puzzled myself to think how or why any persons could possibly go. You may judge by this how very young I must have been. I recollect nothing more of the first visit except that the play was the *Fathers*, a comedy of Fielding's, which was acted not more than one season, and the farce was *Coxheath Camp*. This recollection, however, by the help of that useful book the *Biographia Dramatica*, fixes the date to 1778, when I was four years old.

"I was introduced to the theatre before it was possible for me to comprehend the nature of the drama, so as to derive any pleasure from it, except as a mere show. What was going on upon the stage, as far as I understood it, appeared real to me; and I have been told that one night, when the *Critic* was represented, and I heard that Sir Walter Raleigh's head was to be cut off, I hid mine in Miss Mary Delamere's lap, and could not be persuaded to look up, till I was assured the dreaded scene was over."

And as seeing plays was his great pleasure, reading them at home was his one study.

"Shakespeare was in my hands as soon as I could read; and it was long before I had any other knowledge of the history of England than what I gathered from his plays. Indeed, when first I read the plain matter of fact, the difference which appeared then puzzled and did not please me; and for some time I preferred Shakespeare's authority to the historian's.

"I went through Beaumont and Fletcher also, before I was eight years old; circumstances enable me to recollect the time accurately. Beaumont and Fletcher were great theatrical names, and therefore there was no scruple about letting me peruse their works. What harm, indeed, could they do me at that age? I read them merely for the interest which the stories afforded, and understood the worse parts as little as I did the better. But I acquired imperceptibly from such reading familiarity with the diction, and ear for the blank verse of our great masters. In general I gave myself no trouble with what I did not understand; the story was intelligible, and that was enough. But the *Knight of the Burning Pestle* perplexed me terribly; burlesque of this kind is the last thing that a child can comprehend. It set me longing however for *Palmerin of England*, and that longing was never gratified till I read it in the original Portuguese. My favourite play upon the stage was '*Cymbeline*,' and next to that, '*As you like it*.' They are both romantic dramas; and no one had ever a more decided turn for music or for numbers, than I had for romance.

"You will wonder that this education should not have made me a dramatic writer. I had seen more plays before I was seven years old than I have ever since I was twenty, and heard more conversation about the theatre than any other subject."

Beyond this very unintentional formation of his mind his aunt

seems to have done almost nothing beyond seeing that he behaved well and was neat in person and dress; indeed, as she had planned a systematic education for him on the basis of Rousseau's *Emile*, a copy of which she bought for the purpose, it is perhaps as well she did not take the pains to do it. During the time he spent at her house, that is almost always when he was not at school, he had no play-mates—except such as he found in her servants—and no proper occupation. He lived alone as regards the natural sympathies of children, he had little fondness for boyish sports, and from the habits he had acquired at this home, he found in the schools he was sent to few whom he made friends of; he was a little gentleman, who, for instance, could not bear to wash at the common lavatory of the school, but bored a little hole in a water barrel which he could open for himself, and so secured a supply of clean water for his own special use. At his aunt's he was to be very quiet—and the occupation devised for him was picking holes with a pin all round the letters of the play bills, of which his aunt most carefully preserved all that came out. Thus the child grew up, living in himself and in the sphere of his own thoughts, without companions, without occupation, but with one fertile source of ideas of surpassing interest—in the drama. The romantic action of the plot and the harmony of the verse working on his imagination while he was silently engaged in making illuminations on the play-bills, and taught to look on actors and play-wrights as the greatest of mankind, it is not surprising that his naturally active mind developed itself into a fondness for literary composition. He early thought on it, and that justly, for he said "it would be very easy to make a play, you have only to think what you would say if you were in the place of the characters, and to make them say it." Nay, he engaged when about eight years old in writing plays himself, and actually composed an act and a half; and he suggested the same to his school-fellows, and wondered they could not write plays as well as say their lessons.

His first essay in prose composition—showed the inner training which had been going on. He was at a school where at times the master would require the boys to write a letter, each on any subject that he pleased. Some of the boys wrote formal letters to their "Honoured parents;" "others wrote in a tradesmanlike style, soliciting orders, or acknowledging them, or sending in an account;" Southey not knowing what to write, "actually cried for perplexity and vexation;" but the master encouraged him, and he wrote a description of Stonehenge, from the recollection of what he had recently read in the Salisbury guide; this quite filled the slate—surprised and delighted his master and established his character among his school-fellows as a wonderfully clever boy. The next person under whose care he was at twelve years old, practised him in writing themes, and here he shall tell his own story:—

" I began Greek under him, made nonsense-verses, read the *Electa ex Ovidio et Tibullo* and Horace's Odes, advanced a little in writing Latin, and composed English themes,

" *C'est le premier pas qui coute*. I was in as great tribulation when I had the first theme to write, as when Williams required me to produce a letter. The text of course had been given me ; but how to begin, what to say, or how to say it, I knew not. No one who had witnessed my perplexity upon this occasion would have supposed how much was afterwards to be spun from these poor brains. My aunt, at last in compassion, wrote the theme for me. Lewis questioned me if it was my own, and I told him the truth. He then encouraged me sensibly enough ; put me in the way of composing the common-places of which themes are manufactured (indeed he caused me to transcribe some rules for themes, making a regular receipt as for a pudding ;) and he had no reason afterwards to complain of any want of aptitude in his scholar, for when I had learnt that it was not more difficult to write in prose than in verse, the ink dribbled as daintily from my pen as ever it did from John Bunyan's. One of these exercises I still remember sufficiently well to know that it was too much like poetry, and that the fault was of a hopeful kind, consisting less in inflated language than in poetical imagery and sentiment. But this was not pointed out as a fault, and luckily I was left to myself ; otherwise, like a good horse, I might have been spoilt by being broken in too soon.

" It was still more fortunate that there was none to direct me in my favourite pursuit, certain as it is that any instructor would have interfered with the natural and healthy growth of that poetical spirit which was taking its own course. That spirit was like a plant which required no forcing, nor artificial culture ; only air and sunshine, and the rains and the dews of heaven. I do not remember in any part of my life to have been so conscious of intellectual improvement as I was during the year and half before I was placed at Westminster : an improvement derived not from books or instruction, but from constantly exercising myself in English verse ; and from the development of mind which that exercise produced, I can distinctly trace my progress by help of a list, made thirty years ago, of all my compositions in verse, which were then in existence, or which I had at that time destroyed.

" Early as my hopes had been directed towards the drama, they received a more decided and more fortunate direction from the frequent perusal of Tasso, Ariosto, and Spenser. I had read also Mickle's *Lusiad* and Pope's Homer. If you add to these an extensive acquaintance with the novels of the day, and with the Arabian and mock-Arabian tales, the whole works of Josephus (taken in by me with my pocket-money in three-score sixpenny numbers, which I now possess,) such acquaintance with Greek and Roman history as a schoolboy picks up from his lessons and from Goldsmith's abridged histories, and such acquaintance with their fables as may be learnt from Ovid, from the old Pantheon, and above all from the end of Littleton's Dictionary, you will have a fair account of the stock upon which I began. But Shakespeare, and Beaumont and Fletcher, must not be forgotten ; nor Sydney's

Arcadia; nor Rowley's Poems, for Chatterton's history was fresh in remembrance, and that story, which would have affected one of my disposition anywhere, acted upon me with all the force of local associations.

"The first of my Epic Dreams was created by Ariosto. I meant to graft a story upon the Orlando Furioso, not knowing how often this had been done by Italian and Spanish imitators. Arcadia was to have been the title and the scene; thither I meant to carry the Moors under Marsilius after their overthrow in France, and there to have overthrown them again by a hero of my own, named Alphonso, who had caught the Hippogriff. This must have been when I was between nine and ten, for some verses of it were written on the cover of my Phædrus. They were in the heroic couplet. Among my aunt's books was the first volume of Bysshe's Art of Poetry, which, worthless as it is, taught me at that age the principle upon which blank verse is constructed, and thereby did me good service at a good time. I soon learnt to prefer that metre, not because it was easier than rhyme (which was easy enough,) but because I felt in it a greater freedom and range of language, because I was sensible that in rhyming I sometimes used expressions, for the sake of the rhyme, which were far-fetched, and certainly would not have occurred without that cause. My second subject was the Trojan Brutus: the defeat and death of King Richard, and the Union of the two Roses was my third. In neither of these did I make much progress; but with the story of Egbert I was more persevering, and partly transcribed several folio sheets. The sight of these was an encouragement to proceed, and I often looked at them with delight in the anticipation of future fame. This was a solitary feeling, for my ambition or vanity (whichever it may deserve to be called) was not greater than the shyness which accompanied it. My portfolio was of course held sacred. One day, however, it was profaned by an acquaintance of my aunt's who called to pay a morning visit. She was shown into the parlour, and I, who was sent to say my aunt would presently wait upon her, found her with my precious Egbert in her hand. Her compliments had no effect in abating my deep resentment at this unpardonable curiosity; and though she was a goodnatured woman, I am afraid I never quite forgave her. Determining, however, never to incur the risk of a second exposure, I immediately composed a set of characters for my own use."

We conceive this is one of the most remarkable facts recorded in the history of literature, and that we need not apologise for continuing the extract.

"In my twelfth and thirteenth year, besides these loftier attempts, I wrote three heroic epistles in rhyme: the one was from Diomedes to Egeus; the second from Octavia to Mark Anthony; the third from Alexander to his father Herod, a subject with which Josephus supplied me. I made also some translations from Ovid, Virgil, and Horace; and composed a satirical description of English manners, as delivered by Omai, the Tahitian, to his countrymen on his return. On the thir-

teenth anniversary of my birth, supposing (by an error which appeared to be common enough at the end of the century) that I was then entering the first year of my teens instead of completing it, and looking upon that as an awful sort of step in life, I wrote some verses in a strain of reflection upon mortality grave enough to provoke a smile when I recollect them. Among my attempts at this time were two descriptive pieces entitled *Morning in the Country*, and *Morning in Town*, in eight-syllable rhymes, and in imitation of Cunningham. There was also a satirical peep into Pluto's dominions, in rhyme. I remember the conclusion only, and that because it exhibits a singular indication how strongly and how early my heart was set upon that peculiar line of poetry which I have pursued with most ardour. It described the Elysium of the Poets, and that more sacred part of it in which Homer, Virgil, Tasso, Spenser, Camoens, and Milton were assembled. While I was regarding them Fame came hurrying by with her arm full of laurels and asking in an indignant voice if there was no poet who would deserve them? Upon which I reached out my hand, snatched at them, and awoke.

"One of these juvenile efforts was wholly original in its design. It was an attempt to exhibit the story of the Trojan War in a dramatic form, laying the scene in Elysium, where the events which had happened on earth were related by the souls of the respective heroes as they successively descended. The opening was a dialogue between Luodamia and Protesilaus, in couplets: and the best rhymes which I had yet written. But I did not proceed far, probably because the design was too difficult, and this would have been reason enough for abandoning it even if I had not entered with more than usual ardour upon a new heroic subject, of which Cassibelan was the hero. I finished three books of this poem, and had advanced far in the fourth before I went to Westminster. All this was written fairly out in my own private characters, and in my best writing, if one may talk of caligraphy in an unknown hand which looked something like Greek, but more like conjuration, from the number of trines and squares which it contained. These characters, however, proved fatal to the poem, for it was not possible for me to continue it at school, for want of privacy; disuse made the cypher so difficult that I could not read it without almost spelling as I went on: and at last in very vexation I burnt the manuscript.

"I wonder whether Spurzheim could, at that time, have discovered an organ of constructiveness in my pericranium. The Elysian drama might seem to indicate that the faculty was there, but not a trace of it was to be found in any of the heroic poems which I attempted. They were all begun upon a mere general notion of the subject, without any prearrangement, and very little preconception of the incidents by which the catastrophe was to be brought about. When I sat down to write, I had to look as much for the incidents, as for the thoughts and words in which they were to be clothed. I expected them to occur just as readily; and so indeed, such as they were, they did. My reading in the old chivalrous romances has been sufficiently extensive to justify me in asserting that the greater number of those romances were written just in the same way, without the slightest plan or forethought;

and I am much mistaken if many of the Italian romantic poems were not composed in the same inartificial manner. This I am sure,—that it is more difficult to plan than to execute well; and that abundance of true poetical power has been squandered for want of a constructive talent in the poet. I have felt this want in some of the Spanish and Portuguese writers, even more than their want of taste. The progress of my own mind towards attaining it (so far as I may be thought to have attained it) I am able to trace distinctly; not merely by the works themselves, and my own recollections of the views with which they were undertaken and composed, but by the various sketches and memoranda for four long narrative poems, made during their progress from the first conception of each till its completion. At present the facility and pleasure with which I can plan an heroic poem, a drama, a biographical or historical work, however comprehensive, is even a temptation to me. It seems as if I caught the bearings of a subject at first sight; just as Telford sees from an eminence, with a glance, in what direction his road must be carried. But it was long before I acquired this power,—not fairly, indeed, till I was about five or six and thirty; and it was gained by practice, in the course of which I learnt to perceive wherein I was deficient.

“There was one point in which these premature attempts afforded a hopeful omen, and that was in the diligence and industry with which I endeavoured to acquire all the historical information within my reach, relating to the subject in hand. Forty years ago, I could have given a better account of the birth and parentage of Egbert, and the state of the Heptarchy during his youth, than I could do now without referring to books; and when Cassibelan was my hero, I was as well acquainted with the division of the island among the ancient tribes, as I am now with the relative situation of its counties. It was, perhaps, fortunate that these pursuits were unassisted and solitary. By thus working a way for myself, I acquired a habit and a love for investigation, and nothing appeared uninteresting which gave me any information I wanted. The pleasure which I took in such researches, and in such composition, rendered me in a great degree independent of other amusements; and no systematic education could have fitted me for my present course of life, so well as the circumstances which allowed me thus to feel and follow my own impulses.”

We need not apologise for the length of this extract. We have here the future Southey simply in miniature: here indeed “the boy is father to the man;” at thirteen years old he seem to have in embryo all that his future life developed: particularly and most remarkably in his persevering laboriousness in carrying out a literary object. At this time he was sent to Westminster school, then in its highest and most flourishing estate. Here he formed friendships which lasted through life; and it would seem as if the habits acquired at his aunt’s had qualified him for associating with youths of much higher station in life than himself, while his talents and affectionate temper naturally won him friend-

ships among those of superior mind. His first attempt to appear in print was unsuccessful: he sent an elegy on his sister's death to "The Trifler," a weekly paper, got up by the boys at Westminster, which was not inserted. His next attempt was successful, but it was a ruinous success, as it led to the very serious consequence of his expulsion. A periodical was started by the boys called "The Flagellant," and after a few numbers had come out an article appeared on the infliction of corporal punishments on schoolboys, which led to a prosecution for libel by the head master, to the voluntary acknowledgment of the authorship by Robert Southey, and his consequent expulsion from the school.

This event may have been an occasion of the unsettled state of opinion and action which followed. He was left at his aunt's, now seventeen years of age, without society or regular employment; "now giving way to despondency, resolving first on one scheme of future life and then another, and again brightening up under the influence of a buoyant and happy temper, continually writing verses, and eager again to come before the public as an author."

Coincidentally with these circumstances came the wreck of his father's affairs, followed shortly by his death; this, whilst it caused him much anxiety and pain, did not immediately affect his plans, as his expenses at the university were defrayed by his uncle, Mr. Hill. It had been intended that he should enter at Christ Church, but in consequence of the affair at Westminster the Dean, Cyril Jackson, refused to admit him, and he was in consequence entered at Balliol, November 3rd, 1792, being then eighteen years of age.

Two letters written during the period of his residence will show what his habits and views then were, and somewhat also of the condition of the university.

"To G. C. Bedford, Esq."

"Saturday, Feb. 12, 5 in the morning."

"Now, Bedford, this is more than you would do for me,—quit your bed after only five hours' rest, light a fire, and then write a letter; really I think it would not have tempted me to rise unless assisted by other inducements. To-day I am going to walk to Abingdon with three men of this college; and having made the pious resolution (your good health in a glass of red negus) of rising every morning at five to study, that the rest of the day may be at my own disposal, I procured an alarum clock and a tinder box. This morning was the first. I rose, called up a neighbour, and read about three hundred lines of Homer, when I found myself hungry; the bread and cheese were called in as auxiliaries, and I made some negus: as I spiced it my eye glanced over the board, and the assemblage seemed so curious that I laid all aside for your letter,—a lexicon, Homer, inkstand, candles, snuffers, wine, bread and cheese, nutmeg-grater, and hour-glass. But I have given up time enough to my letter, the glass runs fast, and for once the expression is not merely figurative.

“ Monday.

“ How rapidly does Time hasten on when his wings are not clogged by melancholy ! Perhaps no human being ever more forcibly experienced this than myself ; often have I counted the hours with impatience when, tired of reflection and all her unpleasant train, I wished to forget myself in sleep. Now I allow but six hours to my bed, and every morning before the watchman rises, my fire is kindled and my bed is cold ; this is practical philosophy—but every thing is valued by comparison, and when compared with my neighbour, I am no philosopher. Two years ago Seward drank wine, and eat butter and sugar ; now, merely from the resolution of abridging the luxuries of life, water is his only drink, tea and dry bread his only breakfast. In one who professed philosophy this would be only practising its tenets, but it is quite different with Seward. To the most odd and uncommon appearance he adds manners, which as one gets accustomed to them are the most pleasing. At the age of fourteen he began learning, and the really useful knowledge he possesses must be imputed to a mind really desirous of improvement. ‘ Do you not find your attention flag ? ’ I said to him as he was studying Hutchinson’s Moral Philosophy in Latin. ‘ If our tutors would but make our studies interesting we should pursue them with pleasure. ’ ‘ Certainly we should,’ he replied ; ‘ but I feel a pleasure in studying them because I know it is my duty. ’ This I take to be true philosophy, of that species which tends to make mankind happy, because it first makes them good. We had verses here upon the 30th of January to the memory of Charles the Martyr. It is a little extraordinary that you should quote those very lines to poor Louis which I prefixed to my ode : ‘ His virtues plead like angels, trumpet-tongued, against the deep damnation of his taking off. ’ Morose austerity and stern enthusiasm are the characteristics of superstition ; but what is in reality more cheerful or happy than religion ? I have in my own knowledge more than one instance of this, and doubt not you have likewise. Ought not, therefore, that wretch who styles himself a philosopher to be shunned like pestilence, who, because Christianity has to him no allurements, seeks to deprive the miserable of their only remaining consolation ? I keep a daily journal for myself, as an account of time which I ought to be strict in ; but this being only destined for my own eye, is uninteresting and unimportant. Boswell might compile a few quartos from the loose memorandums, but they would tire the world more than he has already done. Twenty years hence this journal will be either a source of pleasure or of regret ; that is, if I live twenty years, and for life I have really a very strong predilection ; not from Shakspeare’s fearfully beautiful passage :— ‘ Aye, but to die and go we know not whither,’ but from the hope that my life may be serviceable to my family, and happy to myself ; if it be the longer life the better, existence will be delightful, and anticipation glorious. The idea of meeting a different fate in another world is enough to overthrow every atheistical doctrine. The very dreadful trials under which virtue so often labours must surely be only trials ; patience will withstand pressure, and faith will lead to hope. Religion soothes every wound and makes the bed of death a couch of felicity.

Make the contrast yourself: look at the warrior, the hypocrite, and the libertine, in their last moments, and reflection must strengthen every virtuous resolution. May I, however, practise what I preach. Let me have £200 a year and the comforts of domestic life, and my ambition aspires not further.

Most sincerely yours,

"ROBERT SOUTHEY."

"To G. C. Bedford, Esq.

"March 16, 1793.

"I am now sitting without fire in a cold day, waiting for Wynn to go upon the Isis, 'silver-slippered queen,' as Warton calls her; the epithet may be classical, but it certainly is ridiculous. Of all poetical figures the *prosopopœia* is that most likely to be adopted by a savage nation, and which adds most ornament, but not to composition; but in the name of common sense, what appropriate idea does 'silver-slippered' convey? Homer's *Χρυσονέτιλος* probably alludes to some well-known statue so habited. Nature is a much better guide than antiquity.

"Wednesday.

"On the water I went yesterday, in a little skiff, which the least deviation from the balance would overset. To manage two oars and yet unable to handle one! My first setting off was curious. I did not step exactly in the middle, the boat tilted up, and a large barge from which I embarked alone saved me from a good ducking; my arm however got completely wet. I tugged at the oar very much like a bear in a boat: or, if you can conceive anything more awkward, liken me to it, and you will have a better simile. . . . When I walk over these streets what various recollections throng upon me, what scenes fancy delineates from the hour when Alfred first marked it as the seat of learning! Bacon's study is demolished, so I shall never have the honour of being killed by its falls; before my window Latimer and Ridley were burnt, and there is not even a stone to mark the place where a monument should be erected to religious liberty. . . . I have walked over the ruins of Godstow Nunnery with sensations such as the site of Troy or Carthage would inspire; a spot so famed by our minstrels, so celebrated by tradition, and so memorable in the annals of legendary, yet romantic truth. Poor Rosamond! some unskilful impostor has painted an epitaph upon the chapel wall, evidently within this century; the precise spot where she lies is forgotten, and the traces are still visible of a subterranean passage—perhaps the scene of many a deed of darkness; but we should suppose the best:—surely amongst the tribes who were secluded from the world, there may have been some whose motives were good among so many victims of compulsion and injustice. Do you recollect Richardson's plan for Protestant nunneries? To monastic foundations I have little attachment; but were the colleges ever to be reformed (and reformation will not come before it is wanted,) I would have a little more of the discipline kept up. Temperance is much wanted; the waters of Helicon are far too much polluted by the wine of Bacchus ever to produce any effect. With respect to its superiors, Oxford only exhibits waste of gifts and want of

wisdom; with respect to undergraduates, every species of abandoned excess. As for me, I regard myself too much to run into the vices so common and so destructive. I have not yet been drunk nor mean to be so. What use can be made of a collegiate life I wish to make; but in the midst of all, when I look back to Rousseau, and compare myself either with his *Emilius* or the real pupil of Madame Brulench, I feel ashamed and humbled at the comparison. Never shall child of mine enter a public school or a university. Perhaps I may not be able so well to instruct him in logic or languages, but I can at least preserve him from vice.

Yours sincerely,

"ROBERT SOUTHEY."

It is impossible not to be struck with the studied style of some parts of these letters. They seem to be an attempt at good writing, and it appears as if Southey had at this time made his letter writing a subject for improving himself in composition; and there is an exaggeration in the thoughts which stamp them with that unreality, which we must all recognise as the tendency of those juvenile compositions in which youths write, on subjects of which they cannot have real knowledge, and put together words without having adequate ideas.

One person is mentioned in them of whom we should have been glad to know more, Edmund Seward. He seems to have been a truly earnest-minded and religious man, from whom Southey, in a letter written on his death a few years after, says he got more good than from any other person; and we have the following short notice of him by Mr. C. Southey, in speaking of the scheme for emigration and Pantisocracy, in which Southey was soon engaged, and into which his friend had at first entered.

"Seward, however, did not long continue to approve of the plan; his opinions were more moderate than those of his friends, although he was inclined to hold democratic views; and he was strongly attached to the doctrines of the Church of England, in which he intended to take orders. His letters on the subject of Pantisocracy are indicative of a very thoughtful and pious mind; and he expresses much regret that he should at first have given any encouragement to a scheme, which he soon saw must fail if attempted to be carried out.

"He perceived that the two chief movers, my father and Mr. Coleridge, were passing through a period of feverish enthusiasm which could not last; and he especially expresses his fear, that the views on religious subjects held by the party generally, were not sufficiently fixed and practical; and that discussions and differences of opinion on these points would probably arise, which, more than on any other, would tend to destroy that perfect peace and unanimity they so fondly hoped to establish."

From those who were set over him at Oxford, Southey found no guidance which could win his heart or influence his views. His

tutor told him he would improve more by his own reading than by lectures, and he was left to run wild in intellectual and religious subjects, disgusted with much that he saw around him, rebelling in heart against religious ordinances in which he had not been trained to sympathise; and shaken as all England now was by the republican theories of France, he in common with most young men of talent looked for the opening of a new order of things—a glorious development of the powers of man, unshackled by the forms of society, or the restraints of ancient governments: and Southey and his friends devised and seriously contemplated an attempt to carry out such a view in a new colony, where their device, designated by the fair name of Pantisocracy, was to find a field for its execution.

Southey was specially disposed for this from the condition of his prospects in England. There was one cause which these letters reveal, and which we are inclined to suspect influenced him considerably—an attachment to the future Mrs. Southey—which was springing up in his heart. "In case of success," in obtaining an appointment, he writes to a friend, "I shall joyfully bid adieu to Oxford, settle myself in some economical way of life, and, when I know my situation, unite myself to a woman whom I have long esteemed as a sister, and for whom I now indulge a warmer sentiment." It appears from a statement at pp. 216, 217, that they were soon engaged. Love then was at the bottom of this Pantisocratic scheme; and when Robert Southey was a happily married man, he was very willing to be like other people at home. We observe this the rather because it is commonly supposed that the choice of a wife was an after thought, and that he and Mr. Coleridge took as partners the first two persons whom they could persuade to go out with them. The contrary will appear to be the truth.

Southey was now twenty years of age, with an active and energetic mind. He had no hopes of maintenance from private means. The wish to be a Fellow of Balliol, with which he entered Oxford, had passed away. The university had no attractions for him, a man who was in love, and he was besides very deeply unsettled in his religious opinions; and his truly honest mind revolted from the thought of subscribing confessions which he did not believe. Holy Orders, which had been his destination, was therefore set aside. He tried the study of medicine, and attended anatomy lectures, but soon gave that up. From government offices he felt he had precluded himself by the notoriety of his republican views. England therefore seemed closed against him, and he was in the very state to take fire by the spark of suggestion which now fell on him.

In June, 1794, Coleridge visited Oxford. He had left Cambridge shortly before "in a moment of despondency and vexation of spirit, occasioned by some debts not amounting to £100," en-

listed as a common soldier, and was with difficulty discharged. He had a schoolfellow at Oxford, whom he came to visit, and an accidental introduction to Southey led to an immediate mutual understanding, sympathy, and friendship. Coleridge was preparing to publish poems, and Southey was at work on *Joan of Arc*. Coleridge suggested *America and Pantisocracy*, the idea of which had originated with himself and one or two friends, and Southey jumped at it. His son describes it thus :

"Their plan was to collect as many brother adventurers as they could, and to establish a community in the New World upon the most thoroughly social basis. Land was to be purchased with their common contributions, and to be cultivated by their common labour. Each was to have his portion of work assigned him ; and they calculated that a large part of their time would still remain for social converse and literary pursuits. The females of the party—for all were to be married men—were to cook and perform all domestic offices ; and having even gone so far as to plan the architecture of their cottages, and the form of their settlement, they had pictured as pleasant a Utopia as ever entered an ardent mind.

"The persons who at first entered into the scheme were my father ; Robert Lovell, the son of a wealthy Quaker, who had married one of the Misses Fricker ; George Burnett, a fellow-collegian, from Somersetshire ; Robert Allen, then at Corpus Christi College ; and Edmund Seward, of a Herefordshire family, also a fellow-collegian, for whom my father entertained the sincerest affection and esteem."

Miss Fricker was the sister of the future Mrs. Southey, to whom, as we have seen, Robert was already engaged ; and Coleridge, soon after, became similarly allied to the eldest of these three spirited young ladies. They were not, as has sometimes been said, persons of inferior condition ; but quite equal to, and on terms of familiar intercourse with Southey's family, though certainly not equal to what he himself was by habits and education. *Pantisocracy* at first looked very promising.

"Everything smiles upon me," says Southey, writing to Mr. Bedford, "my mother is fully convinced of the propriety of our resolution ; she admires the plan ; she goes with us ; and never did so delightful a prospect of happiness open upon my view before ; to go with all I love ; to go with all my friends, except your family and Wynn ; to live with them in the most agreeable and most honourable employment ; to eat the fruits I have raised, and see every face happy around me ; my mother sheltered in her declining years from the anxieties which have pursued her ; my brothers educated to be useful and virtuous."

Equally sanguine are his letters to his brother, whom he would seduce from the navy to join their party : "We are busy in getting our plans and principles ready to distribute privately : the thoughts of the day, and the vision of the night all centre in America.

Time lags heavily along till March (he wrote September 20th, 1794), but we have done wonders since you left me. . . . You will have no objection to partake of a wedding dinner in February." But there was yet one great difficulty—the want of funds. "We are now twenty-seven adventurers. Mr. Scott talks of joining us, and if so five persons will accompany him. . . . I wish I could speak as satisfactorily upon money matters. Money is a huge evil, which we shall not long have to contend with." But money was necessary to escape from money. And now came the catastrophe: the engagement and Pantisocracy had both been concealed from his aunt, at whose house he still lived. She discovered them, and at once turned him out of doors. She turned him out of doors on a wet night: he was penniless; "it was late in the evening; the wind blew and the rain fell." He borrowed a great coat and walked in the rain to his mother's at Bath. His aunt would not see him more, or open a letter from him, and he for a time almost experienced actual want.

From this point Pantisocracy declines. Wales was thought of as a nearer place, whither they could go without money; but they could not have land to cultivate, or a house to live in without that same "money." He thought of various plans and engaged in literary schemes in order to enable him to marry, but none succeeded. His uncle kindly came over to England, and proposed a visit to Portugal, chiefly with the wish of recovering his nephew from his errors in religion (for at present he had taken up a sort of sceptical Socinianism,) but also, as Southey supposed, to win him from his injudicious engagement. The youth accepted the proposal, but defeated that part of the design by secretly marrying Edith Fricker at S. Mary Redcliff Church, a few hours before he left Bristol. Immediately after the ceremony they parted, and she wore her wedding-ring round her neck, and preserved her maiden name. Southey, it appeared, had another and more honourable reason for acting thus. He wished, in case of his death, to secure some pecuniary assistance for "his widow" from relations of his, "whose prejudices would then yield to affection."

The following lines will give a fair view of Southey's position, and of one aspect of his character at this time.

"My father's visit to Lisbon seems chiefly to have been useful to him by giving him an acquaintance with the Spanish and Portuguese languages, and by laying the foundation of that love for the literature of those countries, which continued through life, and which he afterwards turned to good account. These advantages, however, could not be perceived at the time; and, as he returned to England with the same determination not to take orders, the same political bias, and the same romantic feelings, as he left it, Mr. Hill felt naturally some disappointment at the result.

"His comments on his nephew's character at this time are interesting:—'He is a very good scholar,' he writes to a friend, 'of great reading, of an astonishing memory: when he speaks he does it with fluency, with a great choice of words. He is perfectly correct in his behaviour, of the most exemplary morals, and the best of hearts. Were his character different, or his abilities not so extraordinary, I should be the less concerned about him; but to see a young man of such talents as he possesses, by the misapplication of them, lost to himself and to his family, is what hurts me very sensibly. In short, he has every thing you would wish a young man to have, excepting common sense or prudence.'

"Of this latter quality my father possessed more than his uncle here gives him credit for. In all his early difficulties, (as well as through life) he never contracted a single debt he was unable promptly to discharge, or allowed himself a single personal comfort beyond his means, which, never abundant, had been, and were for many years, greatly straitened; and from them, narrow as they were, he had already begun to give that assistance to other members of his family which he continued to do until his latest years. It is probable, however, that Mr. Hill here chiefly alludes to his readiness to avow his peculiar views in politics and religion.

"Immediately on his return, my father and mother fixed themselves in lodgings in Bristol, where they remained during the ensuing summer and autumn."

From this time Southey seems to have gradually settled down into the character and condition which was to be his through life—that of a sober, active, and laborious literary man. He had published *Joan of Arc* and other poems, the views inculcated in which he afterwards deeply regretted; but time and thought, and the soothing influences and the heart-afflictions of domestic life, and in and through these circumstances, Divine grace influencing "an honest and good heart," weaned him from the errors into which he had run, and made him at least what he was through his later life—an attached member of the Church of England, and a devoted maintainer of social order. We have but slender means afforded in these volumes for judging of the growth of better principles within him, as neither are we pained by the exhibition of the erroneous sentiments which at one time he professed. We must, indeed, except one class of expressions, which appears in the first sentence of the book (written in 1820), and is again and again recurring as if it were a favourite topic—jesting references to the Evil One, and to Hell—not in the least intimating sceptical views respecting them, but yet showing a strange fondness for playing with dangerous topics; with this one exception we think the compiler of these volumes has acted with dutiful and reverent piety towards the memory of his father. He has stated plainly, though briefly, what his errors were, and then thrown a shade over them, neither dwelling on them himself, nor bringing them before his readers.

It is plain that there are frequent suppressions in the letters which are printed—partly perhaps from their personal bearings, but frequently also, we should suppose, in the letters of this period—from the sentiments which they express. We conceive Mr. Cuthbert Southey has done what his father would have wished done—he has made a confession once for all, honest and sincere, and then has withdrawn all those words which the writer would himself have wished that he had never written, and for the evil influence they might have on others, would desire to be blotted out for ever. In sending out therefore for general circulation the Remains of his father, Mr. Southey suppresses what would be injurious to the faith or painful to the right feelings of his readers. For a fair estimate of what Southey was it seems scarcely necessary ever to dwell on these aberrations, for he outgrew them, in a great degree, though in his real inner character the weakening effects of them must always have continued.

On the whole, we have been much gratified by the manner in which Mr. Southey has executed his task. He has, in this respect like the greatest of poets, allowed his hero to speak for himself. He has shown that very rare, but excellent quality, not to say too much: we are never annoyed by the obtrusion of editorial remarks, or the exhibition of knowledge. He modestly tells us just what is necessary, and we have met with very few places where an ordinary reader would feel a want of information. Perhaps it will be an advantage if a chronological table of the events of his life, and the times of the publication of his works be appended. Fuller information with respect to the literary history, the public events, and the different people who are mentioned, would be out of place in such a work. It may hereafter be the work of another and a less interested author to write a life of Southey in his connection with the literary history of his times, or to form a just estimate of his intellectual and moral characteristics. His son presents us to him as he was, so that we seem to live with him—we see him in his daily occupations—we hear his cheerful and informing conversation—his friends, his wife, his brother, appear to be as old and familiar acquaintances: and we are so carried along with the charming flow of his writing, that we should no more think of stopping and wishing for notes and illustrations, than we should rudely have broken in upon his conversation by a blunt question, or demand for explanation.

To be continued.

BURIAL OF THE DEAD, AND THE BURIAL SERVICE.

THE whole subject of interments has lately been brought before us by that most ghastly monitor, the pestilence that walketh in darkness: and the public mind has been roused to consider the various abuses, moral as well as physical, which derange the existing system. Truly they are crying evils which the Destroyer has exposed. That the graveyards are choked with half-decomposed bodies—that the earth around the church is, even in country parishes, many feet above the level of the floor inside—that every fresh applicant for a narrow home can be admitted only by the ejection of some corpse already in possession—that Christian burial has become a name, since the body is covered not by earth, but by something only one degree farther removed from the living than itself—that thus the very air we breath bears the stench of corruption, and the quick inhale the dead,—these are facts so eloquent of disease, so startling in their grim nakedness, that when the cholera comes and makes them his text, and for months harangues us on them, the most callous of us all cannot choose but hear. The year that has gone by has drawn fearful pictures of the famine, and vice, and woe, that walk our streets; and the eyes of the rich and great have gazed, for the first time perhaps, on the filth and destitution of the poor; but there have been no more loathsome disclosures than the sexton has made of the constant desecration of the graveyard. Barely covered by the mockery of a sod, the coffin is placed in its shallow bed, a foot or two of earth is all that confines the deadly gases ever evolving from the mass of putrefaction beneath, and a fair stone tablet tells of the virtues and benevolence of the deceased, while from his tomb the benefactor of mankind rises to destroy the life he once adorned. The unconscious passer by little dreams of the poison he is drinking in, or surely he would hurry on the faster; the tenants of the neighbouring houses see their children sicken, droop, and die, but they cannot tell the reason, or surely they would quit. In some old coffins, deep laid beneath a weight of earth, and by accident disturbed, bodies have been found turned over, and their disorder has suggested horrible surmisings of wretches buried alive, who, waking from their trance, have found themselves they knew not where, and in their agony, writhing to break loose from their prison-house, have thus distorted their limbs with the fury of their unavailing struggles. But science has referred their change of posture to the violence of pent up vapours generated in the action of decomposition. There will be no such discoveries in the coffins of 1849. Those vapours owe their force to confinement,—but now every grave is provided with its own safety valve. Through many a chink and cranny in the

loose mould the gases issue forth, and sow the seeds of death : hovering it may be round their birthplace, and densest there ; but free to load the air with pestilence, polluting the pure atmosphere which affluence breathes, as well as the close and crowded hovels of the poor.

There is no disguising or disputing this disgusting state of the majority of our urban graveyards : and every public journal, from the *Times* downwards, has enlarged on the necessity of reforming it. The world, however, go no farther than the natural feelings of humanity may lead them. Extramural cemeteries is the limit of their aspirations ; and the nature and construction of the new burial grounds is of course a question left to be decided afterwards : only fresh places of interment we must have, and those beyond the walls. Now we think that this is not a question to be discussed by the sanitary Commission alone. True the change may be due to the demands of the public health, but Christian burial is a religious rite, and it is the province of the Church to see that the interests of religion are secured in every general revolution. If the large towns of Great Britain are to be supplied with fresh burying grounds, it becomes a matter of the highest consequence that they be such as shall promote those ends. The connection of church and churchyard forms a very important part of the parochial system, and in these days one of the chief sources of ecclesiastical influence. We have but to recall the affection with which mankind regard the resting place of their departed friends, to see the necessity of taking measures to secure the operation of that feeling in her favour. On the other hand conceive the future burial grounds based on a purely secular foundation, and it will not be difficult to predict their effect on the people's affections. The same hereditary love which binds the present parishioners to the old churchyard, the generations to come should gradually imbibe for the new cemetery. Under any circumstances this must be a work of time. It is impossible that at first an enclosure at some distance will be regarded with the veneration which honours the graves clustering round the old church. The pride of ancestry is as strong a passion in the humble as in the great,—the graves of their fathers are the family portraits of the poor. There side by side generation after generation sleep together, and the illegible inscription on one sunken stone is said to bear the same name with the white monument that was erected yesterday. It will not be without a sigh that the tottering old man who comes of the same family hears that the churchyard is to be closed, and that he must be the first to lie away from his kinsfolk. But it will be some consolation to him to think that his children and grandchildren after him shall repose beside himself in the new ground. Therefore some steps should be taken by the Church to prevent townships, consisting of several parishes, from providing a general burial ground for the whole population without

reference to ecclesiastical divisions. Kensal Green is the very last model that should be chosen. And yet most of the existing cemeteries attached to large towns have no parochial constitution. Some, as two of those in Liverpool, are not even consecrated, though they are used by many church people. The proportion of funerals of churchmen to those of dissenters at the Necropolis is about one in ten, but at S. Mary's the majority of funerals are stated to be those of churchmen.* There is another cemetery at Liverpool, in S. James' parish, which is open to all comers. This is consecrated. Kensal Green is partly unconsecrated, and a Dissenting Minister is *provided by the company* to attend funerals. What can be more wholly at variance with the Church system than this, and yet Kensal Green is established by Act of Parliament. The first point to secure is, that each parish have an exclusive right to the use of some one burial ground. A number of such grounds may be contiguous, but they must be distinct. By this means the parishioners will be taught to regard the new cemetery as an enlargement of their former churchyard, not as a substitution for it. And if the existing cemeteries are not so constituted it is from no legal restriction: on the contrary, the enactments in force are all framed with an especial regard to the parochial system. The church building commissioners have the power of declaring any land conveyed to a parish for a burial ground to be part of the parish for the use of which such land shall have been obtained, although territorially situate in another parish; and by another statute the freehold of lands added to any existing churchyard and burial ground is, upon the act of consecration, vested in the person or persons in whom the freehold of the ancient burial ground is vested. The Bishop, on consecrating a large enclosure, has the power of ordering bound-stones to be laid down for marking the boundaries of the several parish plots. So that whenever a clergyman is anxious to provide for his parish a cemetery that shall be under his own control, and subject to the same laws and regulations as the old one, he has for once the law to assist him. At Oxford there are three such cemeteries for different quarters of the city. These are all subdivided into sections, one of which is assigned to each parish, and the burial is performed by the parish priest. The system is found to work so well, that it has been recommended for general adoption by the commission appointed to consider the subdivision of parishes under Lord Ashley's bill.

To carry out the principle entirely would be impossible in these cold irreverent times. Yet the simple removal of a burial ground to a farther distance ought not to affect the duty of a parish church. It is obvious that the more Catholic mode of performing burials would be to bring the body first to the church, and thence pass in

* "Christian Burial and Unconsecrated Cemeteries." A Sermon by the Rev. J. Martin. (Masters.)

procession to the grave. But the days of processions are gone,—they are Popish, fanatical, intolerable. The priest who preceded a corpse in his surplice through the streets of the city would be hooted by the crowd. No! we must have recourse to an expedient for which necessity must supply the grounds which cannot be found in authority. Each cemetery must be provided with a chapel. The Bishop is able by law to declare a chapel set apart for the performance of burials, and when several cemeteries adjoin, the commissioners have the power of deciding that one chapel shall be sufficient for all the parishes having interest in those contiguous plots. Nevertheless when only two or three parishes are united, it would be desirable that each parish should have its own chapel. But although processions are in general so obnoxious, yet there are many country places in which they might be allowed: and perhaps the priest may carry his point by representing that by using the parish church, the expense of building a chapel will be avoided. But in any case no chaplain is required. The parochial clergy must bury their own dead. No stronger tie now unites Clergy and Laity than the office for the departed. To sever the performance of the last rites from the duties of the parish priest were infallibly to loosen his hold upon the affections of his flock. A chapel, however, is forced upon us by popular prejudice. And this being so, it will be requisite to adapt it especially to the service for which it is intended. Some very admirable remarks are made on this subject in an article in the *Ecclesiologist*, (Vol. I. N. S. p. 8,) to which we refer our readers. It must have a consecration distinct from that of the cemetery. By law if a chapel is declared by the Bishop appropriated to the performance of burials, the consecration of the enclosure is held to be sufficient. But the Catholic Churchman looks forward to the celebration of the Holy Communion when the remains of the faithful are committed to the ground, and to him therefore the particular consecration of the building will be an essential. Three burial chapels have been built at Oxford, of which two at least are duly fitted up with the *Instrumenta* of Christian burial, bier, pall, &c., where the office is performed with all the solemnities of which our ritual is capable.

So integral a part of parish duty is the burial of the dead, that we are surprised some steps have not been taken towards securing for district churches in London, and other large towns, cemeteries without the walls. If, as is probable, it become necessary to interdict all intramural interments, there is no reason whatever why every district, as well as every mother parish, should not have an appropriated cemetery. The clergy of all new parishes know how long their people cling to the mother church where their friends and relations lie, and how few and seldom comparatively are the burials which fall to them. But they can always trace a corresponding increase between the number of funerals and the growth

of their influence. People are sure to become more attached to a church as their friends are one by one buried around its walls. Therefore if the district parishes of London were to obtain distinct rights of burial, we think that a very few years would show a great increase in the spread of Church influence; and perhaps the want of such rights may be one cause why, with all the energy of the earnest clergy, the Church has not progressed more.

And intimately connected with a parochial appropriation of the ground, as an instrument of popular influence, is the reverent performance of the service. If the one is important in attaching the people generally to the Church, the other presents opportunities of working on the feelings of individuals. We shall therefore take occasion in the following pages to examine the most devout and seemly manner of conducting burials. The importance of the subject cannot be rated too highly. The way to win people is to enlist their feelings,—it is vain to try and convince them by argument. Few men will quietly cede their own opinions in submission to the plainest reasoning: but when the affections are once gained, the understanding follows naturally. Humanly speaking, this has been the mainspring of the Church's machinery, the secret of her miraculous success. She has never blindly, harshly, opposed the spirit of the age, but gently and persuasively bent it into a right channel; and till she reigned triumphant in the hearts of men, her designs were accomplished surely and completely, not by uncompromising strictness, but by a holy prudence and judgment. Now in very many instances this has not been the character of the present movement. The bias of men's minds is as thoroughly un-Catholic now that it is Protestant, as formerly it was when it was Pagan; and yet Churchmen have attempted to force upon them deep and solemn services and doctrines, to which their prejudices were opposed, instead of influencing those human feelings, which at certain times make all men open to conviction. It was very needful indeed to adorn our churches, it was most meet to deck our Altars, it was right to restore the services of the sanctuary to their original integrity; but what interest do spiritualists take in the beauty of holiness, what sympathy have non-communicants with the glory of the Holy Eucharist, or what care those who never kneel to pray that the rubric is minutely obeyed? It is obvious that precision in these points, though it may attract waverers, will never convince the gainsayers. But the case is otherwise with the burial of the dead. There the hearts of all are open to good impressions. They come as mourners, softened by their late bereavement, and those who would have cavilled at the introduction of some holy ceremony into a service in which they took no interest, will here be soothed with the solemnity of each observance. At the hour of committing a dear friend to the ground, there will be little thought of objection to outward forms. Surely then, when people might be won over

and perhaps attached for ever, it is throwing away a golden opportunity of advancing Catholic Truth, to perform a service coldly and negligently in which their whole souls are prepared to engage. When men are resolved not to be interested, it is fruitless to excite their anger by "forms and ceremonies," but when they are in trouble, then is the time to secure them. A kind look, a gentle tone of voice, a sympathising manner, will be balm to wounded spirits, that unwounded would have turned a deaf ear to any persuasion: how much more than all the solemn rites with which Catholic reverence and faith can honour the memory of the faithful departed. Yet it cannot be denied that of all the services of the Church the order of performing burials does least receive the attention of the parish priest. Pains, more or less, are taken with the minutiae of every other office, and all that can impress the mind or stimulate devotion is studiously brought into action; but throughout the office for the departed the same coldness and informality reign which distinguished the services of last century; and that—notwithstanding the inspired fervour of the language, the unusual devotion of the congregation, the solemnity of the whole scene. A very little reflection will show with what negligence funerals are usually performed. The only part which the priest discharges is the bare act of hurrying through the service. The entire management is confided to the undertaker. That functionary attends with his gloves and mourning face at the house of the deceased. If the people are poor, and cannot pay for sympathy, he does not change his countenance. He marshals the procession to the church, he provides the pall, for there is none belonging to the parish, and of course one of plain black cloth, without the most distant reference to the faith of the deceased. His are the tressells even, sometimes, and ropes,—in his pay the bearers,—he casts the earth on the coffin, if indeed that form be not omitted altogether,—he from beginning to end conducts the funeral, and the priest has no more to do with it than just the reading the prayers. And besides, the manner in which all this is done is most irreverent. The coffin is borne, not on a bier, but on men's shoulders; and the process of depositing it on the tressels and taking it up again is positively indecent. It is not done without noise, and bustle, and talking; while the undertaker is officiously engaged in arranging the pall so as to hang over the coffin without blindfolding the bearers. Instead of a short peal, as ordered by the canon, a single bell is tolled at long intervals; and the passing-bell is in effect discontinued. The people are never present, or invited to be present, though the burial of the dead is a public service, and intended to be publicly performed. Thus the Church is made to teach that a Churchman departed is no longer in communion with the living. Instead of the solemnity with which our fathers viewed the rites of burial, now a troop of idle children are allowed to crowd round the open

grave, and talk and laugh with their hats on with the most perfect unconcern. The choir who attend regularly at matins and evensong, are never expected to swell the solemn chant around the pallied coffin,—the deep tones of the organ are heard in interlude and voluntary, and accompany canticle and anthem, but never respond to the feelings of the mourner,—a solitary priest reads through the service, though the rubric speaks of “priest and clerks.” The Holy Communion is never offered, or if it be, it is an event to be chronicled in the Parish Choir. The funeral sermon is never preached at the time, but on the following Sunday, when all the edge of feeling has passed off. Then the hatband of the clergyman is hung up on the pulpit, to point the pathos of the preacher’s panegyric, while the crape-clad relations in the pew beneath exhibit their affliction to all the congregation. If a parish can be found where these things are not so, it is quite the exception to the general rule. And hence in a great measure the odium which has been cast upon the burial service of the Church. For independently of the plain fact that our interments are irreverent, many dissenters take their personal impressions of the Church’s ministrations from this the only office in which they ever engage, and argue, it must be confessed very naturally, of the “coldness of the Establishment.”

It is not difficult to assign a cause for this apparent apathy on the part of the clergy. Few have come to take a serious view of Church ordinances without feeling the incongruity of performing the last solemn rites over schismatics and profligates. A clergyman cannot be placed in a more painful position than when he is called upon to pronounce words of hope and consolation over persons for whom he can feel none: but when he would refuse to dishonour his God, and belie his conscience, he finds that heavy civil penalties attach to such a course. It is not strange, therefore, that he should learn to view the rites of burial as so administered by the state that it would be fruitless to attempt to exalt them by any ritual precision;—and the consequence is that they have fallen into neglect.

The Church professes to bury all her members, i. e., all who are within her pale at the moment of death, and acts on the assumption that every one who dies in her Communion dies in peace. We are directed to thank God at each interment that He “hath delivered this our brother out of the miseries of this sinful world.” It appears therefore that there are only two classes of persons who can be legally refused interment,—those who have never been admitted into the body of the Church, and those who have been expelled. The first are the unbaptized, the second are the excommunicate. Of excommunication there are two sorts,—the major and the minor. The minor is that by which a man is deprived of all fellowship in Christian Sacraments and public prayers. The major is that sentence which is pronounced in foro ecclesiæ, and which cuts the

offender off from all enjoyment, not only of the Sacraments, but of the society of Christian men, and the honour of Christian burial. The major may sometimes take the form of *ipso facto* excommunication. *Excommunicatio ipso facto* is that which follows immediately upon a verdict given against the accused without any actual sentence of excommunication. Thus a verdict of *felo de se* is tantamount to excommunication, though no sentence be actually passed. Till that verdict is passed, although it be known that the deceased has laid violent hands upon himself, he cannot be deemed excommunicate *ipso facto*, nor can burial be refused. Now the point contended for in regard to the burial of schismatics and profligates is, that the fact of their having committed the offence alleged subjects them to an *ipso facto* excommunication. But this appears by canon law to be an erroneous conclusion. For although living in open heresy, schism, or vice might be sufficient, if proved, to constitute *ipso facto* excommunication, yet that proof is necessary in a court of law. It was decided in the Court of Arches that there could be no excommunication without a declaratory sentence, and no less an authority than Lyndwood was quoted in support of the judgment. The declaratory sentence appears to be either a sentence of excommunication, or the verdict of a jury that the accused was guilty of the crime brought to his charge. There are some crimes which *ipsis factis* subject a person to excommunication, but it must be established by evidence that they were committed. There are other crimes for which it is left to the discretion of the competent tribunal to award excommunication, but in such cases the sentence of the Church must be deliberately passed. Both come under the head of major excommunication, and in both a declaratory sentence is passed; but in the one case it is simply a verdict of guilty, in itself conveying excommunication: in the other it is the express denunciation of the Church.

So then burial cannot be refused to dissenters unless they have been pronounced dissenters in law; and even then it is doubtful whether a dissenter is, in the judicial eye *ipso facto* excommunicate. Persons not receiving the Holy Sacrament at least at Easter, were excluded from Christian burial by the 4th Lateran Council, which was afterwards made a law of the English Church;* but the act of 53 George III. c. 127, provides certain limitations affecting the law of excommunication, by which it is probable that a dissenter proved a dissenter could yet claim interment.† However that may be, the priest has no authority to refuse to bury a parishioner because he is a schismatic till the Church in open court has denounced him: and the reason why it is so difficult for the priest to obtain that judgment lies in the heavy civil penalties which attach to an excommunicate person. Such an one can claim no benefit from the law, his oath cannot be received, his property is no longer his than he can

* Burn, Ed. Phil. vol. II. p. 261.

† Ib. vol. II. p. 244.

keep it, he is utterly cut off from all protection from the state, and all intercourse with his fellow men. To balance these heavy penalties great obstacles are thrown in the way of the exercise of the power of excommunication. The Bishop of Lincoln, in his charge of 1846, enumerates very clearly the various abuses which rendered restrictions necessary: and while he points out the many benefits to be gained by the withdrawal of those restrictions, he shows that some guarantee must be given in their stead against the abuses. If civil penalties were no longer made to follow upon ecclesiastical censures, men's property and worldly interests could not suffer, and a freer exercise of her privileges might be granted to the Church. But while the law exists as it is on the one side, it must remain unaltered on the other. Therefore till some measure has been passed altering in some degree the laws of excommunication, which is much to be desired, the clergy must look to their own resources. Everything seems to tend towards a separation of the civil and spiritual powers, and probably this may be one of the first steps in such a change. In the meanwhile let us be patient, and prepare our people for better times: and let every clergyman consider whether he cannot, by the administration of the office itself, exercise somewhat of the discipline he demands. If, as we hope to show, the service is susceptible of very considerable beauty and effect, it follows that to omit everything that is beautiful and expressive in certain cases, while all that the Church has to bestow is fully lavished in others, would place an immense distinction between the schismatic and the consistent Christian. The priest, it is true, may be compelled to bury all, but it could not fail to have a moral effect on the people if the compulsory interment of open sinners, whether against morals or the Church, were stigmatized by the deliberate coldness of the service. We shall see as we go along what parts of the office will afford opportunity for this discrimination. The chief difference would of course consist in bringing the corpse into the Church or not. The priest is at liberty to do either, but he cannot leave out any of the service to be pronounced at the grave. The Bishop of Exeter suspended a clergyman for omitting the words "in sure and certain hope of the resurrection to eternal life." But there are many marks of respect which may be refused, such as the use of the bier, the use of the pall, the tolling of the bell, the attendance of the choir and of the other clergy, all of which could be reserved for the honour only of the faithful. And if the Holy Communion were celebrated at the funerals of communicants, or of those communicants who were particularly known for their godly life and conversation, the gulf between the two extremes would be wide indeed. It is probable that as soon as the system was fully established, and known to be rigorously enforced, the friends of those who had made themselves amenable to the censures of the Church would

shrink from exposing the memory of the deceased to the tacit censure conveyed in the very service. This has been found to be the case in the parish of the "Vicar of Leigh," who acted on that principle.*

The Priest can also expostulate with the friends of the deceased on the unreasonableness of requiring honours which could never have been intended for such persons. Many of course, especially dissenters, will insist on the letter of the law out of pure perverseness and spite against the Church. Many will refuse to see any sin in a life of schism, and will peremptorily claim the use of the parish ground and the Church service. But profligacy cannot be so defended, and many afflicted parents and relatives will acknowledge bitterly the justice of the clergyman's scruples, and respect them. This has frequently been found to be the case. An instance occurred within our own knowledge, in which the parish priest refused to say the service over a man who had died in a fit of drunkenness. The friends besought him to relent—then they asked him to provide a substitute: but he refused, promising, however, that any clergyman who was willing should receive no hindrance from him. After a time they desisted, and he promised to meet the corpse at the churchyard. At the hour appointed the funeral arrived, when he said a few words upon the case to the assembled people, and the body was silently buried without any service. The effect upon the parish was most salutary. And indeed the clergyman will always have the right-minded among his parishioners on his side, whatever other differences there may be of opinion; for all honest men will respect a clergyman's objection to violate his conscience on compulsion. The Bishop of Oxford has more than once confirmed the refusal of a priest to say the service over a notoriously immoral person. If, however, the service is imperatively demanded, the clergyman has only two alternatives—either he must comply, or subject himself to legal proceedings. We believe that the law has never been formally decided as to the priest's absolute liability to bury all who are not excommunicate majori excommunicatione, but probably the very case will shortly come before the Arches' Court. The judgment will be of the utmost importance; and it may turn out that the clergy have all along been assuming to themselves a compulsion which has no legal existence. However the canon law will be the ground of debate, and we fear that the dictum of the canonists is too express to leave any room for doubt. Wheatley's argument is worth reading. He overthrows the position of Johnson advanced in the "Clergyman's Vade Mecum," that any parish priest is at liberty to consider a dissenter *ipso facto* excommunicate, and on such grounds to refuse him burial.

* Letter to the Bishop of Manchester, p. 13.

The canon allows the priest to bury an excommunicate person when testimony to his repentance is forthcoming. The clergyman therefore ought to entertain no scruple about dissenters and notorious sinners, if he has reason to be satisfied that the deceased really was penitent before his death. The evidence necessary would probably be the same as he would require before giving absolution. So far, that is, as he could rely on the witness of others. Such evidence is more likely to be adduced in the case of immoral persons who, under the fear of death, would very probably express their contrition in most unaffected terms, while in the case of dissenters it would be more valuable and more worthy of credence. A dissenter, voluntarily expressing his sorrow at having left the Church, certainly would be entitled to far more consideration than a vicious man lamenting over his shattered constitution and early death. But the priest should fully give the congregation to understand that he voluntarily and not on compulsion administered the rites of burial, because the deceased being notoriously an offender some explanation would be necessary. If excommunication had been formally pronounced, probably absolution ought to be given after death, if opportunity had been wanting before death, and evidence elicited as to the repentance of the departed soul; instances of which have occurred since the Reformation, and it was not a very uncommon case in the ancient Church. It may not be uninteresting to give a short account of the practice of absolving after death. We have already spoken of the different degrees of excommunication. Some offenders are punished by being cut off from participation in the Holy Communion—others are forbidden all intercourse with the Church, and by the sentence of excommunication are deprived of all interest in her prayers and intercessions. These when they came to die would be deprived of Christian burial. Then, in certain cases, absolution was pronounced—not to take away their sins—not with the same object or belief with which the sacrament of penance was administered to the living—but in order to place the deceased in the same relation to the Catholic Church as other Christian souls. By absolution burial was granted, and the benefit of prayer and of the Holy Eucharist restored to the dead person. His name was entitled to be inserted in the public services, and he was in all points regarded as if he had been absolved before death.* There was also another end gained by absolution, which perhaps would not be considered of much consequence in these days. It was thought that the bodies of excommunicate persons would not resolve into the dust of which they were formed. This miraculous preservation of humanity was not always considered a matter of Divine wrath. "Dust thou art, and unto dust shalt thou return" was the sen-

* Goar. Euchol. p. 683, note.

tence pronounced for sin. That that sentence should not take effect might therefore in some cases be due to the pardon and favour of God. In this view the relics of martyrs were regarded. But it might also argue the displeasure of the Almighty, Who would not suffer the wicked even when dead to have any part in the general laws of nature. A change, however, was supposed to take place, though decomposition were suspended. The remains of the saints, if discovered entire in the ground, would emit an exquisite odour and a heavenly light; whereas the bodies of the wicked and excommunicate would be as abominable to the smell as they were disgusting to the sight. Absolution after death was given with a view to take off any interdict upon the progress of corruption, and traditions exist of cases in which bodies have been found entire, though buried for a long period, during which they had resisted all dissolution till absolved by the bishop, when they immediately turned to dust. Excommunication was sometimes pronounced with a special reference to this effect upon the body after death.* Instances are recorded in the Latin as well as the Greek Church, in which the supernatural preservation has taken place. Peter Luna, pseudo-pope, once called Benedict XIII., was one, whose body was recorded to be unconsumed in the days of his biographer.† When such a belief obtained universal acceptance, it was not surprising that the Church should be called upon to act in behalf of the wretched man whose body thus refused to mingle with its mother earth. We wish that all post mortem absolutions could be as satisfactorily explained. For when a form of absolution is found in the regular order for performing the office of the dead, so that it must be pronounced over all, good and bad, faithful or excommunicate, this we say is overstepping the bounds of the authority committed to the Church. For "*absolutio defuncti post sepulturam in clauastro non debet fieri per modum absolutionis sacramentalis sed per modum orationis.*"‡ We have heard that there is a form used by the Greek Church in Russia which cannot be so interpreted. But we see the principle upon which absolution may be granted after death, with a view mainly to restore to the departed soul the suffrages of the faithful, as well as to admit the body to all the respect of Christian burial. And with this view absolution would still be pronounced after death, if a sentence of excommunication had formally passed.

The question of lay-baptism must be very cursorily discussed. The Arches' Court has decided for its validity notwithstanding its irregularity, and as Mr. Maskell has most completely proved, with the universal consent of the Canonists.§ There is no doubt that it always has been the law of the Church in England, and is recog-

* Goar. Euchol. p. 688.

‡ Martene, III. p. 579.

† Ib. p. 689.

§ Holy Baptism, ch. viii.

nized by our present office. Much has been written lately against this doctrine—a whole book* was put forth against Sir John Nicholl's decision, but nothing more seems to have been proved than that lay-baptism is irregular—that it is invalid has never been established—and on these grounds the English Priest is always required to bury children who have been baptized by laymen or women. Wheatley's notion that the Church is only bound to be cognizant of the baptisms to be found in the registers is ingenious, but hardly defensible: for it ignores altogether the possibility that lay-baptism may be valid; and if it be valid, how can the mere accidental omission of the fact in a register qualify the clergyman to refuse burial to a Christian. But we think that whatever our private sentiments may be, it argues no great submissiveness for individual Priests to stand out obstinately against the burial of the subjects of lay-baptism when a decision so authoritative has been pronounced.

The burial of suicides must of course depend on the coroner's jury. When a verdict of insanity has been found, the clergyman has no grounds, legal or moral, for refusing the service. Whatever misgivings he may find in his own mind, he may very well believe that twelve men empanelled, on oath, to hear the circumstances of the case, know more about the truth than himself. In no case however can the Clergyman deny the use of the ground. The most he can do is to refuse to read the service. The ancient law with regard to wilful suicides was, that they were to be interred where four ways made a cross, with a stake driven through the body. But by the act of 4 Geo. IV. c. 52, it was enacted that thenceforward the remains of a person *felo de se*, were to be buried in consecrated ground, without the service, and without a stake driven through the body, between the hours of nine and twelve o'clock at night, within twenty-four hours after the inquisition of the coroner's jury.†

We now pass on to consider the most reverent and befitting manner of performing the service itself. Upon the whole, the English office very much resembles those in use in other Churches. It is difficult to define the exact order observed in primitive times. History only records the scrupulous piety of the first Christians in their care for the dead. But we may safely conclude that in all important particulars the extant offices of the East and West present the original practice of the Church as they manifestly point from their extreme similarity to one common origin. They all exhibit the same general features—anthems and psalms—lessons—prayers for the deceased and all Christian souls, thanksgivings for the hope of a joyful resurrection, with processions from the house of death to

* Dissenters' Baptisms and Church Burials, by the Rev. Walter Blunt.

† Burn, Ed. Phil. i. 266. The Priest can of course expostulate, but we do not think that the case of suicides is one on which to make a stand in these days.

the Church, and thence to the grave. Upon this type our own service is framed, and the anthems and prayers are themselves generally of remote antiquity, and common to the burial offices of other communions. The anthems, "Ego sum Resurrectio et vita," and "Credo quia Redemptor meus vivit," have been read for centuries in the English Church,* the former occurs in the office of Constantinople, as also the psalm "Domine, refugium," when the corpse is brought within the Church. In the funeral of a Greek Priest part of 1 Cor. xv. is read as a lesson,† and in England was anciently read in the "missa pro defunctis."‡ The anthems which are sung during the procession from the church to the grave were all used in this country long before the Reformation, and agree in form with the invariable custom of east and west. With regard to prayers for the repose of the departed, some may regret that they are not more distinct and explicit, yet our office contains quite enough to acquit the Church of England of departure from Catholic practice in that respect also—quite enough to excite the animadversions and cavils of puritans; so that in all essential points, the English order may be said to harmonize with ancient practice. Yet there was an individuality and a variety about the ancient service books which is wanting in our own. We are provided with only one form, and this is to be read indiscriminately for all sorts and conditions of men. Whatever the position of the deceased, the same anthems and psalms are sung, the same prayers offered up, the same long lesson read. There is no means of distinguishing between the Bishop and the deacon, the Lord's anointed and the subject, the grey-haired old man and the chrysom infant. It is otherwise in other branches of the Church. In the Greek Church there is an office for laymen, another for monks, another for priests, with variations for bishops, another for women and children. And so in the west. In one order§ that Martene gives, we find missæ "pro defuncto nuper baptizato—pro defunctis desiderantibus pœnitentibus et minime consequentibus,—pro defuncto episcopo—pro defuncto sacerdote—pro defunctis fratribus," &c. If we contrast this rich store of services with our own meagre allowance, we cannot but marvel how our compilers came to cut away so much, at the same time that they exhibit so far as they went so true an appreciation of the Catholic form.

The English office commences at the entrance of the churchyard. Here the priest and clerks are to meet the corpse. Wheatley on this rubric remarks, that "the attendance of the minister at the house of the deceased, and his accompanying the funeral all the way from thence is a mere voluntary respect which he is at liberty to pay or refuse as he pleases." This is very possible, and we

* Palmer's Orig. Lit. II. 236.

† Palmer's Orig. Lit. II. 237.

‡ Goar. Euchol. p. 564.

§ Martene, III. p. 599.

wish it were usual for the clergy to exercise that licence, for then they would have it in their power to offer an additional mark of respect to the faithful. But the gist of the direction is, that the burial service is to begin at the churchyard. Now herein our service differs from all others that we have seen. The care of the Ancient Church for the dead commenced immediately after death. The 18th Canon does indeed require that convenient notice be given to the minister—but this is merely a precautionary measure taken to ensure interment. Very different indeed was that notice which ere life was yet extinct, in bygone days summoned the priest to the bed of death. Then while the soul seemed struggling in her last mortal agony, in low and solemn tone the seven penitential psalms were said in the ears of the dying man, and the priest and attendants offered up some brief fervent litany for his peaceful dissolution. The sick man then confessed his sins if confession had not sooner been made, and the messenger of God pronounced the words of peace; so then, the Blessed Sacrament received and holy unction administered, the soul was in some measure ready in the strength of that viaticum to pass away. Meanwhile the deep tones of the church bell fell upon the ear calling on all to breathe a prayer for the passing soul, and within the chamber of death the low chant ceased not, nor the care of holy Church gave over till the rattle was heard no longer in the parched throat and the spirit had returned to God who gave it. Then commenced the actual rites of burial—solemnly the lids were drawn down over the glazed eye-balls—and the mouth of the dead man was closed. Torches were lighted in the chamber of death, and the priest putting on the black stole, called on all present to pray for the newly emancipated spirit. It is instructive that very many ancient services for the dead commence before death, and it is most important that the priest should contrive if it be possible to be present at the moment of dissolution, or rather an hour or two before. For first, it often happens that after weeks of lethargy and unconsciousness, a bright interval of reason occurs just before death—and when the priest has been long trying in vain for some means of rousing the sinner, it will be of the utmost importance that he should seize the brief opportunity afforded him by this expiring effort of nature to awaken penitence and faith, and administer the Sacraments. Such vigilance on the part of the priest may be of untold value to an immortal soul. Then too, after death, he will be present to console the bereaved relations, as well as to summon all the household to unite in solemn intercession for the departed. At the moment of dissolution the benediction "*Suscipiat te Christus, qui creavit te, et in sinum Abrahamæ angeli deducant te*"—or "*Chorus angelorum te suscipiat et in sinu Abrahamæ te collocet, ut cum Lazaro quondam paupere eternam habeas requiem*," was commonly said, with the Psalm *In exitu Israel de Egypto*. Then the Lord's Prayer, and suffrages,

after which the office proceeded with the ablution of the body. The symbolism given by the Jews to this pious act, is thus expressed by Buxtorfe. *Aquâ calidâ studiose abluitor mortuus ut purus et mundus sit cum peccatorum ratio reddenda erit.** And the same religious meaning was anciently attached to it by the Church, as may be gathered from the words of S. Epiphanius who thus apostrophises S. Joseph of Arimathea. *Anne aquâ Dei illius corpus abluis, Qui omnes a peccatis abluit et expiavit, omnibusque puritatem tribuit?†* From the very first the washing of the body seems to have been considered a religious rite. Thus Tabitha when she died was "washed and laid in an upper chamber," which was exactly the course pursued in after years when the lofty church took the place of the humble upper room. It was always performed with the utmost reverence. In the Greek Church the body of a priest was only anointed, and it was thought sacrilegious to uncover a priest.‡ The same restriction did not exist in the Latin Church, but both in the East and West such offices were performed by individuals of the same order with the deceased. It would be well if in these days those whose office it is to lay out the dead could be taught somewhat of the reverence due to the persons of Christians; for otherwise, the constant habit of dealing with the dead cannot but blunt the feelings and render irreligious persons yet more callous and insensible to holy things.

During the ablution Psalms were chanted and incense burned, and afterwards holy water was sprinkled on the corpse and on the bed. The sign of the Cross was made in blessed oil in various parts of the body, especially on the seats of the five senses, *ut maculæ quæ per quinque sensus mentis et corporis fragilitate carnis aliquo modo inhæserunt hâc medicinâ spirituali et Domini misericordiâ pellantur.§* With the practice of anointing may be mentioned another which prevailed extensively in the east, viz., that of embalming the bodies of the dead. This was essentially a Christian custom; for it was the practice of the nations among whom the Church was planted to burn the bodies of their dead, so that it would have been useless to have taken measures for their preservation. But Christians always abhorred the funeral pyre, and regarded their bodies with too much reverence, as temples of the HOLY GHOST and heirs of a glorious resurrection, to consume them after death. It is a feature of the age we live in, not a little expressive, that a society has been formed in a Mechanics Institute (certainly the place where one would have expected it), in London, every member of which agrees to leave it in his will that his body is to be burnt after death; and the avowed object of the club is to restore the ancient practice of burning the dead. Will such an institution be tolerated in a Christian country?

* Martene, Lib. III. p. 553.

† Goar. Euchol. p. 561.

‡ Ibid.

§ Martene, III. 583.

The corpse thus washed and anointed, was next vested in its funeral garments. These were as rich and costly as the estate of the deceased would permit; though in the times of S. Jerome, the practice seems to have degenerated into extravagance, and the satirical monk inveighs against it with his usual caustic severity. They were white and new,—white in token of the fine linen, clean and white, which is the righteousness of the saints; and new “to represent beforehand,” saith S. Chrysostom, “the putting on the new garments of the resurrection.”* These the very poorest were always careful to obtain for their departed friends, and hence it became a favourite act of charity with the saints of old to provide the indigent faithful with burial robes. It is doubtful if such acts ever occur to Christians in these days, and yet the poor appreciate nothing so highly as respect to their dead. Visiting during sickness, nourishment, and medicines, are received from the clergyman almost as matters of course, but they are not accustomed to look for attention after death. For this reason also the clergyman should never refuse to see the corpse after it is laid out: if he calls at the house before the funeral, he is sure to be invited into the room of death. The poor take a melancholy pleasure in uncovering the pallid features, and think it unfeeling if they are refused. Let the priest enter, not as others do out of curiosity, but religiously, and then kneel down and say a few prayers in a solemn voice for the repose of the departed soul and the reunion of friends and kindred in another world, and he will find that while comforting the mourner he is teaching by acts, far more forcibly than by words, the doctrine of the Communion of Saints. In addition to these white and new garments, the clergy and laity were vested in the emblems and robes of their respective ranks and offices: bishops in their episcopal vestments, with the pastoral staff and ring; priests with the chalice and the chasuble, or with the cope only; deacons in the dalmatic; kings and sovereign princes with their regalia, crowned and robed as at their coronation; knights in their armour, spurs, and swords; and even mechanics sometimes with the implements of their art. How far more sensible and real this than the modern mode of dressing the dead. Even in the case of laymen natural feeling might suggest the use of appropriate dresses, but there seems something inexpressibly holy in the thought of a priest reposing peacefully in the Eucharistic garment. The body was then ready to be placed in the coffin, which is done with prayer, that as the earthly remains will await in that quiet home the archangel’s trump, so the spirit may rest in peace in the bosom of Abraham till body and soul are reunited, to dwell together for ever in heaven. The shape of the coffin was not inelegant, and will be familiar to all our readers, tapering gently from the head to the feet. Probably the modern conventional form was suggested by

* Quoted by Bingham.

the cross which was always found displayed on the coped lid. This the priest may well labour to restore; for whether he succeed or not in abolishing the ugly shape of the coffin, he may at least persuade his parishioners to dispense with the tawdry ornaments that undertakers love, and adorn their coffins instead with a simple cross. The body was placed in the coffin in the attitude either of hope or of trust, the hands either joined as in prayer, or crossed over the breast in faith. These indeed are the only attitudes of mind in which the sinner can enter the presence of his Judge. How cold and unchristian is the ordinary practice of laying the arms straight down the sides, as if the dead man had nothing to believe, no mercy to implore. The body was placed with the eyes heavenwards, because thence we look for the SAVIOUR, Who shall change our vile body, that it may be like unto His glorious Body. There was a custom common in the middle ages, but unknown in the purest times, of burying the Holy Eucharist with the corpse, either placed in the mouth or on the heart. A vessel containing holy water was also placed at the head, and before the coffin was closed incense was burned in it, and spices and aromatic drugs strewn over the corpse. Then the friends and relatives drew near, and imprinted the last kiss of love. In the East no coffin is used, and the body is carried on an open bier to the church. The vestments consequently are richer than in the west. To this day the body in the east is thus adorned. The funeral kiss is given at a later period of the service, viz., just before entombment, and is, as eastern travellers have said, a very impressive ceremony. Sometimes a small cross is placed in the hands of the corpse,—sometimes a confession of faith. When the preparations of the funeral had proceeded so far, the body was either removed to the church at once to be watched there, or it remained in the house for a certain time. In very many cases, probably generally, interment followed immediately after death; but it was very usual for the relatives to remain by the corpse for several days and nights, watching and praying. In the Greek Church in Russia, when a person dies, after the ceremonies we have described have been performed, all friends and relations are invited to come and watch and pray for the deceased. The image of a saint outside marks the house as a house of mourning, and even strangers come in and say a prayer, and go away again. The practice of watching by the body is a very ancient one. Thus Paulinus tells us in his life of S. Ambrose,* that the body as soon as it was dead was carried into the church, where they watched with him Easter Eve. Persons of distinction in the Mediæval Church had hearses placed over their coffins, adorned with lights and banners. These were of the most gorgeous description imaginable, bearing two thousand and even three thousand tapers, with heraldic devices, and palls of rich embroidery.

* Quoted by Bingham, Eccles. Ant. XXIII. c. 3. s. 6.

When the period of watching by the corpse was elapsed, the priest was summoned to lead it to the church. This was performed in very solemn procession. First the cross, then the deacon and acolyte, then the priests all bearing torches, then the coffin on a bier or hearse, surrounded with lights and covered with a pall, then last of all the mourners, chanting psalms and singing anthems as they went. The cross always led the way in every procession, to intimate that we should take up our cross and follow CHRIST, but the time is hardly come yet when we can venture to introduce the symbol of our faith in public. There is great danger of making men sin by speaking irreverently of, or even blaspheming the holy Cross. Torches might be more easily introduced, and we have heard that in some parts it is still the custom to carry them in funeral processions. They are very expressive of more truths than one, but chiefly of the great doctrine of the Resurrection, which is indeed the key-note of Christian burial. They were originally used by the heathen, who, counting it shame to die, were wont to hide their shame at night. Christians, on the other hand, thought nothing of the corruption of the body: to them to die was gain, and therefore they always buried in the daytime; yet retaining the torches as symbolical of their future glory. The order of the procession enjoined in the Prayer-Book, is as far as it goes the same as that we have described: "The priest and clerks meeting the corpse at the entrance of the churchyard, and going before it, shall say or sing," the symbolism contained being that the priest conducts the departed to the church and to his grave, and leaves him there in peace, as in the baptismal service he takes the candidate by the hand and leads him in. The corpse was carried, not on men's shoulders, which is altogether disgusting and irreverent, but on a bier. The bier should form part of the church property under the guardianship of the clergyman; it should be on the model of the coffin, and made to be carried low,* not borne aloft. A hearse might be made to sustain the pall: the form given in the *Instrumenta Ecclesiastica* we have seen executed, and very beautiful it is. The pall should be of Lenten hue, violet trimmed with white, with a cross extending the whole length and breadth. It may be made either in one large sheet, or with the corners cut out so as to fit the coffin. Or both might be used: one for the coffin, another for the hearse over it. There is a very simple and a very church-like pall used in the church of S. Thomas of Canterbury, at Oxford, which is made of violet velvet, with a broad white cross. The bier at that church has no hearse attached. The bearers, like all servants of the Church, should be men of known respectability† and sobriety. They were a special

* At the Chapel of Sackville College, East Grinstead, are some straps constructed for this purpose.

† At a recent funeral at the church just named, we observed that they were almost all communicants.

order in the Ancient Church, and were called *copiatæ*, their duty being to perform all the offices about the churchyard, as digging graves, and keeping them in order, planting evergreens, bearing the dead to burial, &c. There is no more disgusting part of modern burials than the irreverence of the attendants. The priest may exercise great authority here,—“devout men carried S. Stephen to burial,”—and he may insist that they who bear the dead shall be not only reverent and orderly during the service, but men of Christian behaviour at other times. The mourners follow the corpse as those who must all succeed each other through the valley of the shadow of death; they too should each carry a torch to remind them of the shortness of life, which every moment wastes away, and is liable to be extinguished at every breath. The procession was always accompanied with psalms and anthems, three of which we have still retained. We have already alluded to the question of the priest's meeting the procession at the house of death. It is a mark of respect which might well be offered to communicants, and one that could not fail to be prized by the relatives. It is a common practice to uncover on meeting a funeral in the street: it means that we then pray for the repose of the soul whose remains are being carried to their last resting-place. This practice is universal in some countries, and was once so in England. In Russia the men not only take off their hats, but keep them off till the procession is out of sight, and that whether the funeral is Greek, Latin, or Protestant. As the procession, whether accompanied by the priest or not, approaches the churchyard, the church bells should be rung, not tolled, to call the people to join in the service. It would be a great thing to get the parishioners to attend at funerals: the church seems very deserted and dreary when only two or three seats are occupied by the mourners, as if the departed man had no friends but those to lament him, nor they any partners in their sorrow. At the “Church stile” the priest and clerks join in procession, and chant together one or two of the anthems which commence the service, slowly entering the church, with the choir silent. The bier is deposited in the nave, with the feet of the corpse eastward. In the case of a clergyman, of whatever order, the body should be brought into the chancel. In the east the narthex is the appointed place for the dead, except in the case of priests, who are placed just before the Holy Doors. The setting the coffin down is with the modern practice a process of some difficulty and great inconvenience; if the bier were employed there would be no delay—no indecency. In cemetery chapels which have no nave, the bier is placed in the open space in front of the altar, and the clergy and choir arrange themselves north and south. This is the plan pursued at Oxford. Where there is a chancel, the clergy and choir of course occupy that part of the church. The psalms are then sung—one or both—after which the lesson is read from the

lettern, the reader simply commencing the chapter, without any preface, as in the daily lessons. This done, the procession moves from the church in the same order as before. There is no express direction for this, nor are there anthems assigned. But a comparison of the rubrics will explain the apparent omission.

“(1.) The priest and clerks meeting the corpse at the entrance of the churchyard and going before it, either into the church or towards the grave, shall say or sing,”

“[(2.) After they are come into the church shall be read one or both of these Psalms following.]”

“(3.) When they come to the grave, while the corpse is made ready, &c.”

Now it is evident that the second of these three is parenthetical. The sense plainly goes on from the first to the third, and in the first book of Edward VI. they come together. The visit to the church to read the Psalms and Lesson is an episode in the service; a very essential part of the service—no funeral ever was complete without entering the church—but as the rubrics stand, quite independent of the rest; for otherwise there would be some direction for passing from the church to the grave, in the event of going to the church first. But, as it is, the procession to the church and thence to the grave is evidently one act, for which one set of anthems is provided, and therefore it would be quite rubrical to divide the three anthems, and sing part before and part after entering the church, which will do away with the great awkwardness every priest must have experienced in walking in silence to the grave. And this opens another question, when is the Holy Communion to be administered? Evidently it would be far better to offer the Holy Sacrifice in the presence of the corpse: but in order not to clash with existing rubrics, the custom has usually been to celebrate after the burial, and this is the course recommended in the *Ecclesiologist*. Still we do not see any objection to inserting the Communion service after the lesson. This course is far more in accordance with Catholic usage. The great object in coming to church was to celebrate mass, and this was always done before burial. Nor are there wanting precedents for interpolating one service in the midst of another. Holy Baptism, catechising, churching of women, preaching, ordination, are all performed in combination with other services. It is unfortunate that neither the first book of Edward VI. nor the Latin service of Elizabeth gives any directions on this point, but that omission is a strong proof that no change was intended, and it can be proved beyond all question that the universal custom of the Church had been to celebrate before burial. To the question of Holy Communion at funerals we will return again. The Psalms and Lesson over, the priest goes before the corpse to the grave singing the anthems he had reserved from the former part of the procession. Then when

they come to the grave, he takes his station at the west end, and the clerks and choir on one side of it, the bier with its burthen being deposited on the other. An interval is then supposed to take place while the coffin is made ready for interment, during which anthems are appointed to be sung. With the bustle and expedition of modern undertakers the care of the Church is superseded, as the coffin is usually ready to be lowered long before the priest has got through the anthems. Probably it was not the custom to fasten the coffin down till the last thing, as a much shorter time intervened anciently between death and burial. In the Greek Church in Russia only four days are allowed, and the closing of the coffin is reserved till this moment, in order that the friends might take their parting look and bestow the final kiss. Then also they burst out into passionate exclamations of grief, bewailing their loss, and reproaching the deceased for leaving them. As no mention of the coffin is made, the body might sometimes have been buried without one, and such a funeral would of course take longer to arrange: but certainly in all old Latin services the coffin is required. When all is ready, the corpse is reverently lowered, (an act of which the rubric takes no notice,) and as soon as it is deposited the priest proceeds with the Commendation. Some new churches built in confined sites have been erected without much regard to orientation. And as it has been the invariable custom of the Church to bury with the feet eastward, the question may very probably arise, what is to be the direction of the graves? If the sexton is left to himself, he is quite certain to follow the line of the church. Of course when the deviation is trifling it would be best to do so, but we think that the caprice of the architect or the requirements of the site, can offer no just reason for dispensing with an universal custom. The Ambrosian Ritual orders that the corpse be placed, *pedibus ad orientem seu ad altare (majus) versis*, but this is the only authority we can find. Near Kemerton, in Gloucestershire, there is a small Roman Catholic chapel with a cemetery attached. The chapel runs north and south—the graves are placed east and west. The effect is most singular, but it is evident that of the two the graves are right. The symbolism conveyed in orientation is that they who sleep in CHRIST are waiting for His coming, which is to be from the east: they are placed therefore so as to catch the first rays of the dawn of the Sun of Righteousness. At the words “earth to earth, ashes to ashes, dust to dust,” earth is cast upon the body by some standing by. The Rubric originally directed that the priest should perform this ceremony, as in the Greek Church at the present day, and indeed in all Churches; but with us, generally speaking, the undertaker or the sexton performs the duty. However the object of the Rubric appears to be, not to do away with the priest’s office, but that all the mourners and neighbours should take their part in the ceremony. This is shown by the

corresponding change of number in the Rubric and the form. The Rubric originally was "then the priest casting earth on the body," and the benediction was "I commit thy body to the ground." When the Rubric was changed so also was the form of words. "We commit his body to the ground." The few grains of sand thrown on the coffin can hardly be heard. The priest should make a sufficient pause at each clause, and all who are standing near enough to the grave, himself, the clerks, and the choir, the bearers and others, should each throw earth on the coffin—this should be repeated distinctly three times. In Russia all the relatives throw sand on the coffin, and to us it appears a very beautiful act, expressive of resignation to the will of God. In the East the ashes of the thurible and the oil from the lamps are emptied out on the coffin.* The form used, "earth to earth, ashes to ashes, dust to dust," is peculiar to this Church, by whom it has been used for many centuries. The words of the Sarum Manual are "*Commendo animam tuam Deo Patri omnipotenti—terram terræ, cinerem cineri, pulverem pulveri, in nomen Patris, et Filii et Spiritus Sancti.*"† But this form was not used while the earth was being thrown upon the body, but afterwards when the grave was filled up. Although no other Church has adopted it at the burial of the dead, yet it was a very common usage to lay the sick person upon a sheet of haircloth covered with ashes in token of his speedy dissolution, with the words *Recordare quia cinis es et in cinerem reverteris*,‡ which appears a ceremony of a very similar nature. After the earth has been cast upon the body, the priests and choir burst into an anthem of joy, "I heard a voice from heaven." It is most lamentable to hear this beautiful anthem coldly read by the priest without one attempt on the part of mourners or bearers to join in the song. Indeed the wretched silence maintained throughout most funerals by all but the priest and sexton would lead one to suppose that they had no interest in the life or death or resurrection of the departed. We are glad to see that the Burial service has been printed on separate cards, with directions for use. Every church ought to be provided with them. The reason people do not join in the responses, &c., is because they are not acquainted with them; but, with a very little trouble on the part of the clergy, this would soon cease to be the case. The elder children in the school should be taught these and all other responses. After the anthem follows the lesser litany. This was in the first Prayer Book the introduction to a series of suffrages for the departed, omitted in the succeeding books. Then follows a prayer by the priest of thanksgiving and intercession for all that are departed in the true faith; the collect appointed in "the celebration of the Holy Communion when there is a burial of the dead," in the first book of Edward VI., comes

* Goar, Euchol. 588.
‡ Martene, III. ii. 13.

† Palmer's Orig. Lit. II. 239.

next by that name, and is the only allusion to a Communion made in the whole service. It is however so direct an allusion, that it becomes a matter of doubt whether the collect should be said at all if there be no Communion. When there is it certainly should be substituted for the Collect of the day. The Epistle and Gospel of that book may be read at all Communions for the dead, and, with the alternative of another Gospel, were actually ordered in Queen Elizabeth's Injunctions. Doubtless they were in use in her time, though there was no more authority for them then than we possess now. The service concludes with the Grace, which was not added till the last review.

A short peal is ordered by the canon to succeed the burial, and thus all men are assured that the last rites have been performed upon the body of another Christian. It was very usual to deliver a funeral oration at the grave; when there is a Communion the sermon must be preached in its proper place, but there seems no reason why a sermon should not be preached on all occasions. No more authority would be required than is to be found for the ordinary evening lecture. In fine weather it might be appropriately delivered at the churchyard cross, as it seems pretty clearly established that the cross was anciently used for open air preaching. In wet or cold weather the congregation might adjourn to the church, and the sermon would be delivered from the pulpit. This would be a good way of leading people to attend at funerals. Notice, if possible, should be given the Sunday before. The preacher should be the priest who has visited the deceased in his sickness; and he might introduce such statements in reference to his departure, his resignation, his alms, or his good works, as might seem desirable at the time. If the deceased had lived ill, he would dwell on the danger of a death-bed repentance; if he had died suddenly, on the nearness of death; or happily, on the reward of a self-denying life, and so forth. These too would be favourable opportunities of introducing subjects little attended to on other occasions; such as confession, absolution, the necessity of sending for the priest, the advantage of praying for the dead, the communion of saints, the burial service itself. A number of topics would readily suggest themselves, and we are sure that whatever of an innovation it might be, it would, unlike other innovations, be extremely popular, particularly if it was delivered *sub cœlo*. It would make the church more homely, and that is a great point with people who believe that the church was made for the rich, and the meeting-house for the poor.

The people should be encouraged as well to give alms as prayers for the departed. "Let us lament for them," says S. Chrysostom, "let us assist them according to our power, let us think of some assistance for them, small though it be, yet still able to help them. How? and in what way? By praying ourselves for them, by intreating others to make prayers for them, by continually giving to

the poor in their behalf." And this is an additional reason for the celebration of Holy Communion, as the offertory would afford all present opportunities of giving. Probably this was the connection in S. Chrysostom's own mind, who immediately goes on to say: "Not in vain did the Apostles order that remembrance should be made of the dead in the dreadful Mysteries. They knew that great gain resulted to them, and great assistance; for when the whole people stands with uplifted hands, a priestly assembly, and that Awful Sacrifice lies displayed, how shall we not prevail with God by our intreaties for them;" and then he again returns to the original idea, "this we do for those who have departed in the faith, whilst the catechumens are deprived of all means of help save one. And what is this? We may give to the poor on their behalf."* S. Jerome speaks of the custom with approval: "While some strew violets, and lilies, and flowers, over the graves of their wives, our Pammachius waters the holy ashes and bones of his wife with the balsam of alms."† Probably few persons would in this day associate the alms of the living with the happiness of the dead, but occasion may be taken to show the superiority of dispensing goods in deeds of charity, to wasting large sums on the exorbitant charges of undertakers. Every body will acknowledge the absurdity of the system of hatbands, and mutes, and mourning coaches, but few will be found to have strength of mind enough to resist this imposition, under the dread of a charge of penuriousness. Let them distribute the money saved from the clutches of the undertaker upon the poor, and, while the church receive benefits, they will render themselves secure from any such imputation. In a supplement to the sanitary report it is stated that a gentleman who had lost a daughter refused to agree to the undertaker's arrangements for the funeral. He insisted upon her being buried without the slightest parade; and with the money saved he found himself able to erect in honour of her memory a school for twenty-five village children whom she had taken an interest in instructing; and not only to erect, but to endow it. If persons of property would only act in this way, what a vast amount of property would be saved for God!

It is no matter of surprise that the Church in committing to the ground the bodies of her children departed in the faith, should at the same time have regard to the condition of their souls. That prayers for the dead were used by the ancient Church cannot be questioned. Tertullian is indeed the first who makes express mention of them, but S. Chrysostom speaks of "the injunctions of the Apostles:" and the earliest liturgies we possess, though used in places widely remote from each other, all without exception contain them. That the faith of the Church touching the departed was distinct from

* Hom. Phil. i. 24. Lib. of the Fathers.

† Quoted by Bingham, XXXIII. 3, 15.

the later notion of purgatory is not to be disputed, and even Calvin in objecting to their use in the Holy Communion, expressly says, "I know well that they cannot be construed into an approbation of the Papistical Purgatory," yet there is no doubt the object of the reformers in excluding their more explicit form was to eradicate from the minds of the people their ancient belief in that doctrine. Very many of the innovations of the sixteenth century were intended to correct the illiterate and prejudiced notions of a great part of the population who would they feared not have been convinced by milder measures or a simple return to ancient practices: and we three hundred years after suffer from their want of faith and time-serving mutilations of truth. Thus the Universities were allowed to reserve the Blessed Sacrament long after others were forbidden; as it was thought there was less danger of their abusing the privilege. In the same way Queen Elizabeth provided them with a Communion for the dead. But it appears an unanswerable argument for their real approval of prayers for the dead that there is no renunciation of them in the Thirty-nine Articles. If one practice could be selected as least likely to be omitted at that period by accident, certainly the practice of praying for the departed is that one. The only distinct allusion to the state of the dead is contained in the thirty-first article, which declares that the sacrifices of masses in the which it was commonly said that the Priest did offer CHRIST for the quick and the dead, to have remission of pain or guilt, were blasphemous fables, and dangerous deceits. But this statement could have no reference to the offering of the Holy Eucharist for quick and dead that was made in the ancient Church, because the clause which concerns remission of pain or guilt is evidently directed against the popular belief of the time. In the western Church there has always been a celebration from very early times. The devout Monica on her death bed, desired "only to be remembered at the LORD's altar:" and S. Augustine speaks of the prayers, "which we poured forth unto Thee when the sacrifice of our ransom was offered for her, when now the corpse was by the grave's side, as the manner there is, previous to its being laid therein."* To this passage an old editor subjoins the following note, which has been copied into the recent translation in the Library of the Fathers. "Here my popish translator says, that the sacrifice of the mass was offered for the dead. That the ancients had communion with their burials I confess. But for what? 1. To testify their dying in the communion of the Church. 2. To give thanks for their departure. 3. To pray God to give them place in His Paradise: 4. and a part in the first resurrection: but not as a propitiatory sacrifice to deliver them out of purgatory, which the mass is now only meant for." S. Augustine himself was

* Conf. ix. 32.

buried with the oblation of the Holy Eucharist—and the third Council of Carthage ordered that if any funeral be to be celebrated in the afternoon, it should be done with prayers only, and not with the celebration of the Eucharist, if they that had assisted at the funeral office had broken their fast. Nor was this custom peculiar to the African Church : S. Ambrose was buried on Easter morning, after the public celebration, and Constantine and Valentinian were both committed to the ground with the oblation of the Holy Eucharist in their behalf. The whole western Church appear to have observed the same practice. The eastern, however, continued to retain the primitive custom of having only one Altar in each church, and one Oblation only on that Altar daily. “The Sacrifice is one,” says a late commentator, “therefore the Catholic eastern Church has only one Altar in each church, and one celebration on each altar every day.” There is therefore no funeral mass, but it is not thence to be inferred that the Greek Church does not believe in the one great Sacrifice for quick and dead. She does not possess, nor does she need a peculiar *missa pro defunctis*; but all her liturgies are on that account the more express in the mention of the departed : and a striking difference is to be observed between the Greek and the Roman liturgies in this respect. Of this the use of diptychs and the observances connected with the offertory are instances. The diptych was a folding tablet containing the names of the persons who were to be prayed for by the Church. On the one sidewere the names of the living, on the other those of the dead. And these were read aloud by the deacon after the consecration of the host. The narthex was especially devoted to the sepulture of the dead, and at the celebration when the sacred elements were borne in procession from the table of prothesis to the Altar, the Priest conveyed them through the assembled people, accompanied by incense and torches into the narthex, where the tombs were sprinkled, to show that the Holy Sacrifice was offered for their benefit who were buried within them. The descent also of the sacred elements through the naos to the narthex symbolised the descent of CHRIST through this life into hell where He preached to the spirits in prison. And thus the procession in two ways intimated the faith of the Church in the value of the one Sacrifice for quick and dead. In the east, in the present day, chapels exist in all the cemeteries for the performance of the service for the dead. Yet the Holy Communion is not celebrated at the time, the ancient practice of the Church being still maintained. Both in the east and west the anniversary of the death is observed with prayer and commemorations and especially the Eucharist—and in the east at other times also when the Priest and relations think fit to hold a commemoration feast.

The following we give as specimens of the form in which the departed were prayed for in the Greek liturgies. We select the expressions from eastern liturgies for two reasons. First, because

it seems useful to show that there was no doctrinal reason for the omission of the Holy Eucharist in the funerals of the Greek Church,—and secondly because the Greek Fathers never held the doctrine of purgatory, and therefore their statements cannot be liable to misconstruction. S. James—"Remember, O LORD, the GOD of spirits and of all flesh, those Catholics whom we have remembered and whom we have not remembered, from righteous Abel to this very day. Grant them a place of rest, in the land of the living, in Thy kingdom, in the delights of Paradise, in the bosom of our holy fathers, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob: whence sorrow, and grief, and sighing, have fled away; whence the light of Thy countenance shineth forth and lighteneth for ever." S. Mark—"Grant, O LORD our GOD, refreshment to the souls of all these in the habitations of Thy saints." Armenian—"Let us pray that all believers, men and women (and especially N.) of whatever age and condition they may have been, be commemorated in this Holy Liturgy." James of Edessa—"Remember, LORD, at this time the departed faithful for whom this sacrifice hath been offered." Matthew, the shepherd—"Grant that the bones of those who have departed in the faith of the promises of Thy SON, and are reduced to dust, may feel the odour of resurrection, since in hope of resurrection they fell asleep. Bring back their souls to their bodies and remember not their sins." These are not very different either in matter or in expression from the words of the prayer in the burial service—"That we with all those who are departed in the true faith of Thy Holy Name, may have our perfect consummation and bliss both in body and soul in Thy eternal and everlasting glory;" which is, as Wheatley says, "not barely a supposition that all those who are so departed will have their consummation and bliss: but a prayer also that they *may* have it; viz., that we with them, and they with us, may be made perfect together both in body and soul in the eternal and everlasting glory of God." There is perhaps no truth of which the majority of our people know and think so little as that their faithful departed are in imperfect rest; we know how the relations of deceased persons speak of them as already in heaven, as already judged and rewarded, and to most persons the idea of prayers for the dead is associated with all error and popery. Yet with all this the human heart yearns after the power of interceding for the departed—and very many are in the constant habit, unknown to themselves, of a practice which they would not admit to be lawful. What Christian mother is there who for years has been praying daily for a beloved child, if that child dies, can suddenly cease to pray for him? She may indeed omit the actual prayer in which she had been wont to remember him—she may indeed no longer make mention of his failings, and wants, and dangers, but yet there is the continual inward longing, the secret aspiration which constitutes prayer as fervent and intercessory as ever.

The argument commonly advanced against prayers for the dead is that death is the close of man's probation—henceforth nothing can affect his eternal condition. Where the tree falls there it shall lie.—Now we ought to teach our people that we only pray for the souls of the faithful: we pray not that any who die in their sins may attain to the resurrection of the just, but for those who departing in peace are expecting in eager longing the hour of their consummation, that they may obtain that for which they themselves pray beneath the altar. We ought to pray surely for those who pray for themselves. "Though the souls of the faithful," says Bishop Cosin, "be in joy and felicity: yet because they are not in such a degree of that joy and felicity, as that they can never receive no more than they have already; therefore we beseech God to give them a full and perfect consummation of this in body and soul, in His eternal kingdom of glory." Another argument is that no mention is made of them in Holy Scripture, but this is as usual a most insufficient objection. Granting it to be true that there is no scriptural authority for the practice, how can we possibly reason about the intentions of the Holy Spirit? But we will not admit the assertion. There are diseases for which no remedy is known in nature—the fatal sickness which has just visited us is an example—but it does not follow that some simple herb may not be discovered to possess the healing property required. So some forgotten text in the inspired volume might furnish ample vindication of the practice of praying for the dead, if only we had eyes to search the deep things of the Spirit. What interpreter of Scripture would have ventured to give S. Paul's application of the story of Ishmael and Isaac—or of the singular number of the promised seed—or who would have discovered the doctrine of the resurrection in the title of the **ALMIGHTY**—the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, the God of Jacob? These and a few other mystical interpretations seem given us on purpose to show us how little we know of the Bible, and to check the presumption of saying that such and such a doctrine does not exist in it. We may as well attempt to enclose the infinite regions of space as pretend to define what is and what is not contained in the Word of God. A more reasonable objection is, that though it might be lawful to pray for the faithful dead generally, yet it cannot be lawful to pray for any in particular, because that is deciding prematurely on the state of individuals. But neither can the Church be positively sure of the repentance and faith of an adult candidate for baptism, or of communicants, or of those who desire absolution; yet she is to act on such fulness of persuasion as she can obtain. Just so we may pray for those of whom we have a reasonable hope that they have departed in the fear of God. If we are mistaken, no sin lies at our door, and individual intercession is obviously more prevailing than general. The Apostles were not to blame who

pronounced their blessing on unworthy houses, and we may well err on the side of charity.

We do wrong to shrink from the explanation of this great truth : for we check the practice of prayer which while it may purchase infinitely higher degrees of blessedness to a spirit already at rest in the LORD, will also tend to console the broken spirit bereaved and desolate that has not yet entered into its rest. It is not a doctrine perhaps which should be publicly taught from the pulpit, for there is great danger in indiscriminate dissemination of truth. But in ministerial visitations and oral teaching, particularly among those who lament the loss of dear friends, and who are therefore by circumstances in a fit state to receive the seed into their hearts, it does seem an approach to unfaithfulness to veil the truth and shrink from revealing the value of prayer for the dead. When people are taught the great blessing and efficacy of this intercession, there will be less difficulty in persuading them to desire the celebration of the Holy Communion. Of course, the first step towards realizing the value of the Sacrifice as a sacrifice, must be the admission in their own minds that the dead are the better for prayer. They will then look for Communion as the most vehement expression of prayer ; after which, they will be in training to take the highest view of the Sacrament as the Unbloody Sacrifice offered for quick and dead, and will realize the full meaning of the words of the liturgy when they pray that by " the merits and death of JESUS CHRIST (now set forth on the Altar), and through faith in His Blood (now received Sacramentally), we, *and all the whole Church* (invisible as well as visible, absent as well as present), may obtain remission of our sins and all other benefits of His Passion." Then will they come often to receive not only for themselves but for their friends departed, and will prize the blessedness of that Communion which by virtue of the one Body of CHRIST verily received by the faithful, they who are members of that Body have one with the other, to their mutual refreshment.

The practical mode of teaching the people this, would be by celebrating for the dead without the express desire of the mourners ; inducing them to come, if possible, but failing that, if a sufficient congregation could be obtained without them, we would offer ~~in~~ their absence. Of course the parish must contain materials for this ; there must be a certain degree of advance in knowledge before such a step would be advisable ; and in any case it should only be communicants, and those very consistent ones, whose funerals should be so honoured. But we are far too apt to forget in our prophetic office. We are so anxious to lead the people right, and to avoid putting stumbling-blocks in their way, that we omit in a great measure the consideration of what we can do for them. Thus in the question of daily service—many clergymen say they would open their churches if they could get a congregation, be it never

so small a one. They forget the intercessory nature of the daily service—and that whether or not the people come to pray for themselves, they ought to pray for them. So again in frequent Communion—we are too cautious of hurrying on the public mind; we say, things are not yet ripe for weekly Communion, we must teach men more the value of Communion—whereas ought we not to intercede for them by means of the Holy Eucharist, that they may be filled with that knowledge which we think they want. So in funeral celebrations—we may be anxious that all the mourners should communicate, and that the desire for Communion should be spontaneous, but that is no reason why we are to forget our own power of sacrificing for the departed, and the refreshment we ought to render them. Caution is requisite undoubtedly, but more prudence than caution; that is to say, we must avoid obtruding on the laity truths which they cannot receive as a body, and yet endeavour constantly to practise the duties which those truths enjoin, with the few who are more advanced. All parade, all ostentation, all publicity, must be avoided; but if possible, the Holy Eucharist must be offered; and this may furnish a reason for deferring the celebration till after the burial, when probably the great mass of the people would be ignorant of the fact. If the parochial staff is sufficiently numerous there would be no manner of difficulty—or if there be a sisterhood in the parish. And in any case what the priest has to guard against is general discussion, for we know by sad experience with what irreverence and profanity even well meaning persons talk of holy things, when the subject is introduced in ordinary conversation. The question is one of the deepest moment, it is a high and holy trust committed to us, to intercede sacrificially for others. On the one hand let us not cast pearls before swine by an unreserved communication of our sacred commission; on the other hand, let us be true to the people committed to our charge, bringing forth out of the treasure-house of the Church, the commemoration of the Awful Sacrifice offered once for all on the Cross, whereby JESUS CHRIST is evidently set forth before our eyes crucified among us.

ILLUSTRATIONS OF THE STATE OF THE CHURCH DURING THE GREAT REBELLION.

(Continued from Vol. VIII. p. 168.)

A BRIEF account of the political aspect of affairs in the year 1651, will be necessary to connect the papers which have appeared on the subject of the Rebellion with those which we hope hereafter to lay before our readers ; and will serve at the same time to fill a gap of three or four months, which appears in our original documents of this year. It is the longest interval that occurs in the whole of the correspondence between Sheldon and Hammond, and may perhaps be accounted for by the critical state of the time, when probably many letters were intercepted and never reached their destination, and when from the very fear of such a result, the royalists held less correspondence with each other than usual.

The movements of the royalists, and the state of parties up to the beginning of the year have been given at length in a previous number. We have seen that the unexpected defeat of the Scots at Dunbar, on the 3rd of September, of the previous year, had led to a considerable alteration in the position of the king, and the demeanour of his Scottish subjects towards him. Up to that time he had been little more than a state-prisoner—treated indeed with the outward formality due to a king, but allowed no voice in the management of affairs. But the Presbyterians had at last begun to recognize that the most gifted ministers of the Kirk were not, as a matter of course, the best field officers, and that what they deemed the cause of God and of religion, was not of necessity destined to prevail in every conflict. The coronation of Charles took place at Scone, January 1, 1650—1. The feuds among the Highlanders presented the first difficulty, and Charles endeavoured to meet this by personal intercourse with their chiefs, and did not discourage the notion that he might yet ally himself with the family of Argyle, by marrying one of his daughters. Matters indeed went so far that a messenger was actually sent to France nominally for the purpose of asking the Queen mother's consent, but the real object of this mission must have been to gain time, and so prevent any definite arrangement being made—and it happened that the fate of the king's present expedition was decided before he returned. We must remind our readers that Charles' chaplains and confidential advisers had all been removed, and that they are therefore in no way answerable for his conduct. It is fair also to make some allowance for himself on the score of their removal ; though he can scarcely be defended from the imputation of making promises which he did not intend to fulfil. The Scotch Presbyte-

rians, with all their pretences to piety, had allowed him to retain about him the most licentious of his companions, the Duke of Buckingham, merely because though nominally an Episcopalian, they knew him to be indifferent to religious obligations, and so calculated upon influencing the king through him. On the 31st of March, the king took upon himself the command of the army. The royal standard was set up at Aberdeen, and soldiers flocked to it from all quarters. Leslie and Middleton were appointed lieutenants, and Charles with an army of near 20,000, watched the motions of the enemy from the left bank of the Forth. No engagement took place till near the end of July. The army of the Commonwealth in the beginning of the month marched towards Stirling, and thence to Glencoe, from which they fell back upon Falkirk. The English followed them from their encampment at Torwood, to Kilsythe, and thence returned to Torwood, but these manœuvres were gone through on the part of the English General, with the view of occupying the attention of the enemy whilst they sent men across the Queensferry to fortify a hill near Inverkeithing; here the first engagement took place, which gave the English the victory together with the possession of the populous county of Fife. They soon laid siege to Perth, which was surrendered August 2. But before its siege was concluded Charles was on his way to England. It was a desperate attempt. The king, if he thought at all about the matter must have depended upon the sensation which his sudden appearance amongst them would create amongst his royalist subjects; and probably his adherents, for the most part believed that he had secret intelligence of which they knew nothing. Argyle and a few others retired, but such was the enthusiasm of his adherents that an army of 11,000 or 12,000 set out with him for Carlisle.

So sudden was the resolution, and so rapid the march, that they passed through Kendal, Preston, and Warrington, and reached the Mersey which divides the counties of Lancashire and Cheshire, before they heard any intelligence of the enemy's motions. On the 5th of August, a general pardon and oblivion had been proclaimed at Woodhouse near the border, with the exception only of those who had sat on the king's trial. Lambert had been sent from Fife, and Harrison from Newcastle, with orders not to fight, to prevent the king's advance if possible, and Cromwell soon afterwards followed taking the road to York. The two former met near Warrington, intending with their army of 9,000 to dispute the passage of the Mersey, and to break down the bridge; but the king's troops anticipated their arrival, and he pushed on advancing more like a foreign invader than an English king, leaving them encamped on Knutsford heath, to Worcester. Worcestershire was probably one of the most loyal counties in England. The king too had no encouragement to advance further, as so few of his subjects

joined him. Several of the more influential country gentlemen were at the time under confinement, by order of the council, being suspected by the government, and amongst them was Sir John Packington, whose name appears in almost every rising for the king during the usurpation.

Hammond was at this time residing at Westwood Park. It would have been interesting to know from his own pen what his view of the matter was. But we are left to conjecture, on this point, though it seems likely that his host would not be acting without his concurrence and advice. Both probably felt that whatever might be the rashness of the king's present attempt, the impracticability of which is shown by the fact that the country gentlemen did not rise for him, he was in his present difficulties entitled to the best services of all his faithful subjects. We know nothing of the manner in which the tenants were got together—but the number of those who accompanied Sir John Packington, Lord Talbot, Mr. Ralph Sheldon, and others to the Pitchcroft, where a general muster of the troops was made, August 26th, was not in all above 200. Mr. Ralph Sheldon of Beoly, was a Roman Catholic, one of those who, to their great honour fought bravely for the king at a time when their religion had been most rigorously persecuted. We do not know of any connection between him and the divine whom we have so often referred to.

Already Charles had been grievously disappointed. This being essentially a Presbyterian movement, those of that religious persuasion in Lancashire had promised to rise; but Massey, whom Charles had deputed to raise the lines, was forbidden to employ any man who had not taken the covenant. He was however joined by the gallant Earl of Derby, from the Isle of Man, with about 300 soldiers. After his arrival a conference was held at Wigan; the Presbyterian ministers were inexorable, and all the Roman Catholics in the army were dismissed on the ground that the safety of the country might well be entrusted to the elect of God, meaning by the term those who had taken the covenant. The first engagement that took place was between Derby and Lilburne, who had been sent with a reinforcement from Cromwell, on the road between Chorley and Wigan. The meeting which took place Aug. 25th, was unexpected on both sides, but Lord Derby was defeated and obliged to flee wounded to Wigan, closely pursued by the enemy. For the present he escaped owing to the presence of mind of a servant girl who barred the door of a house behind him after he had sprung from his horse into the passage. He escaped at the back of the house through the garden and soon afterwards was so far recovered as to appear with thirty followers, in the battle of Worcester. A few days afterwards Cromwell himself made his appearance, having travelled by Doncaster and Coventry to Evesham.

Charles arrived at Worcester on the 22nd of August, and was

proclaimed king of Great Britain, France and Ireland by Mr. Thomas Lisens, the mayor, and Mr. James Bridges, the sheriff, and the next day the proclamation was issued, which summoned all the nobility, gentry, and others, from the age of sixteen to sixty, to appear in the Pitchcroft on Tuesday next, the 26th instant.

On Sunday, the 24th, his majesty attended service at the cathedral, where Mr. Crosby, who is spoken of by the author of *Boscobel* as an eminent divine of that city, preached, and in his prayer styled the king, 'in all causes and over all persons next under God supreme head and governor.' At this the Presbyterians took exception, and admonished Mr. Crosby for the future to forbear such expressions. We regret that we are unable to furnish any further intelligence about Mr. Crosby. He probably died before the Restoration, as his name does not occur amongst the names of those who were then promoted.

A few unimportant skirmishes occupied the time till the 3rd of September, a day supposed to be a fortunate one for the General, the anniversary of the day on which he had defeated the Scots at Dunbar, a day which to use his own phrase, was signalized this year by a "crowning mercy."

The fear which the government seemed to feel at the advance of Charles, would be unaccountable, were we not to take into consideration the ignorance in which all parties stood as to the real strength of parties. Several conspiracies against the government were detected, and many royalists fell a sacrifice to their zeal for their Sovereign. Whilst Charles was preparing to pass over into Scotland, blank commissions had been sent into England to raise a diversion there; and £200 was paid quarterly to Scot, one of the members of the council of state who had shown considerable industry in tracing them out. Dr. Lewen, a civilian, was tried by a court martial and executed July 18th, for having some of these commissions found on his person. Colonel Eusebius Andrewes and others were sentenced in the following month, for a similar offence, having been apprehended at Gravesend, where he had gone to raise an opposition to the government amongst the people of Kent. There had been already one actual rising in Norfolk, Dec. 1, 1650. This had been suppressed by Colonel Rich, and a high court of justice had been set up here, because no jury could be depended on to convict, and fifteen of the conspirators had been executed.

Early in the following year new discoveries were made and new alarms sprung up. Sir Henry Hyde suffered under the charge of treason, March 4, 1651. He had been appointed to negotiate with the Ottoman Porte, under the title of internuncio. Owing to some jealousy which sprung up between him and the English merchants at Constantinople, he was sent prisoner to England. There is no evidence that he was guilty of treason, that is that he had con-

trived anything against the government ; but high courts of justice could not afford to be particular about evidence, and he was convicted. In the beginning of May, 1651, several of the leading Presbyterian ministers were taken into custody, and amongst them the celebrated Christopher Love. This was called the Presbyterian plot. On May the 7th, Love was brought before a high court of justice, and though defended by Sir Matthew Hale, was sentenced, July the 5th, after a trial which lasted six days. He was reprieved for a month, and executed on Tower Hill, August the 22nd, the same day that Charles entered Worcester. The severity practised in this case and others, was no more than was absolutely necessary under the circumstances of a military ministry, governing a nation against its will. But the case of Love was particularly hard. He was, as he himself says, the first preacher that was accused of treason and rebellion, and had really contributed much to foster differences between the royalists and the parliamentarians ; and that particularly at the treaty of Uxbridge, in 1645, when he had preached a violent and seditious sermon. He had been taken into custody on the charge of communicating with the prince, and furnishing him with money. He died as he had lived, a consistent presbyterian. He was a violent character and seems to have in some sense been a conscientious man. Mr. Joseph Gibbons was executed with him, but the rest of those who had been taken, Colonel Vaughan, Captain Massie, and Mr. Jenkyns, minister of Christ Church, and others, were pardoned and set at liberty.

The account of the Battle of Worcester and the romantic history of the King's escape may be read in any history of the period, and are minutely detailed in the Boscobel Tracts. The author mentions a long and private communication which Charles had with Dr. Humphrey Henchman, in Mr. Hyde's house, at Hele, where he remained concealed some days. Henchman must have been as yet but little known, as he was the person who conducted the King on foot, the first two miles of his journey from Hele to Clarendon Park Corner, but as he figures in the history of the Church after the Restoration, we will here give a brief account of him. He was a most intimate friend both of Sheldon and Hammond, though he was some years older than either of them. He was a native of London, and became fellow of Clare Hall, at Cambridge, and afterwards had a canonry at Salisbury, of which he was dispossessed. He is said to have been much esteemed by the King, and was one of the first persons named to the Episcopal dignity after the Restoration. He was consecrated Bishop of Salisbury, and was translated to London at the death of Juxon, when Sheldon succeeded to the Archbishop's See. He lived until 1675, and probably had a considerable influence in the affairs of the Church—both from his intimacy with Sheldon and the Lord Chancellor Clarendon.

Of the other persons who were concerned in this expedition there is only one who has special claims to be mentioned in these papers—and Lord Derby presents so consistent a specimen of a religious cavalier that a few words concerning his life and death will not be thought superfluous. None acted more bravely and none suffered more in defence of the royal cause than he and his family. The gallant defence of Latham House in 1645, by Lady Derby, and her subsequent betrayal to Colonel Birch in the Isle of Man are matters of history which are well known—and the fame of her heroism has perhaps partly eclipsed that of her noble husband.

James, seventh Earl of Derby, succeeded to the title on the death of his father in 1642. Not long before he had been accused of high treason by the parliament, being thought a dangerous person from the great influence which he possessed in the counties of Cheshire and Lancashire. In the following year, the King upon leaving Shrewsbury to go southward left no garrison behind him, trusting to Lord Derby to suppress any commotion that might arise in those counties. Clarendon speaks in high terms of his fidelity, but does not seem to think favourably of his skill and powers of management. He says, that he “was a man of unquestionable loyalty to the late king, and gave clear testimony of it before he received any obligations from the court, and when he thought himself disobliged by it.” He was one of the four noblemen fixed upon by Charles II. when living in Jersey, for the vacant places in the order of the garter, the other three being William Duke of Hamilton, William Marquis of Newcastle, at that time in Holland, and James Marquis of Montrose, then in Norway, preparing for the invasion of Scotland. The letters conferring the garter were given from “the court at Castle Elizabeth, in our island of Jersey, this 12th day of January, in the first year of our reign, 1649” [50]. The sense of that honour made him, says Clarendon, “so readily comply with the King’s command in attending him when he had no confidence in the undertaking, nor any inclination to the Scots, who he thought had too much guilt upon them, in having depressed the crown, to be made instruments of repairing and restoring it.—He was a man,” he continues, “of great honour and of clear courage, and all his defects and misfortunes proceeded from his having lived so little time among his equals, that he knew not how to treat his inferiors.”

Cromwell, in 1649, offered him his own terms if he would surrender the Isle of Man. The Earl’s characteristic answer was as follows:—

“I received your letter with indignation, and with scorn I return you this answer: that I cannot but wonder whence you should gather any hopes from me, that I should (like you) prove treacherous to my sovereign, since you cannot be insensible of my former actings in his late

majesty's service, from which principle of loyalty I am no way departed.

"I scorn your proffers, I disdain your favours, I abhor your treasons ; and am so far from delivering this island to your advantage, that I will keep it to the utmost of my power to your destruction.

"Take this final answer, and forbear any further solicitations ; for if you trouble me with any more messages upon this occasion, I will burn the paper, and hang the bearer.

"This is the immutable resolution, and shall be the undoubted practice, of him who accounts it the chiefest glory to be his majesty's most loyal and obedient servant,

"DERBY."

"*Castle Town, July 12, 1649.*"

He was taken prisoner at the battle of Worcester, and tried by a high court of justice at Bolton, and executed October 15th, though he pleaded that he had quarter for life given him by Captain Edge, the person who had taken him prisoner. His sentence was to be carried into effect within four days ; so determined were they to prevent interest being made for him. Nevertheless, his son, Lord Strange, rode to London with a petition, which was not read, upon which he returned in time to see his father. The following account of his last days is given by Mr. Bagaley, who attended him at his death. He spent Monday the 13th October, in giving his orders and wishes to Mr. Bagaley, who was to convey them to the Isle of Man, to Lady Derby, and then sat down to write his two last letters to Lady Derby and her children, which have been preserved, and are as follows :—

"*To the Countess of Derby.*"

"Chester, October 13, 1651.

"MY DEAR HEART,

"I have heretofore sent you comfortable lines ; but alas, I have now no word of comfort, saving one last and best refuge, which is ALMIGHTY GOD, to Whose will we must submit ; and when we consider how He has disposed of these nations, and the government thereof, we have no more to do but to lay our hands upon our mouths, judging ourselves, and acknowledging our sins, joined with others, to have been the cause of these miseries, and to call on Him, with tears, for mercy. The governor of this place, Colonel Duckenfield, is general of the forces which are going now against the Isle of Man ; and however you might do for the present, in time it would be a grievous and troublesome business to resist, especially those that at this hour command these nations. Wherefore my advice, notwithstanding my great affection to the place, is, that you would make conditions for yourself and children, and servants and people there, and such as came over with me, to the end you may go to some place of rest, where you may not be concerned in war ; and taking thought of your poor children, you may in some sort provide for them. Then prepare yourself to come to your friends above, in that blessed place where bliss is, and no mingling of opinions.

"I conjure you, my dearest heart, by all those graces which God has given you, that you exercise your patience in this great and strange trial. If harm come to you, then I am dead indeed, and, until then, I shall live in you, who are truly the best part of myself. When there is no such as I in being, then look upon yourself and my poor children; then take comfort, and God will bless you.

"I acknowledge the great goodness of God to have given me such a wife as you; so great an honour to my family, so excellent a companion to me, so pious, so much of all that can be said of good, I must confess it impossible to say enough thereof. I ask God pardon, with all my soul, that I have not been enough thankful for so great a benefit; and when I have done anything at any time that might justly offend you, with joined hands I also ask your pardon.

"I have no more to say to you, at this time, than my prayers for the ALMIGHTY's blessing to you, my dear Mall, and Ned, and Billy. Amen, sweet JESUS!"

"To Lady Mary Stanley, Edward and William Stanley."

"Chester, October 13, 1651.

"DEAR MALL, MY NED, AND BILLY,

"I remember well how sad you were to part with me; but now, I fear, your sorrow will be greatly increased to be informed that you can never see me more in this world: but I charge you all to strive against too great a sorrow; you are all of you of that temper that it would do you much harm; and my desires and prayers to God are, that you may have a happy life; let it be as holy a life as you can, and as little sinful as you can avoid or prevent.

"I can well now give you that counsel, having in myself, at this time, so great a sense of the vanities of my life, which fill my soul with sorrow; yet, I rejoice to remember, that when I have blest God with pious devotion, it has been most delightful to my soul, and must be my eternal happiness.

"Love the archdeacon,—he will give you good precepts. Obey your mother with cheerfulness, and grieve her not, for she is your example, your nurse, your counsellor, your all under God; there never was, nor never can be, a more deserving person.

"I am called away, and this is the last time I shall write to you. The LORD my GOD bless you, and guard you from all evil! So prays your father at this time, whose sorrow is inexorable to part with Mall, Neddy, and Billy. Remember

"DERBY."

He spent the rest of the day with Lord Strange and his two other daughters, Catharine and Amelia, and at six in the evening, at their departure, he told Mr. Bagaley he would receive the communion the next day and the day after. At supper he was cheerful and drank to Sir Timothy Featherston Waugh (also a prisoner) saying: "Sir, be of good comfort, I go willingly before you, and God hath so strengthened me that you shall hear by His assistance that I shall

so submit, both as a Christian and a soldier, that I shall be both a comfort and an example to you."

On Tuesday, October 14th, Lord Derby was removed from Chester. He reached Leigh on his way to Bolton that evening, and parted with his two daughters, Catherine and Amelia. On the road he called his attendant to him, and bade him, when he should come into the Isle of Man, remember him to the archdeacon there, and tell him that he well recollected the several discourses that had passed between them concerning death; that he had often said that the thoughts of death could not trouble him in fight or with sword in hand; but he feared it would somewhat startle him tamely to submit to a blow on the scaffold. "But," he continued, "tell the Archdeacon from me, that I do now find myself in an absolute change as to that opinion, for I bless God for it, Who hath put the comfort and courage into my soul, that I can as willingly now lay down my head upon the block as ever I did upon a pillow."

From the Earl's making no allusion to the good bishop, it may fairly be gathered that he was dead. His name was Richard Parr, and he held with the bishopric the valuable living of Eccleston in Lancashire. The living was sequestered in October, 1643. But as the Isle of Man had not yet surrendered to the parliament, it is probable that the bishop enjoyed the small revenue of his see, and performed its duties unmolested till his death. Of the archdeacon little is known. His name was Samuel Rutter. He is said by Sacheverell, in his account of the Isle of Man, "to have governed the Church with great prudence during the late civil wars," and that he was a man of exemplary goodness and moderation. At the time of the Restoration he is spoken of as being chaplain to the Countess Dowager of Derby, who was so anxious to have him made bishop, that she asked Dr. Barwick, who had been nominated by the king to that see, to forego his right, alleging that he might hope for better preferment from his majesty. It is singular that she should not have insisted on the absolute right possessed by the Earl of Derby to the nomination to the see; but probably she was well aware that a signification of her wish would be sufficient. Accordingly Dr. Barwick immediately complied, expressing his joy at being able to oblige so great a person as the countess, and showed that he had no wish for better preferment by refusing the see of Carlisle, and accepting the deanery of Durham.

To return to Lord Derby. Upon retiring to bed he lay upon his right side with his hand under his face, observing, "Methinks I lie like a monument in a church, and to-morrow I shall really be so." At rising the next morning, as he put on his shirt, he said, "This shall be my winding sheet, for this was constantly my meditation in this action." "See," said he, to one of his attendants, "that it be not taken away from me, for I will be buried in it."

He then called for his son, Lord Strange, to put on his order, observing, "that he should return it to him again in the course of the day, and begged him to return it to the king, when he should be so happy as to see him, and to say that he sent it in all humility and gratitude as he had received it, spotless and free from any stain, according to the humble example of his ancestors."

After this they joined in prayer, and then follows an account of Mr. Greenhaugh reading the commandments, after each one of which Lord Derby made his confession, and he received "absolution and the Sacrament." The expression in the MS. account, which has been printed in Collins' Peerage, seems to leave it doubtful whether this was a private confession, or whether the writer merely intends to describe what took place before them all. But there can be no doubt that it was a private confession, because if it had been public, all would have been spoken of as communicating, and there would have been no need of any particular allusion to the absolution rather than any other part of the service. But whatever doubt there may be as to the nature of the service, there can be none as to the fact of the earl's having made a private confession to Mr. Greenhaugh, because on the scaffold, in vindicating his own conduct, he took occasion to allude to the sins which he had confided to the bosom of this good man, pointing to Mr. Greenhaugh.

We should be glad to be able to give some account of Mr. Greenhaugh; but we can only conjecture that he is the same individual spoken of in Walker's Sufferings, under the name of John Greenhalgh, B.D., an ejected fellow of S. John's college, Cambridge. It is not unlikely he was brother of Captain Greenhalgh, lieutenant-governor of the Isle of Man, in whom Lord Derby seems to have reposed great confidence.

Before starting in the morning of Wednesday, October 16th, for Bolton, Lord Derby drank a cup of beer, and again bade his attendants remember him to the archdeacon, and inform him that he used the same grace that he had taught him.

He reached Bolton at one o'clock, and being allowed two hours to prepare for death, he spent the time in prayers and comforting his attendants, explaining how he had lived and how he had prepared for death, and was no longer afraid of it.

His speech on the scaffold was as follows :

"I come and am content to die in this town, where I endeavoured to come the last time when I was in Lancashire, as to a place where I persuaded myself to be welcome, in regard the people thereof have reason to be satisfied in my love and affection to them; and that now they understand sufficiently. I am no man of blood, as some have falsely slandered me, especially in the killing of a captain in this town, whose death is declared on oath, so as the time and place now appears under the hand of a Master in Chancery, besides the several attestations of a

gentleman of honour in the kingdom, who was in the fight in this town, and of others of good report both in the town and the country ; and I am confident there are some in this place who can witness my mercy and care for sparing men's lives that day.

"As for my crime (as some are pleased to call it), to come into this country with the king, I hope it deserves a better name ; for I did it in obedience to his call, whom I hold myself obliged to obey, according to the protestation I took in parliament in his father's time. I confess I love monarchy, and I love my master Charles, the second of that name, whom I myself proclaimed in this country to be king. The LORD bless him and preserve him : I assure you he is the most godly, virtuous, valiant, and most discreet king that I know lives this day : and I wish so much happiness to this people after my death, that he may enjoy his right, and then they cannot want their rights. I profess here in the presence of GOD I always sought for peace, and I had no other reason ; for I wanted neither means nor honours, nor did I seek to enlarge either. By my king's predecessors mine were raised again to a high condition, it is well known to the country ; and it is as well known that by his enemies I am condemned to suffer by new and unknown laws. The LORD send us our king again, and our old laws again, and the LORD send us our religion again.

"As for that which is practised now, it has no name, and methinks there is more talk of religion than any good effects of it.

"Truly to me it seems I die for GOD, the king, and the laws, and this makes me not be ashamed of my life nor afraid of my death."

Here he was interrupted by a disturbance amongst the soldiers. The rest of his speech, which had been written by himself, but which was not delivered, was as follows :

"My sentence, upon which I am brought hither, was by a council of war, nothing in the captain's case alleged against me ; which council I had reason to expect would have justified my plea for quarter, that being an ancient and honourable one amongst soldiers, and not violated (that I know of,) till this time, that I am made the first suffering precedent in this case.

"Now I must die, and am ready to die, I thank my GOD with a good conscience, without any malice, or any ground whatever, though others would not find mercy upon me, upon just and fair grounds ; so my SAVIOUR prayed for His enemies, and so do I for mine.

"As for my faith and my religion, this much I have at this time to say :—

"I profess my faith to be in JESUS CHRIST, Who died for me, from Whom I look for my salvation, that is through His only merit and sufferings. And I die a dutiful son of the Church of England, as it was established in my late master's time and reign, and is yet professed in the Isle of Man, which is no little comfort to me. I thank my GOD for the quiet of my conscience at this time, and the assurance of those joys that are prepared for those that fear Him. Good people, pray for me, I do for you : the GOD of heaven bless you all, and send you peace : that GOD, that, is truth itself, give you grace, peace, and truth. Amen."

He died uttering the words, "Blessed be God's glorious Name for ever and ever. Let the whole earth be filled with His glory."

We hope our readers are sufficiently interested in Lord Derby to bear with some further extracts concerning him. They occur only in Peck's *Desiderata Curiosa*, a book which is in few people's hands, though it contains a considerable amount of useful information with regard to the times of the civil war. The earl left in MS. an account of the Island, addressed to his son, Lord Strange, in which, amongst other useful advice, he gives the following admonition as to the appointment of a Bishop of Man :

"No subject that I know hath so great royalty as this. And lest it be thought too great, keep this rule, and you will more securely keep it. Fear God, and honour the king. Have this in your thoughts, first, to choose a reverend and holy man to your bishop, who may carefully see the whole clergy do their duties.

"It hath been a custom heretofore, that such persons have been chosen to the place who were already beneficed in England, to the end they might better be enabled to live with reputation and honour to the country. But I have considered a farther matter in it. For by the law and custom here, the lord and bishop agreeing, might lease any part of the bishopric for twenty-one years, for lives, or further time, &c., which hath usually been done, and at this time it is so. Whereby you see few bishops have at any time enjoyed the full benefits, and have contented themselves to be called lords. But in a few years the leases will be expired, and then the bishopric shall be worth the having. And considering the cheapness of the place, I know few bishops in England can live better than he, the whole being entire. Nevertheless I would not lose the power hereof; but to keep up my prerogative (unto which of all things have a most especial regard), you may give way to leasing some petty thing or other of little moment.

"One of the chief things I herein consider is, that if the greatest part of the bishopric be leased, you will find few worthy men desirous of the place. And, if men be beneficed already, they will seldom live in the isle; which indeed I would have the whole clergy obliged unto. For so will they do God more service; they will relieve and instruct the poor people better. Have also great care that this bishop be not of a factious spirit. And let them be of your own choosing rather than recommended to you. So will they have the only obligation to yourself, and have no dependence of another. For it may displease you if they talk too much of York, as some ill chosen heretofore have done.

"I had a design, and God may enable me, to set up an university, without much charge, (as I have contrived it,) which may much oblige the nations round about us. It may get friends into the country, and enrich this land, (of which some share in time will come to the lord's purse, as is most certain thereby will much credit.) This certainly would please God and man. But of this I shall tell you more when [it] please [s] the LORD to settle me again in mine own."

But we have already exceeded our limits, and shall conclude this

paper with the following extract, which gives the earl's opinion of Mr. Rutter :

"You know my instructions to you. In the first place to fear the **LORD** is the beginning of true wisdom. And I know you are taught it of Mr. Rutter : for whom you and I may best thank God.

"He is not only a good teacher to you ; but a good companion both to you and me : having nothing at all of the pedant. There is good proof of his labours with you. For you have profited well in your studies : and without flattery to either, above what I expected by reason of your long sickness. For I cannot hope of so much scholarship from you as your brothers ; who are (God be thanked) more healthful ; and (God willing) shall be plied harder at their studies than you have been.

"You have already the benefit of your mother's language, so as you need not travel (as I and some others have done,) to pass our time for words ; while we lost so much of our life to have studied men and manners.

"The method of your teaching you may remember. When God blesseth you with children, you may yourself give rules unto their teachers. Nevertheless lest you forget any of it, I may happily desire Mr. Rutter to set it down in writing ; that you may keep the same by you with this : and if others (when we are dead) pretend to greater knowledge, and a new way of teaching, you may compare his great skill with our true loves ; of which these and the like endeavours shall be our witnesses. In another place I may say more of my intents concerning your breeding, travel, and the like. In the meantime I will tell you something of my commissioners' behaviour in this country, and how it fared while they ruled here. Also, something of the choice of servants."

(To be continued.)

REVIEWS AND NOTICES.

The Re-consecration, Reconciliation, &c., of Churches, according to the law and practice of the Church. By E. C. HARRINGTON, A.M., Chancellor of the Cathedral Church of Exeter. 8vo. pp. 64. Rivingtons and others.

THIS pamphlet has been written at the request of the Exeter Diocesan Architectural Society, as a sort of sequel to Mr. Harrington's valuable work on the "Importance, &c. of the rite of Consecration of Churches." We hail it as a proof that we are not closing our eyes to the fulness of that precept : "Mundamini, qui fertis vasa Domini." And it is more especially satisfactory to find that one of our architectural societies has not shrunk from vindicating its concern in matters which are high

above the study of mere mechanical and constructive details, or that cold antiquarianism to which too many similar bodies seem to imagine that their thoughts and discussions must needs be confined.

The question which the present work is intended to answer, will occur naturally to any one who looks into the second part of the Roman Pontifical, or considers the nature and intent of the rite of Consecration. The Pontifical, besides giving forms for laying a first stone of a church, for its consecration, and the benediction of its vessels and furniture, supplies one for the *reconciliation* of churches and cemeteries. The question therefore arises, under what circumstances is the latter to be employed? And again, if we consider the nature of consecration, we shall at once be led to inquire whether such a change may not be made in the material fabric of an ecclesiastical building, by enlargement or re-construction, that a new consecration may become necessary. On the other hand there is this difficulty, that the Catholic Church has always, as in the case of Baptism, so in that of sacramental benedictions, been extremely careful to guard against iteration; the unnecessary repetition of such ceremony or Sacrament being always held to imply a virtual impugning of the validity of that which preceded. And lastly, there is a further consideration, whether by the commission of crimes, or other profanities, within a building already consecrated, it may not become so far unhallowed as to require a solemn reconciliation; and if so, under what circumstances such ceremony is to be thought indispensable.

Such questions as these, Mr. Harington says, are now of often occurrence; and "the church-building and architectural societies are accordingly placed at times in the position of being called upon to form an opinion, and to give advice upon some intricate point connected with this subject, the solution of which lies concealed in some ponderous tome of Canon Law."

With regard to the question of reconsecration, the general maxim of the Canonists appears to be "*sacrum trahit ad se non sacrum, et major pars minorem*;" and accordingly that unless the new part of the church exceed the part previously consecrated, no reconsecration is necessary. Still, in the case of great delapidation, Durandus, (Rit. Div. Off. I. vi. 31.) recommends that it be "reconciled with exorcised water, and by solemnizing a Mass therein." And Mr. Harington very properly suggests that in many cases where reconsecration would be unadvisable, some episcopal act is requisite to satisfy those who would follow the rule of S. Ignatius, "*ἀνευ τοῦ ἐπισκόπου μηδὲν πράσσετε*." In such cases as these he recommends, on the authority of Bishop Montaigne in 1622, and the present Bishop of Exeter, that letters of Confirmation should be granted by the Bishop, and that the edifice should be re-opened with "public prayer read under the authority of the Bishop, by the Priest ministering vice *Episcopi*, pro benedictione operis."

In the case of the pollution of a church by the commission of any crime therein, the rule of Canon Law is rendered rather obscure by the confusion of the words "*consecrare, benedicere, reconsecrare, rebenedicere* and *reconciliare*." The rule however, appears to be, that when the

church is polluted in one of the two ways specified by the Canonists, or is partly destroyed by fire, the form for reconciliation is to be used, although in the latter case the words "infidelium spurcitiis contaminatam" occurring in the Ordo Reconciliandi would hardly be applicable.

Questions of great importance might be raised respecting the treatment of churches canonically consecrated, but used like those of Scotland, for purposes of heretical worship. We do not read of any forms adopted for the purgation of churches after the termination of the Arian controversy, and the only case alleged by Mr. Harington which bears on this point is Bishop Hacket's Reconciliation of Lichfield Cathedral; it seems probable that such misuse of the sacred edifice would require that it should be *reconciled*, more especially since the heretical occupiers would doubtless destroy altar and all the insignia of Catholic worship.

As the Pontifical of the Church of England unfortunately (or perhaps fortunately) contains no offices but those of Confirmation and Ordination, all forms of consecration and benediction save those of a new church or cemetery have in effect been laid aside. It seems certain that the increased attention with which the decency of Catholic worship is regarded will lead to the adoption of forms for the benediction of new altars, holy vessels, vestments, and other ecclesiastical furniture. Mr. Harington's learning in the Canonists would stand us here in good stead. As our practice at present goes, altars, plate, fonts, vestments, &c., are too often used at once, without any previous ceremony; but surely, as we observed on a former occasion, the time is not far distant, when Catholic forms of benediction will be thought in such cases indispensable.

Daily Steps towards Heaven (J. H. Parker) are formed somewhat on the model of Bogatzky's "Golden Treasury;" and the popularity of that very unsatisfactory Manual is abundant justification for the appearance of a competitor, which we hope may be destined very generally to supersede it. The "Steps" are arranged so as to provide a short subject for each day's meditation: from Advent to Trinity Sunday, the course of Church Services is followed; and the remainder goes through the Miracles and Teaching of our Lord, according to a Harmony of the Gospels which is prefixed. As regards the execution of the work, we have noted a few places where there appears rather a want of accuracy in statement, which should be amended in another edition. Thus the Meditation for the First Sunday in Advent speaks of man's restoration from the effects of the fall being effected "by grace through faith and the contemplation of CHRIST." Again, our Lord's words, "I am with you always," are applied exclusively to His Presence in the hearts of individual Christians! Other defects and errors might easily be pointed out: but upon the whole, we may welcome it as a useful Manual of that kind of *regular* devotion which we so much need.

The *Story of a Dream*, (Masters,) by the author of "Hymns and Scenes of Childhood," seems to claim to be an historical "Little Red Riding Hood." We have no doubt that it will prove a decided favourite in the nursery.

The Post-Office Sunday Labour Controversy has been enacted in a very characteristic manner at Harrow. A petition was started by the Vicar (Mr. Cunningham) containing the usual amount of assumptions, and supported by the usual Judaical arguments. (It is curious by the way how those who so commonly depreciate "the law," here take their stand invariably upon it.) For these reasons Dr. Vaughan declines signing the petition, and in a very gentle letter declares his reasons for refusing. Hereupon he finds himself preached against in his parish church, and denounced in the most bitter terms by the Record and by sundry "Evangelical" pamphlets. This necessitates a second letter of defence, (Murray,) which will quite repay reading.

MR. BENNETT, of S. Paul's, Knightsbridge, has just published a second series of *Letters to his Children*. (Cleaver.) In the former his chief object was to explain the external framework and constitution of the Church: in the present volume he dwells for the most part upon those moral habits which must ever characterise the true children of the Church—obedience, purity, the government of the temper and the thoughts, &c. They contain a number of home truths forcibly expressed; and are calculated to do great good. They will reach too to that highest class of society which is scarcely accessible to the ordinary means of exhortation or remonstrance.

In a new edition of the Bishop of Brechin's very persuasive little Tract, *A Plea for Sisterhoods*, which we are glad to announce, it is stated that nine of these Communities are now in active operation in England. Similar institutions, for men as well as for women, are also springing up, it appears, in the United States of America.

Among new Editions we may mention with great commendation one both cheap and well arranged, of *Pearson on the Creed*. It is in a single volume, and has been brought out under the care of Mr. Temple Chevalier. (J. W. Parker.) A rare and valuable Book has also been reprinted in the Anglo-Catholic Library,—two volumes of *Festival Sermons* by Dr. Mark Franks, sometime Master of Pembroke Hall, Cambridge. The author was largely endowed with that wit and humour which characterised all the great Jacobite and Caroline preachers; and like them was fully master of Theology. We are indebted to Dr. Mill for these volumes, which, after Laud and Andrewes, seem to us almost the most valuable in the Series.

Mr. Badeley, we are glad to see, has published the substance of the very able speech which he delivered before the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council in the recent case of 'Gorham v. the Bishop of Exeter.' It should be read by every one who entertains the smallest doubt concerning the Church's Doctrine.

The Garden in the Wilderness is allegorical, and derived apparently from German sources. It is pleasingly told and nicely got up.

NOTICE TO CORRESPONDENTS.

The lamented death of Dr. Elrington induces us once more to postpone the discussion of the Irish articles, although the Reply of the Reviewer is in type.

THE TREATMENT OF DISSENTERS.

THE subject embodied in the title prefixed to this article is one just now of increasing interest and moment, which therefore is, as it ought to be, more and more engaging the practical attention of earnest churchmen in this country, especially of those most immediately concerned with its consideration, the parochial clergy. The truth of this statement has been forcibly impressed upon our own minds on a quite recent occasion, which indeed first suggested the preparation of the article. In lately removing from one neighbourhood to another in a distant county, our change of residence was coincident with a muster of the clergy of both districts; the one a convention of the ruridecanal chapter on the citation of their dean; the other simply what is called a "clerical meeting," of a voluntary, private, and less formal kind. In both meetings alike the question proposed for discussion was identically the same; and that, it so happened, was stated in the *ipsissima verba* of the above title.

It may be not an unfit introduction to a few remarks we intend to offer here upon the subject, to describe summarily the proceedings of the meetings, or of one of them, for the result was much the same in both. That at the house of the rural dean, which was the largest, consisted of some five and twenty of the working clergy from the neighbouring parishes, (town and country parishes, in an agricultural district), active men, of all ages, and temperaments, and representatives of the whole cycle of theological *differentia* comprisable within the same communion. It was agreed, that the best way of bringing the question forward in a practical shape would be for each individual in order to state, as a matter of fact, what *had been* his method of treatment hitherto in regard to the dissenters of his parish. One after another, therefore, as it came to his turn, with more or less particularity, delivered his experiences on the subject. A thoughtful reader, doubtless, will anticipate the real issue of such delivery. If he himself be in orders, and has been for any length of time personally conversant with the pastoral charge of a parish in which dissent in any form abounds, he will pause to consider the result of his own experience, and be prepared by that consideration to expect, that the testimony of these five and twenty or any number of English clergymen belonging to the various schools, would prove singularly unanimous on this one point; namely, that their plan of "treating dissenters" did in fact and practically amount to *nothing*,—to leaving them alone! Such, however, was the case at both the meetings to which reference has been made. Allowing for a very considerable difference of tone in the manner of dealing with the subject, according to the degree of severity or favour with which the notion of dissent in the general was entertained by

different individuals, and for some slight difference of practice in regard to the treatment of individual dissenters under certain circumstances, (as in sickness, when the clergyman was sent for, or when brought for burial to the church, or in visiting from house to house promiscuously on newly entering upon a cure), yet the main question at issue was disposed of alike by one and all with a confession of having really *done nothing*,—nothing, that is, directly, systematically, and on a large scale, to combat the acknowledged evil.

A difference of tone in the manner of *speaking* of dissent was admitted to be observable on these occasions. But even in this respect there is so far an actual agreement, that most churchmen seem to speak of it in a sort of off-hand random way, as if not very clearly realizing wherein its essential evil or inconvenience consists. They speak of it, some bitterly, some contemptuously, some indifferently, some with connivance and a patronizing air, but never or not often so as to indicate a very definite conception of the particular reasons which disparage it by comparison with the Church, and render it desirable that men should belong to the latter in preference to it. And it is the need, we suppose, of more precise ideas upon the subject, which leads to so much unreal speaking and to so little effectual working in the matter. Under this impression, however, we proposed to ourselves an article embodying some reflections suggestive of a less indefinite view, which might help also to bring to a practical result the further discussion of the question, which, at least on both the occasions referred to, was adjourned *sine die*, at the point above stated, and *adhuc sub judice lis est*.

Our object then, is to determine more exactly the position of dissenters in relation to the Church in England; *why* it is desirable to endeavour to reconcile them to the Church at all; and what is the system of treatment most probably conducive to that end.

The popular ultra-Anglican theory appears to be, that the "various denominations" of Protestant dissenters in this country are in the guilt of unmitigated schism. Mr. Palmer in his *Treatise on the Church*, asserts and maintains this wholesale proposition in the most sweeping and uncompromising terms. He says (P. i. ch. xiii.), "I am now to speak of the societies which are separated from the communion of the Anglo-catholic Churches. As I shall consider elsewhere the character of the Romanists and the Scottish presbyterians, it only remains here to treat of the various sects of dissent. Of these communities, whether *collectively* or *individually* considered, I affirm, *that they are no part of the Church of Christ*." Further on in the chapter he repeats and defends this unqualified position by the following curious and not very conclusive piece of *logic*: "Owen, their chief writer, speaks of 'baptizing the children of church-members, giving them thereby an admission into the visible Catholic Church.' Baptism, then, admitted into the visible Catholic Church; but *baptism did not admit into dissenting Churches of professing saints; therefore the latter form no part of the*

Catholic Church of Christ." A somewhat barefaced *petitio principii*! Such, however, we admit, appears to be the view contemplated by the English Houses of Convocation in the Canons of the seventeenth century. Again and again is the principle expressly laid down in the ninth, affirmed and applied to a variety of instances; "Whosoever shall hereafter separate themselves from the Communion of Saints, as it is approved by the Apostle's rules, in the Church of England, and combine themselves into a new brotherhood, accounting the Christians, who are conformable to the doctrine, government, rites and ceremonies of the Church of England, to be profane, and unmeet for them to join with in Christian profession; let them be excommunicated *ipso facto*, and not restored but by the Archbishop, after their repentance, and public revocation of such their wicked errors." Now, without entering into the question of the soundness of the principle, as applied to the "maintainers of conventicles," Roman Catholic or Puritanical, of that date, we are prepared gravely to protest against its strict applicability to the present race of Protestant Dissenters (with whose treatment we are now concerned), as not only harsh and exclusive under the circumstances of their position, but as indefensible on any grounds of accurate Theology. Our view, simply stated, is, that having, as individuals, mostly in infancy, been once regenerated and engrafted into the Catholic Church by Baptism rightly administered and, of course, worthily received, and *never afterwards formally pronounced excommunicate*, they cannot in a strict theological sense be regarded as in *schism*, i. e. cut off from union with CHRIST; and, according to the Ignatian axiom, *ὅπου ἂν ᾖ ὁ Χριστός Ἰησοῦς, ἐκεῖ ἡ καθολικὴ ἐκκλησία*. Nor indeed is this view inconsistent with the most literal interpretation of the Canons in question, which only declare after all of those who "shall hereafter separate themselves," &c., "let them be excommunicated *ipso facto*," but decide nothing about their condition, in case the sentence of excommunication should never actually be pronounced. For, we need scarcely observe, the *ipso facto* is ruled to possess no legal validity in itself, without a trial, conviction, and judgment in a proper court. The principle contended for moreover is universally conceded by the English clergy in the most practical way possible, by their burial of professed Dissenters with the Office of the Church, a practice confessedly unpalatable under any consideration, but surely also pregnant with even "blasphemous frivolity," excepting alone on the hypothesis of their spiritual confraternity and real abidance in the Communion of Saints.

We are not called upon to express an opinion as to what *would* be the effect upon their condition, *if* the Canon were carried out. That is another question, and a much more painful and difficult one, but beside our present purpose. The inquiry we have to deal with now regards only the position of Dissenters as we find them at this day. And it is a most important point gained towards

forming a clear notion of dissent, and devising a wise theory of treatment, to realize the fact of their actual Church-membership through suspension of the power of the keys. They have been once loosed on earth, and never again bound; they have been united mystically to CHRIST, and not again delivered over unto Satan,—they have been made members of the Body, and not afterwards cut off. “For by one Spirit are we all Baptized into One Body;” and though “the foot shall say, Because I am not the hand, I am not of the body, *is it therefore not* of the Body? and if the ear shall say, Because I am not the eye, I am not of the body, *is it therefore not* of the Body?” Surely, a merely voluntary separation from nominal Communion does not necessarily constitute a formal *schism*.

This remark of course has reference only to those who are called *orthodox* Dissenters, to whom Baptism with proper matter and form has been administered. The case of Quakers, unbaptized Baptists, and others, who have never received the initiatory Sacrament, or again of plainly heretical bodies, such as the Unitarians, is not now contemplated. Dissent, generally speaking, does not involve the conscious and explicit denial of objective truths; but runs off mostly on some subjective matter of feeling, taste, or opinion, which forms the centre of a new sectarian system; such as that regarding assurance, perfectibility, the divine counsels, or the like; on which a diversity of persuasion, though of course necessarily involving serious error, is compatible with real communion in the Church.

Further, when we come to consider the historical origin of Dissenting bodies, and some of the causes of their existence at this day, we shall find that, for the most part, they are not without Catholic principles at bottom, to explain, and extenuate, perhaps justify, their position. For instance, faith in the teaching of parents, school-masters, their own ministers of religion, is the prevailing motive, we suppose, with the great mass of Dissenters, and is as conscientiously entertained by them as by Churchmen. Their hereditary religion is Dissent; the only form in which their religious characters have been moulded, their conscience awakened, their devotional feelings exercised, their consolations administered, their self-mastery produced. They have been born and educated as Dissenters, and Dissenters they remain. Unless some self-evident token of superior truth, sanctity, and authority, is exhibited by the Church as it comes before them, contrasted with their own communion, they are in duty bound, surely, not to forsake it for the other, but to serve God, as they best can, where He in His providence has placed them. And has it been the case hitherto in *most* parishes or neighbourhoods, that the Church would bear comparison at an obvious advantage in these respects with the conventicles and their frequenters of the same locality? To which very often do the most frequent and devotional services, the most

earnest and affectionate preaching, the most painstaking, strictliving, and zealous ministers belong? Were the instances few, at least in a past age, among the clergy, of notorious levity, worldliness, self-indulgence, neglect of pastoral duties; not to mention habitual addiction to the grosser sins of drunkenness, blasphemy, and impurity? We hold it to have been the plain duty of the people to separate from such ministers as these in any way not involving a breach of Catholic Communion. Mr. Palmer (in justification, apparently, of our own Anglican position in relation to the Western Church) quotes an epistle addressed by a Synod of African Bishops with S. Cyprian, to the clergy and people of Leon and Merida, in Spain, of which the following is an extract:—"Plebs obsequens præceptis Dominicis, et Deum metuens, à peccatore præposito separare se debet, nec se ad sacrilegi sacerdotis sacrificia miscere.—Quantum possumus adhortamur litteris nostris, ne cum profanis et maculatis sacerdotibus communicatione sacrilega miscere." And he observes, "Of this rule of Catholic communion '(namely, voluntary separation from wicked ministers without incurring the guilt of schism)' we find innumerable examples in the history of the Church."* Nay, even in the case of those, who, without this excuse, have on attaining manhood, left the Church in which they have been baptized and catechized, and joined some body of Dissenters, they have acted, perhaps for the most part, on an aim after higher perfection, and a "closer walk with God," than was attainable, as they thought, where they were. "They have gone," they said "where they seemed to get the greatest good;" where they found more sympathy, and wider scope; more reality, and more life. The secession itself, on their part, involved an exercise of faith, a witnessing to the world of CHRIST. Approved by their own conscience, and (what is a *most* important feature) practically uncensured by the Church, it was attended perhaps with some slight measure of humiliation and persecution. Not in a spirit of controversy, however, or animosity, or caprice, was the step taken, but in ignorance and with the best intention.

We have already excepted altogether from the application of these apologetic remarks all those whose particular form of separation involves either loss of regenerative grace, or the conscious, wilful, and obstinate maintenance of any point contrary to the known faith and doctrine of the Catholic Church. It is obvious that from the class more particularly contemplated in the latter sentences, we should exclude also those whose motive has been merely personal spite and vindictiveness, or a proud love of independence; and that lawless band of individuals, to be found especially in town parishes, so aptly characterised by one whose words are not often lightly spoken, as "*political dissenters*." But the persons we are now describing are those numerous families of quiet, orderly, and religious people,

* *Treatise on the Church*, p. 1, ch. iv., sect. v.

who as regularly, and with the same sincerity and earnestness of purpose, (to say the least,) throng the meeting-houses on Sundays, as the average mass of Church families "go to church;" nay, who during the week (often before daylight in the morning, and after dark at night), are to be found at the chapel prayer-meeting, or love-feast, or school, or busily from house to house distributing religious tracts, or collecting for the Missionary fund. These "dissenting churches of professing saints," we apprehend, are sadly amenable to Mr. Palmer's *dictum*, that they "form no part of the Catholic Church of CHRIST;" and it is their Christianity, and in a true sense, Catholicity, which we are now most anxious to maintain.

If then it be admitted that there is little essential and personal evil in a good Dissenter, considered as above, wherein consists the extrinsic and accidental evil of Dissent, which renders his position so inferior in spiritual respects to a professed communion with the Church; nay, so dangerous as to demand, we affirm, a far more strenuous effort to reclaim him than has hitherto commonly been made? It will be sufficient for our present practical purpose to touch on two or three points. 1. In the first place, although heresy is not *necessarily* involved in his condition, there is undoubtedly a very great danger of incurring it, chiefly through the ignorance of his teachers. It is notorious how whole dissenting bodies, orthodox in their origin, have in course of time lapsed into Antinomianism and Socinian infidelity. There is no adequate security against such a fall in the case of individual dissenters. And the danger is greater in the case of those who have undoubtedly the best grounds on which to justify their position, the children of dissenting parents, who have been born and educated in Dissent, without therefore the unconscious influence of dogmatic forms, the creeds and the catechism, which exercise ever afterwards a wonderful, though often involuntary, restraint upon the mind of the children of the Church, preservative from deadly error. This constitutes, indeed, for the most part, an essential difference both in matter and tone between the teaching of the ultra-Protestant clergy, however heterodox on some points, and that of their "dissenting brethren." The former is balanced and qualified to an indefinite extent by the unconscious force of early dogmatic education, and the involuntary mental habit induced by familiarity with liturgical forms. There is no such safeguard in the case of hereditary Dissenters, either ministers or people. Not only are a majority of the former a set of illiterate and untrained individuals, blind leaders of the blind, but both teachers and taught, as a first principle of Dissent, are encouraged to exercise their "private judgment," on the verities of the faith, in the worst meaning of that most dangerous phrase. On this account, and from its directly antagonistic position in relation to the Church, controversy is the breathing atmosphere of Dissent. Fundamental doctrines of religion are so wrapped round with qualifications in their statement as to lose their positive

aspect, and present themselves only as spiritless negations to the recipient dissenting mind, not as true in their own essential and objective reality, but as witnessing, it is supposed, against some opposite prevalent error. This, alas, must be, more or less, generally the case with all sections of a divided Church, to the sad detriment of a simple faith. But it is especially so, no doubt, with those which, locally and politically, are brought into immediate proximity, as Roman Catholics and Protestants in Ireland, and the various sects of Dissenters in this country. There is danger lest they should refuse or obscure the Catholic Faith as such, simply *because* it is the doctrine of the Church, and from the heretical temper and habit in which they have been bred. And this surely is a very grievous evil. 2. A far more fatal one remains to be considered. It has been admitted that the majority of Dissenters have been, "by the laver of Regeneration in Baptism, received into the number of the children of God, and heirs of everlasting life." But is Holy Baptism the *only* Sacrament generally necessary to salvation? "Since all, in after years," (we quote from a printed sermon,) "regenerate and unregenerate alike, are called to encounter the three great enemies of our fallen race, the world, the flesh, and the devil, how should they enter upon the combat with any prospect of a final victory, unless first instrengthened with that special gift of resistive and perfective power which Confirmation alone has the promise of imparting, through the anointing of the seven-fold grace of the HOLY GHOST? The omission of Confirmation, therefore, one is brought to the conclusion, cuts off from all hope of attaining to spiritual manhood and perfection." "The ancient fathers esteemed it," says Wheatley, "a necessary means of salvation, which none that were advanced to years of discretion could neglect without the utmost hazard to their souls."* Or again, to speak briefly of a painful subject, whatever salvatory grace and blessedness are derivable from the Eucharistic Sacrifice and Communion, from the Apostolical Orders and Ministry, and Sacerdotal acts, Holy Marriage, Absolution, and Benediction,—if even with a due and constant use of all the Sacramental means of grace which God has put within our power, it is so very difficult to get the mastery of our evil nature, and to attain to anything like the perfectness of character required in CHRIST's saints, what must be the case of those, who after baptism pass through life without the use of any one? It is in this view they approach most nearly to a formal schism, and are placed in such deadly peril to their souls. 3. After this, we need but still more briefly allude to the sin of profane, that is, unauthorized handling of holy things—the sin of Saul and Uzzah—so much insisted on by the divines of the seventeenth century against the nonconformists of that age; a sin to which we fear at

* Com. Prayer, ch. ix. sec. ii. 4, where he cites in the margin numerous authorities from the Fathers and early Councils, confirmatory of the statement in the text above quoted.

least the teachers and ministers are obnoxious, who affect Holy Orders and the administration of Holy Sacraments.* 4. And lastly, we may just mention the incalculable hindrance to the propagation of the truth, and the up-growth of holiness, the waste of zeal and energy, the constitutional weakness and crippled condition of the whole body, produced by the want of sympathy between and disorganization of the members.

We regret, that the limits of an article, and the despatch necessary in its preparation, oblige us to discuss in the same cursory and, we fear, somewhat meagre manner, the remedial methods of treatment, which we have in conclusion to suggest, as fraught with the most probable "hope of reconciliation." Quite enough, we trust, however hastily, has been said under the last division of the subject, not only to relieve us from a charge of undue liberalism in estimating the evils of Dissent, but to convey a more definite idea of the real *nature* of the evils. It is a great gain, if we are brought to regard it with a less sullen conviction of its hopeless estrangement from and antipathy to the Catholic elements of the Church, and to cease denouncing it in the harsh, repulsive, and inconsiderate language of (to give a specimen which has come under our notice during the progress of this article,) the following extract from an advertisement, just published, in a provincial journal: the writer is appealing for contribution to a new district church, now in course of erection, and urges,—“In this hamlet there are no less than three dissenting chapels, the greater part of the inhabitants being dissenters; while they who do belong to the ‘*true Catholic Church*,’ established in this country, are daily *being led away from it* by these ‘*wolves in sheep’s clothing*’; there being no room for them in the parish church. This appeal therefore is made to all those who have the interest of the true Church at heart, and desire to rescue numbers of their brethren from the danger they are in by joining *that heretical schism, Dissent*.”† This the ordinary language of ultra-Anglicans, is, we maintain, so far uncharitable as it is exaggerated and theologically incorrect. But we quote the passage here, not so much as illustrating our previous observations on this point, as to bring forward one remedy suggested by it for the amelioration of the contemplated evil. No doubt, the multiplication of churches in some proportion to the increase of population and the creation of new neighbourhoods, will prove an effective stay to the progress of Dissent. Probably, had there been sufficient “room in the parish church” for the inhabitants of the rural hamlet above referred to, the religious harmony of the district would never have been disturbed, nor the temper of the writer ruffled, by the erection of the three dissenting chapels. But to rail against the parties responsible for their erection under the cir-

* See South, Sermon, (Vol. 1.) on Ps. lxxvii. 2; and Bishop Sanderson, on 1 Cor. x. 23.

† Advertisement in the *Oxford Herald*, January 19, 1850.

cumstances, reminds us of a reply made to a clerical friend of our own, who, on a similar occasion, complained to the builder of a new meeting-house in his village, that "he supposed it was built there to annoy himself." "No, indeed, sir," was the *naïve* answer, "I built it to annoy *the enemy of mankind!*" Surely, so long as public worship of any sort is better than none at all, the opportunity afforded by the conventicle, with its miserable architecture and its wretchedly meagre services, is to be thankfully regarded as a principal means, at least in a past age, for preserving religion among the people. But the extension of church room is to be obtained, often more effectually, in different localities, by other methods than the costly one of building new churches; namely, by a new internal arrangement of our old ones, the abolition of the odious pew system, and the multiplication of religious services. We are not prepared to state what proportion the *number* of churches bears to the population in continental countries, where the Catholic body of believers is not divided into "various denominations," and *all* the inhabitants of a district frequent the *same* church. But the evident paucity, compared with the proportionate number in England, affords sufficient proof, that the amount of actual church-room will not adequately account for uniformity or dissension in the same communion. It is plain, that the object is practically obtained by the *open area* of the churches, and the frequency of services in each. And we should be glad to find, in the present rage for *building* churches, that a commensurate attention was paid to those latter methods of effecting the desired end.

Thus much, however, only as to an obvious means for arresting the further *progress* of Dissent. The point which we are disposed most to rely upon for the *recovery* of wanderers from the fold, is, to *give a more popular character to our Church Services in the circumstances and manner of their performance; to make them more attractive and congenial to a religious mind.* There will of course be some difference of opinion, how this end will be answered best in detail. For our own part, our knowledge of human nature, such as it is, and the experience of continental churches just referred to, and of the Church in this country before the rupture of the sixteenth century, convince us, that a more splendid, more touching, and more symbolical form of worship, than that at present practised amongst us, in respect of architecture, ceremonial, vestments, decorations, music, singing, and the other external appliances of devotion, is under grace, the *unitive* principle most needed, most missed, the loss of which has been fatally destructive of our Catholic brotherhood and communion. Religion with the mass of people will seem to find its most complete exercise and development in public worship. The idea of religion presents itself to the mind of, perhaps, the majority, most familiarly, in the form of "going to church" or "chapel" on Sundays and other days. Practical religion seems to take its beginning from this point; so

that going to church or not, is the mark most dwelt upon to determine a man's religious character. It is obviously most important, that the form of common worship should be such, as to engage and satisfy the yearnings of our common nature. Now, we are persuaded that an essential element of the Divine Image in man is greatly undervalued and unprovided for in our Anglican system, as popularly carried out,—and that is, the imagination. An unsatisfied and undirected imagination has been one of the most fruitful sources of Dissent. Nor is this view at all disproved by the cold dry nakedness, in fact, of ultra-Protestant forms. Imagination, or, more strictly speaking, perhaps, the moral sense acted on by the imagination, by the mental faculty which meditates upon spiritual realities, and unconsciously draws them out into a system of subjective truths, will, carried to an extreme, develop in one or other of two, apparently opposite, directions, in an *æsthetic* or *ascetic* form. The latter is the normal shape assumed in the Puritanical development. Its outward severity is no proof of any lack of imagination: how else should have sprung from it such ripe and luscious fruits as, for example, Milton's *Paradise Lost* or Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress*? The ecclesiological movement now going on among dissenters is another proof of the *natural* predilection. Besides, the excitement of singularity, separation, independence, antagonism, persecution, self-sacrifice, unbridled enthusiasm, real religious earnestness, aiming at perfection, supplies in dissent the desired *fomes* and subject-matter of imagination, not attainable by a quiet conformity with established uses. This statement is abundantly borne out in the personal histories of Luther, George Fox, John Wesley, the Welch leaders of methodism, and their respective followers of this class. The secessions which have recently taken place among us in a different direction are attributable, we are persuaded, to a very great extent, to the same disposing cause. It is the duty, and assuredly the wisdom, of a Church, to provide for the due exercise of an enlightened and sanctified imagination. This end is to be effected, in a good measure, we have already hinted, by a judicious combination of the two forms, the *æsthetic*, and *ascetic*,—the staff of beauty, and the staff of bands,—on which imagination naturally fastens, in the ritual, the discipline, the obligations, and observances, the fast and festival practices, of the Church.

Concurrently of course with a movement in this matter, and preparatory to it, there must be a more close, personal, and confidential intercourse between clergy and people, with a view to removing prejudices, producing kindly feelings, correcting tendencies to heresy or antinomianism, and above all, as affording precious opportunities of sympathy, intercession, spiritual consolation, and direction, and other Christian offices of love, which possess such a wonderful power of attraction in the confessionals of the continental churches, and in the class system of the Wesleyan sect.

To carry out a plan of this kind to any adequate extent, there must be a proportionate increase of the clergy; and these, taken from all ranks of life; and therefore, according to their various intellectual and spiritual abilities, of different ministerial Orders. The fresh scope and occasion for religious zeal thus opened in the Church, would operate also as a powerful stay to earnest spirits, yearning for an active life in religion, who have hitherto sought it in dissent. Others, whose dispositions are of a more contemplative and studious kind, would find their fit vocation in religious societies and brotherhoods. On this point, indeed, we had intended, but for our necessary limits, to expatiate at some length. We may, perhaps, recur to it hereafter. We are not sure that we are starting an original idea, but it is one which has long forcibly impressed us, that a great secret of external unity in the Roman and Oriental churches, is an effect of their monastic orders. The various sects of Dissenters in this country, viewed under one aspect in relation to the Church, occupy an analogous position with the different bodies of Religious on the continent. The Church has wisely provided in these bodies for a necessary difference of opinion as to the relative importance of certain truths, speculative or practical, attributable to differences of temperament or education, without injury to the Catholic faith; and for different views and counsels of Christian perfection. How marvellously united in mind and singleness of purpose, how distinct in personal character and detail, the outward beauty and magnificence of the Cluniac rule, the severity and simplicity of Citeaux! What apparent refuge is there for perfectionists in our own communion, but in one of the established or some new section of dissent?

This is eminently an age of unions and societies, for special ecclesiastical purposes. We should be truly glad to hear of some judicious combinations among the clergy exclusively devoted to the practical object contemplated in this article,—the treatment of Dissenters. There would be ample employment, we are sure, in a deep study of dissent; its history, and real nature; its characteristic views and tempers; its dangers, deficiencies, and intrinsic evils; and in the preparation of careful treatises on the subject, of a controversial and practical kind; the suggestion of probably successful schemes of dealing with it, and of counteractive influences; in the carrying out an aggressive warfare against it, with the arms of gentle persuasion, sympathy, and intercession. “Give ear, O Shepherd of Israel, Thou that leadest Joseph like a flock; Thou that dwellest between the cherubims, shine forth. Before Ephraim, and Benjamin, and Manasses, stir up Thy strength, and come and save us. Turn us again, O God, and cause Thy Face to shine; and we shall be saved. O LORD GOD of Hosts, how long wilt Thou be angry against the prayer of Thy people? Thou makest us a strife unto our neighbours; and our enemies laugh among themselves. Thou hast brought a vine out of Egypt: Thou

hast cast out the heathen, and planted it. Thou preparedst room before it, and didst cause it to take deep root, and it filled the land. The hills were covered with the shadow of it, and the boughs thereof were like the goodly cedars. She sent out her boughs unto the sea, and her branches unto the river. Why hast Thou then broken down her hedges, so that all they which pass by pluck her? The boar out of the wood doth waste it, and the wild beast of the field doth devour it. Return, we beseech Thee, O LORD of Hosts : look down from heaven, and behold, and visit this vine ; and the vineyard which Thy Right Hand hath planted, and the branch that Thou madest strong for Thyself. It is burned with fire, it is cut down ; they perish at the rebuke of Thy Countenance. Let Thy Hand be upon the Man of Thy Right Hand, upon the Son of Man Whom Thou madest strong for Thyself. So will not we go back from Thee ; quicken us, and we will call upon Thy Name. Turn us again, O LORD God of Hosts, cause Thy Face to shine ; and we shall be saved !”

P.S. Since writing the above, it has occurred to us to suggest, that the present season of Lent affords the very best opportunity for putting in practice the recommendation contained in the latter sentences of this article, namely, a combined and systematic effort on the part of the Clergy, on a large scale, to recover and reconcile penitents to the Church, whether the ground of their wandering has been of a moral or ceremonial nature. The remark will not be too late even now, as applicable to the concluding and most sacred period of the season, the holy Passiontide. We rejoice to be able to put upon record one or two conclusive proofs, that such an attempt is no longer a matter of mere theory and hope, but under the highest sanction, and in the most practical manner possible, is at this time in progress. The first and most cheering instance is from the diocese of Oxford.

“**LENTEN MISSION.**—We understand that the Bishop, with the assistance of three or four active parish Clergymen, has commenced a series of visits to some of the more important towns of the Diocese, during this season of Lent, with the view of aiding the resident parochial Clergy in appealing to the consciences of their respective flocks. During his lordship’s stay in each place, which is to last, we believe, nearly a week, the Holy Sacrament will be celebrated daily, and sermons preached both at morning and evening service, with the especial view of arousing the careless, and of confirming and perfecting the more advanced. The first place selected is Wantage, from whence the Bishop will proceed to Faringdon, and afterwards to Banbury, in which last place he proposes to hold an Ordination on the second Sunday in Lent.”—*Oxford Herald*.

At one of the churches in Devonport, we believe, something of the same kind is going on.

In London also we understand that courses of week-day sermons are being delivered at several churches ; though we are not aware

that they have any such definite aim as we have suggested. But, what is even yet more important, the sacrifice of the Holy Eucharist is offered in some instances once in the middle of the week, and in others daily.

We also subjoin *in extenso* a notice circulated at the commencement of the present Lenten season in several parishes of Bristol. We cannot too highly commend the spirit of the scheme, and the details of its operation. The very titles of the proposed sermons supply a subject of exceeding comfort.

BRISTOL. LENT, 1850.

In addition to the usual Sunday Services there will be Divine Service in the following Churches, on the days and at the hours undermentioned :—

- ALL SAINTS** :—Daily Morning Service, at 9.
 Sermons on Thursday Evening, at 6½.
 The Holy Communion on Holy Days, at 9.
- S. ANDREW, MONTELIER** :—Morning Service on Wednesday and Friday, at 11.
 Daily Morning Service, in Holy Week, at 11.
 Morning Service, on Holy Days, at 11.
 Sermons on Wednesday, Friday, and Holy Day Evenings, at 7.
- S. AUGUSTINE** :—Daily Morning Prayer, at 9½.
 Litany and Communion Service on Ash Wednesday, at 11.
 Evening Prayer and Sermon on Ash Wednesday, at 7½.
 Evening Prayer and Sermon on the Second Thursday in Lent, and every following Thursday, at 7½.
- S. BARNABAS** :—Daily Morning Service, at 9½.
- S. JAMES** :—Daily Morning Service, at 8½; except on Wednesday, Friday, and Holy Days.
 Morning Service on Wednesday, Friday, and Holy Days, (with Holy Communion,) at 11.
 Daily Morning Service in Holy Week, at 11.
 Daily Evening Service, at 8, except on Tuesday.
 Evening Service, on Tuesday, at 6½.
 Sermons on Tuesday, at 6½, p. m.
 Sermons every other Evening in Lent, at 8.
- S. JOHN BAPTIST** :—Daily Morning Service, at 8.
 Daily Evening Service, at 4½.
 Sermons on Thursday Evening, at 4½.
- S. JUDE** :—Daily Morning Service, at 10.
 Daily Evening Service, at 7.
 Sermons on Wednesday, Friday, and Holy Day Evenings.
- S. MARK, EASTON** :—Daily Morning Service, at 9. Wednesday and Friday Mornings, at 11.
 Daily Evening Service, at 6½.
 Sermons on Wednesday and Friday Evenings, and every day in Holy Week, at 6½.
- S. NICHOLAS** :—Morning Service on Wednesday and Friday, at 11, with Sermons and Daily Prayers in the Holy Week.
- S. PAUL, BEDMINSTER** :—Morning Service, on Monday, Tuesday, Thursday, and Saturday, at 7½; and on Wednesday, Friday, and during Holy Week, at 11.
 Evening Service on Wednesday and Friday, and daily in Holy Week, at 7.
 Sermons on Wednesday Evening, and Daily in Holy Week, at 7. Catechising on Friday, at 7.

The following Course of Sermons on "The NICENE CREED" is proposed to be preached in the Church of SAINT JAMES.

1	Ash-Wed.	Feb. 13	Lord Bishop of Guiana	Faith
2	Thursday	" 14	The Ven. T. Thorp	The Unity of God
3	Friday	" 15	Rev. Canon Barrow	The Trinity in Unity
4	Saturday	" 16	" E. Walford	GOD the FATHER ALMIGHTY
5	Monday	" 18	" W. Battersby	The Maker—of Heaven and Earth
6	Tuesday	" 19	" G. J. Hill	The Maker—of all things visible and invisible
7	Wednesday	" 20	" A. Watson	The ONE LORD JESUS CHRIST
8	Thursday	" 21	" J. J. Coles	The only Begotten of the FATHER
9	Friday	" 22	" Canon Barrow	Of one substance with the FATHER
10	Saturday	" 23	" A. J. Street	By Whom all things were made
11	Monday	" 25	" H. G. Eland	The Humiliation
12	Tuesday	" 26	" W. G. Todd	The Incarnation by the HOLY GHOST of the Blessed Virgin
13	Wednesday	" 27	" H. Brancker	The Perfect Humanity
14	Thursday	" 28	" J. R. Woodford	The Oblation upon the Cross
15	Friday	Mar. 1	" R. B. Paul	The Bodily Sufferings
16	Saturday	" 2	" J. H. Butterworth	The Mental Sufferings
17	Monday	" 4	" G. J. Hill	The Descent into Hell, and the Burial
18	Tuesday	" 5	" J. D. Gray	The Resurrection according to the Scriptures
19	Wednesday	" 6	" C. Evanson	The Ascension
20	Thursday	" 7	" Canon Barrow	The Session on the Right Hand of God
21	Friday	" 8	" C. Terry	The Intercession
22	Saturday	" 9	" J. R. Woodford	The Second Advent with Glory
23	Monday	" 11	" H. G. Eland	The Judgment of the Quick and the Dead
24	Tuesday	" 12	" R. Ward	The Eternity of His Kingdom
25	Wednesday	" 13	" H. Algar	GOD the HOLY GHOST
26	Thursday	" 14	" J. L. Galton	The LORD and Giver of Life
27	Friday	" 15	" F. Lousada	The Procession from the FATHER and the SON
28	Saturday	" 16	" A. G. Bleeck	The Inspirer of the Prophets
29	Monday	" 18	" J. Hodgson	The One Holy Catholic and Apostolic Church
30	Tuesday	" 19	" C. Evanson	—The Pillar and Ground of the Truth
31	Wednesday	" 20	" A. Watson	—Its Authority in matters of Faith
32	Thursday	" 21	" J. D. Gray	The existence of evil in the visible Church not destructive of its Holiness
33	Friday	" 22	" J. J. Coles	The Guilt of Schism, and the Blessing of Unity
34	Saturday	" 23	" W. G. Todd	The Absence of Godly Discipline a Cruelty to Souls
35	Monday	" 25	" H. Brancker	The Conflicts of the Church
36	Tuesday	" 26	" J. H. Woodward	The Communion of Saints
37	Wednesday	" 27	" E. Walford	The One Baptism for the Remission of Sins
38	Thursday	" 28	" R. B. Paul	The Death, and Resurrection of the Body
39	Good-Friday	" 29	" J. H. Woodward	The Grave and Gate of Death
40	Easter-Eve	" 30	" W. G. Todd	The Life Everlasting

. Alms will be collected after the Evening Services in S. James's Church on Ash Wednesday, and on every Wednesday and Friday Evening, for meeting the Expenses of the Daily Services throughout the year, which are very considerable in amount.

Subject of the Sermons proposed to be preached in the Church of S. JOHN
BAPTIST.

Our SAVIOUR'S Last Words upon the Cross.

1 Thursday	Feb. 14	Rev. J. R. Woodford	The Beloved Mother and Faithful Disciple.— <i>S. John</i> xix. 26, 27.
2 Thursday	„ 21	The Rector	The Prayer for the Murderers.— <i>S. Luke</i> xxiii. 34.
3 Thursday	„ 28	Rev. J. R. Woodford	The Thirst.— <i>S. John</i> xix. 28.
4 Thursday	Mar. 7	The Rector	The Loud Voice.— <i>S. Matt.</i> xxvii. 46.
5 Thursday	„ 14	Rev. J. R. Woodford	The Penitent Thief.— <i>S. Luke</i> xxiii. 43.
6 Thursday	„ 21	The Rector	The Departing Spirit.— <i>S. Luke</i> xxiii. 46.
7 Thursday	„ 28	Rev. J. R. Woodford	“It is finished.”— <i>S. John</i> xix. 30.

Subject of the Sermons proposed to be preached in the Church of S. NICHOLAS.

1 Ash-Wed.	Feb. 13	The Vicar	The Communion Service
2 Friday	„ 15	Rev. J. D. Gray	The Value of the Soul
3 Wednesday	„ 20	„ E. Walford	Birth in Sin
4 Friday	„ 22	„ H. G. Eland	New Birth unto Righteousness
5 Wednesday	„ 27	„ Jas. Hodgson	Sin after Baptism
6 Friday	Mar. 1	The Vicar	Renewing of the HOLY GHOST
7 Wednesday	„ 6	Rev. C. Evanson	Growth in Grace
8 Friday	„ 8	„ E. Walford	Perseverance
9 Wednesday	„ 13	„ J. D. Gray	Self-Examination
10 Friday	„ 15	„ J. R. Woodford	Fasting
11 Wednesday	„ 20	„ H. G. Eland	Prayer
12 Friday	„ 22	„ Jas. Hodgson	The Word
13 Wednesday	„ 27	The Vicar	Holy Communion
14 Good-Friday	„ 29	The Vicar	The Crucifixion

Subject of the Sermons proposed to be preached in the Church of S. JUNE.

1 Ash-Wed.	Feb. 13	.....	The Nature and Necessity of Repentance
2 Friday	„ 15	.....	The Fruits of Repentance
3 Wednesday	„ 20	.....	Holiness the Design of the Gospel Dispensation
4 Friday	„ 22	.....	CHRIST'S Life a Pattern of Holiness
5 Wednesday	„ 27	.....	The Holiness of Christians should be eminent
6 Friday	Mar. 1	.....	The Holiness of Christians should be seen by others
7 Wednesday	„ 6	.....	The Wisdom of being Holy
8 Friday	„ 8	.....	The Pleasure of being Holy
9 Wednesday	„ 13	.....	The Advantages of being Holy
10 Friday	„ 15	.....	The Eminent Holiness of Primitive Saints
11 Wednesday	„ 20	.....	The Sufficiency of GOD'S Grace to make us Holy
12 Friday	„ 22	.....	Christian Perfection
13 Wednesday	„ 27	.....	The Sinless Perfection of CHRIST asserted by the Penitent Thief

Subject of the Sermons proposed to be preached in the Church of S. MARK,
Lower Easton.

1	Ash-Wed.	Feb. 13	The Rural Dean	Original Sin
2	Friday	" 15	Rev. J. H. Butterworth	Actual Sin
3	Wednesday	" 20	" H. Branker	CHRIST alone without Sin
4	Friday	" 22	" A. G. Bleek	The Sin that doth so easily beset us
5	Wednesday	" 27	" J. H. Woodward	The Sins of the Age
6	Friday	Mar. 1	" C. Evanson	The Tempter to Sin
7	Wednesday	" 6	" E. Walford	The Sin against the HOLY GHOST
8	Friday	" 8	" J. Carter	Sin the Sting of Death
9	Wednesday	" 13	" J. D. Gray	Death-bed Repentance of Sin
10	Friday	" 15	" J. Hodgson	One Baptism for the Remission of Sin
11	Wednesday	" 20	" W. G. Todd	Absolution of Sin
12	Friday	" 22	" J. B. Riddle	The Holy Eucharist a Safeguard against Sin

HOLY WEEK.

Sermons every Morning, on the LORD'S Prayer, by the REV. J. G. HILL.

Sermons every Evening, on Isaiah, chap. liii., by the REV. J. R. WOODFORD.

THE LIFE AND CORRESPONDENCE OF ROBERT SOUTHEY.

(Concluded from p. 81.)

THERE is one feature in these volumes which leads us especially to recommend them to our readers. Not only are they the most interesting volumes we have almost ever read, full of spirit, life, and intelligence, and for gracefulness of composition very models of epistolary writing; but there is a good tone throughout, a tone which at this time it is most refreshing to meet with. Southey himself, we have said, had an honest and good heart: he was full of kindly feelings, and still more of kindly deeds; he not only loved but laboured for his friends; he worked laboriously and incessantly, not merely because he loved work, for he had to undergo the pain of *not* labouring at what he really was interested in, but because he had to assist a destitute mother, and brothers, who, like himself, were fatherless. His letters to his brothers are all over love and heartiness, and he cared for their welfare, according to his judgment, in respect of moral as well as physical good; his character is marked by manly, honourable, and generous sentiments; he was a true and a faithful friend, he could advise and reprove and not lose his friends, and his house was the home of those who needed it; his practical good sense, and the absence of that wild-

ness of genius which characterised his friend and almost brother—Coleridge—enabled him to have this home to offer: to this day the sister of Mrs. Southey—the wife of his early friend Lovel, the last of the Pantisocrats, is living under the roof of his surviving son; and there are similar manifestations of good and kindly feelings in those with whom he was connected, which present us with the brighter side of human conduct, and practically refute the wretched principles of a selfish world.

One of the most marked deserves to be recorded here. It was the generous act of his school-fellow, Mr. Charles W. Wynne, who, originally with the view of enabling him to engage in the study of the law, gave him for some years after his return from Portugal, an annuity of £160, "the prompt fulfilment of a promise made during their years of college intimacy . . . bestowed with pleasure, received without any painful feelings, and often reverted to, as the staff and stay of those years, when otherwise he must have felt to the full all the manifold evils of being, as he himself expresses it, 'cut adrift upon the ocean of life,' for early in his career he was without means of support for himself or his relations. This was doubtless the means of rescuing a noble and generous mind from actual want—or a drudgery which would probably soon have worn out his delicate frame.

We have said that there are but a few intimations given of the influences by which Southey was recovered from the errors into which he ran. Throughout he seems to have clung almost ostentatiously to the truths of "Natural Religion." He says he was preserved from vice first by refinement of sentiment, and afterwards by an almost stoical morality. Stoicism was his morality and almost his religion too. Some things which influenced him for good he does mention—some more than once, which it may do us real good to notice—the first was the influence of the living example—and even more, of the memory of his college friend, Edmund Seward. Four years after his death—three years after Southey's return to England, to a home, where we conceive he was gradually yielding to the influence of religious truth—the memory of Seward was deeply fixed in his mind. We are sure our readers will not regret that we reprint it, though it lacks the comforting thoughts of the Resurrection of the Flesh :—

"THE DEAD FRIEND.

"Not to the grave, not to the grave, my soul,
 Descend to contemplate
 The form that once was dear!
 The spirit is not there
 Which kindled that dead eye,
 Which throb'd in that cold heart,

Which in that motionless hand
 Hath met thy friendly grasp.
 The spirit is not there !
 It is but lifeless, perishable flesh
 That moulders in the grave ;
 Earth, air, and water's ministering particles
 Now to the elements
 Resolved, their uses done.
 Not to the grave, not to the grave, my soul,
 Follow thy friend beloved,
 The spirit is not there !

" Often together have we talk'd of death ;
 How sweet it were to see
 All doubtful things made clear ;
 How sweet it were with powers
 Such as the cherubim,
 To view the depth of Heaven
 O Edmund ! thou hast first
 Begun the travel of eternity !
 I look upon the stars,
 And think that thou art there,
 Unfetter'd as the thought that follows thee.

" And we have often said how sweet it were,
 With unseen ministry of angel power,
 To watch the friends we loved.
 Edmund ! we did not err !
 Sure I have felt thy presence ! Thou hast given
 A birth to holy thought,
 Hast kept me from the world unstain'd and pure.
 Edmund ! we did not err !
 Our best affections here
 They are not like the toys of infancy ;
 The soul outgrows them not ;
 We do not cast them off ;
 Oh if it could be so,
 It were indeed a dreadful thing to die !

" Not to the grave, not to the grave, my soul,
 Follow thy friend beloved !
 But in the lonely hour,
 But in the evening walk,
 Think that he companies thy solitude ;
 Think that he holds with thee
 Mysterious intercourse ;
 And though remembrance wake a tear,
 There will be joy in grief."

Another thing is more than once referred to as having done him much good—Wordsworth's poem of "the Brothers."

The following extract from a letter written to his brother in 1797, shows the nature of the subjects in which he was interested:—

"You will be surprised to hear that I have been planning a charitable institution, which will in all probability be established. It was planned with John May and Carlisle, and the outline is simply this,—many poor victims perish after they have been healed at the hospitals, by returning to unwholesome air, scanty and bad food, cold and filth. We mean to employ them in a large garden, for many persons may be usefully employed in some manner there. When in good order, the produce of the garden will support the institution; in the long winter evenings the people will be employed in making nets, baskets, or matting; and the women in making sheeting—all things that will be wanted at home, and for the overplus a ready sale will be had among the supporters of the Convalescent Asylum. My name will not appear in the business: I leave the credit to Lords and Esquires. I will send you our printed plan as soon as it is ready. Six hours' labour is all that will be required from the strongest persons: for extra work they will be paid; then they may leave the Asylum with some little money, and with some useful knowledge.

"We are much pleased with this scheme, as it will make every body useful whom it benefits; a man with one leg may make holes for cabbages with his wooden leg, and a fellow with one arm follow and put in the plants. . . ."

We regret that we cannot find room for larger extracts from these volumes. We will give another poem, written a little earlier during a temporary absence from home on a visit to Norfolk:—

"To Mrs. Southey.

"June 4, 1798.

"Edith, it ever was thy husband's wish,
Since he hath known in what is happiness,
To find some little home, some low retreat,
Where the vain uproar of the worthless world
Might never reach his ear; and where, if chance
The tidings of its horrible strifes arrived,
They would endear retirement, as the blast
Of winter makes the shelter'd traveller
Draw closer to the hearth-side, every nerve
Awake to the warm comfort. Quietness
Should be his inmate there; and he would live
To thee, and to himself, and to our God,
To dwell in that foul city,—to endure
The common, hollow, cold, lip-intercourse
Of life; to walk abroad and never see

Green field, or running brook, or setting sun !
 Will it not wither up my faculties,
 Like some poor myrtle that in the town air
 Pines on the parlour window ?

“Everywhere
 Nature is lovely : on the mountain height,
 Or where the embosom'd mountain-glen displays
 Secure sublimity, or where around
 The undulated surface gently slopes
 With mingled hill and valley ;—everywhere
 Nature is lovely ; even in scenes like these,
 Where not a hillock breaks the unvaried plain,
 The eye may find new charms that seeks delight.
 At eve I walk abroad ; the setting sun
 Hath soften'd with a calm and mellow hue
 The cool fresh air ; below, a bright expanse,
 The waters of the *Broad* lie luminous.
 I gaze around ; the unbounded plain presents
 Ocean immensity, whose circling line
 The bending heaven shuts in. So even here
 Methinks I could be well content to fix
 My sojourn ; grow familiar with those scenes
 Till time and memory make them dear to me,
 And wish no other home.

“ There have been hours
 When I have long'd to mount the winged bark
 And seek those better climes, where orange groves
 Breathe on the evening gale voluptuous joy.
 And, Edith ! though I heard from thee alone
 The pleasant accents of my native tongue,
 And saw no wonted countenance but thine,
 I could be happy in the stranger's land,
 Possessing all in thee. O best beloved !
 Companion, friend, and yet a dearer name !
 I trod those better climes a heartless thing,
 Cintra's cool rocks, and where Arrabida
 Lifts from the ocean its sublimer heights,
 Thine image wander'd with me, and one wish
 Disturb'd the deep delight.

“ Even now that wish,
 Making short absence painful, still recurs.
 The voice of friendship, that familiar voice,
 From which in other scenes I daily heard
 First greeting, poorly satisfies the heart.
 And wanting thee, though in best intercourse,
 Such as in after years remembrance oft

Will love to dwell upon ; yet when the sun
 Goes down, I see his setting beams with joy,
 And count again the allotted days, and think
 The hour will soon arrive when I shall meet
 The eager greeting of affection's eye,
 And hear the welcome of the voice I love."

These verses show what was from this time the one wish of Southey's life, a quiet and retired home where he might pursue his literary labours, uninterrupted by the world, and undistracted by care, enjoying the society of his relations and friends, and living in his books. This home he at last found at Keswick, but he only obtained the means of support at last by withdrawing much time from the great works which he himself contemplated, for the laborious services of the press. He had oscillated for six or seven years after his marriage, but at last was fixed. The events of this part of his life must be briefly told. His first design, aided by Mr. Wynne's friendship, was to engage in the study of the law ; he entered at Gray's-inn, and most interesting it is to see the struggle against nature and inclination which Robert Southey had to undergo in submitting to live in London and to study law. "Green fields" were his delight ; his spirits sank when he approached London ; his heart was in the country, and he tried to live where he could see it ; and his heart was with his wife, and he avoided general society to spend his leisure hours with her ; even when in town for the purpose of studying law, he continued his literary employments, and poetry preoccupied the mind, and Coke and Blackstone could gain no hold on it. Nay, when there he found one chief pleasure in old book stalls. At last the attempt was given up, and he did not trouble law any more. He continued to live on the coast of Hampshire, and in the neighbourhood of Bristol, till the precarious condition of his health obliged him again to visit Portugal. Mrs. Southey was with him, and his mind now more at ease was open to fresh enjoyments ; the exceeding beauty of some of its scenery, the charms of its climate refreshed and delighted him ; he was alive to the romantic and picturesque characters, at least, of the religious institutions which he saw around him : but above all, he was able to read for the great work which he now planned—the history of Portugal. He wrote *Thalaba*, and indited letters to his friends, which he contemplated afterwards publishing as a second series of letters from Spain and Portugal.

The benefit which he had derived from this residence in a warmer climate led his friends to endeavour to obtain a consulship for him in some part of the Mediterranean, and he had schemes of travelling, and the law was again just thought of ; but he was being drawn to that place which was to be his home. Coleridge was now at Keswick, and proposed that Southey should come and

share his home ; he went and saw the lakes ; but another plan drew him aside for a moment, and the account of this forms one of the most comic episodes in the book—the attempt to be private secretary to Mr. Corry, the chancellor of the exchequer for Ireland. Southey gives an amusing description of his office, “all pay and no work,” but it soon became irksome to him, and he gave it up ; and now that he had secured such a portion of literary reputation, as enabled him to support himself and those of his relations who still depended on him, he devoted himself to those pursuits that seemed properly his own, and ultimately fixed himself, after the death of his mother and his first child, a daughter, at Greta Hall, sharing the house in which Mr. Coleridge lived. We would gladly extract some of his beautiful descriptions of the scenery around him, and still more some of his letters to his brother, but we must forbear.

We hasten to make a few observations on those parts of the literary works of Southey, of which these volumes inform us.

Southey, it appears, was through life diverted from carrying out the great works which he undertook and laboured at, which he would willingly have made the employment of his whole time, by the necessity of working for himself and his family, and whilst great works were his own aim, he was forced to occupy his time in little ones. At the age of five-and-twenty he engaged in a great work, which he looked to as that on which his fame was to be built—*The History of Portugal*. For this he read, bought books, made extracts, collected large materials, and speaks as if he had prepared one volume for the press, but he was never able to finish it. Of this he says—for vanity seems to have been his fault—

“On my history no labour shall be spared. Now, I only heap marble ; the edifice must be erected in England ; but I must return again to the quarry. You will find my style plain and short, and of condensed meaning,—plain as a Doric building, and I trust, of eternal durability. The notes will drain off all quaintness. I have no doubt of making a work by which I shall be honourably remembered. You shall see it, and Elmsly if he will take the trouble, before publication. Of profit I must not be sanguine ; yet, if it attain the reputation of Robertson, than whom it will not be worse, or of Roscoe and Gibbon, it will procure me something more substantial than fame.”

But the *History of Portugal* was interrupted in order that he might write poetry for the *Morning Post*, or go through the heavy yearly recurring labour of writing for the *Annual Review*, or preparing works for immediate publication, which would bring in money. The later volumes of his life will record, we presume, the same kind of interruption. He had in 1804 designed the fol-

lowing works: we will give the account of his plan in his own words:—

“I have so far altered my original plan of the history, as to resolve upon not introducing the Life of S. Francesco, and the chapters therewith connected, but to reserve them for a separate history of Monasticism, which will make a very interesting and amusing work; a good honest quarto may comprise it. (!) My whole historical labours will then consist of three separate works. 1. History of Portugal, the European part, 3 vols. 2. History of the Portuguese Empire in Asia, 2 vols. or 3 vols. 3. History of Brazil. 4. History of the Jesuits in Japan. 5. Literary History of Spain and Portugal, 2 vols. 6. History of Monasticism. In all, ten, eleven, or twelve quarto volumes; and you cannot easily imagine with what pleasure I look at all the labour before me. God give me life, health, eyesight, and as much leisure as even now I have, and done it shall be.”

Of these works the history of the Brazils alone was completed: but we may see in all Southey's writings, whether prose or verse, that these were the subjects in which his heart centred; preparations were made for them; they may almost have said to have been begun before he was thirty, and continued to be the objects of his interest and his labours through life. They seem the great fabrics around which and for which he works; portions of details are finished here and there, a plan sketched—a figure half carved—a niche or a capital—or some minor part actually completed. He became more and more rich in the stores of knowledge necessary for these undertakings—the Lives of Saints, the Histories of Founders and of Orders, became objects of his special interest; even at this early time he had worked through the Jesuit History, and possessed himself of Wadding's many folios of Franciscan Annals—yet he never was permitted to complete the fair and mighty fabric which he had devised; he was forced to write what would bring immediate remuneration. In 1805, he was on the point of giving up reviewing, with the following farewell observations:—

“I am at my reviewing, of which this year I take my leave for ever. It is an irksome employment over which I lose time, because it does not interest me. A good exercise certainly it is, and such I have found it; but it is to be hoped that the positive immorality of serving a literary apprenticeship in censuring the works of others will not be imputed wholly to me. In the winter of 1797, when I was only twenty-three and a half, I was first applied to to undertake the office of a public critic! Precious criticism! and thus it is that these things are done. I have acquired some knowledge, and much practice in prose, at this work, which I can safely say I have ever executed with as much honesty as possible; but on the whole I do and must regard it as an immoral occupation, unless the reviewer has actually as much knowledge at least of the given subject as the author upon whom he undertakes to sit in judgment.”

However the Quarterly was soon after started and that gave him employment for life: though in a different kind of reviewing from that which he had hitherto practised; the new kind of essay writing which the Edinburgh had introduced.

Had Southey enjoyed in the earlier part of his life the pension which was given near the close of it, we might have possessed one at least of these accessions to our literature, and yet, it is very remarkable to observe, that as Southey's minor works were written so to say against his will—so are they the works through which at present he seems to live. Indeed he appears to have misunderstood the value of his works. *Madoc* occupied him, more or less, during fifteen years, and was almost entirely rewritten. *Thalaba* was thrown off in as many months, yet few we imagine find in *Madoc* half the pleasure which they do in *Thalaba*. So again Southey looked on the *History of the Brazils* as his great work, yet how very few have ever opened it; whilst his little *Life of Nelson* is one of the most popular and delightful works in our language. Of course we ought to look to the end, and it may be that the stores of knowledge and the abundance of authorities collected in the *History of the Brazils* do make it a work of very great abiding value; still, Southey's style of mind and composition seems to have been adapted rather to light and graceful writing, than to those solid and massive productions which he would himself have been devoted to. He says of himself, very early, that he was not a metaphysician, nor does he seem to have been qualified for taking deep or comprehensive views. He wrote (it is a strong thing to say) rather than thought; but it is his own account of himself; he says he could not think except when he was writing, and then the thoughts and words flowed freely through the pen. The calm deep meditative spirit which would silently search the foundations of thought, and the secrets of the intellectual world was not given him, and he found his province in graceful and vivid narrative, in conveying information from the most abundant stores in the most agreeable form, and in philosophizing to no great distance from his facts. We cannot therefore but doubt whether the work he specially desired to execute, that on the Monastic Orders, would have been so great as such a work deserved to be. His *Book of the Church* is in this respect a specimen of his hand; it is very interesting—we do not know any work so likely to engage the minds of young persons in the fortunes of their Church, though in its views it goes little beyond the notions respecting the Church which were generally received some thirty years ago; still it is most interesting as a narrative.

We are afraid to express opinions respecting the future estimation of this author's works, for we have before us his own great mistakes on such subjects. In one place speaking of an article he had written in the *Annual Review*, in 1804, he says, that he had given Malthus a deadly wound (ii. p. 251). In 1801, of *Thalaba* . . .

"I know no poem which can claim a place between it and the Orlando; let it be weighed with the Oberon; perhaps were I to speak out, I should not dread a trial with Ariosto. My poor portion of ore to dross is greater." . . . In 1803, "The Edinburgh Review will not keep its ground; it consists of pamphlets instead of critical accounts," which had hitherto, more strictly in accordance with their name, been the employment of reviews. These are warnings against expressing judgments of the life prospects of books; yet we cannot but think that Southey's letters will, for a time at least, be the most popular of his writings;—there is in them a lively cheerfulness, and free flowing and graceful style, and an amusing way of telling his story, which are very taking. We give the following as a specimen of the varied and curious information which these letters contain, and of the manner in which it is communicated:—

"To John Rickman, Esq.

"Keswick, March 22, 1805.

"I never learnt the Memoria Technica, but if ever I have a son he shall. Where is the earliest mention of the mariner's compass? I have no better reference than a chronological table at the end of a worn-out Dictionary, which says, invented or improved by Gioia of Naples, A.D. 1302. Now I have just found it mentioned in the laws of Alonzo the Wise, which laws were begun A.D. 1251, and finished in seven years; and it is not mentioned as anything new, but made use of as an illustration. You can understand Spanish.

"'Asi como les marineros sequian en le nocte, escura por el aguja que les es mediarnera entre la piedra e la estrella, e les muestra por lo vayar.'

"I suspect that this implies a belief in some specific virtue in the north star as if the magnetic influence flowed from it. This, however, is matter for more inquiry, and I will one day look into it in Raymond Lully, and Albertus Magnus,—likely authors. The passage certainly carries the use of the needle half a century further back than the poor chronology; but whether I have made what antiquarians call a discovery, is more than I can tell. Robertson ought to have found it; for to write his introduction to Charles V., without reading these laws, is one of the thousand and one omissions for which he ought to be called rogue, as long as his volumes last.

"These Partidas, as they are called, are very amusing; I am about a quarter through them, some way, as they fill three folios by help of a commentary. They are divided into seven parts, for about seven times seven such reasons as would have delighted Dr. Slop; and King Alfonso has ingeniously settled the orthography of his name, by beginning each of the seven parts with one of the seven letters which compose it in succession. His Majesty gives directions that no young princes should dip their finger into the dish in an unmannerly way, so as to grease themselves; and expatiates on the advantages of reading and writing,—if

they are able to learn those arts. He was himself an extraordinary man; too fond of study to be a good king in a barbarous age,—but therefore not only a more interesting character to posterity, but a more useful one in the long run.

“You will see in the *Madociana* a story how Alexander went down in a diving-bell to see what was going on among the fishes; remarkable because it is found in Spanish, German, and *Welch* romances of the middle ages. I have since found a similar story of somebody else among the Malays, who certainly did not get it from Europe, or Alexander (Isander) would have been their hero also. The number of good stories of all kinds which are common to the Orientals and Europeans, are more likely to have been brought home by peaceable travellers, than by the Crusaders. I suspect the Jew-pedlars were the great go-betweens. They always went every where. All the world over you found Jew-merchants, and Jew-physicians: wherever there is anything to be got, no danger deters a Jew from venturing. I myself saw two fellows at Evora, under the very nose of the Inquisition, who if they had any noses could not have mistaken their game. I knew the cut of their jibs at once, and upon inquiring what they had for sale, was told—green spectacles. A history of the Jews since their dispersion, in the shape of a *Chronological Bibliotheca*, would be a very valuable work. I want an Academy established to bespeak such works and to reward them well, according to the diligence with which they shall be executed.

“The abuses or main abuses of printing, spring from one evil,—it almost immediately makes authorship a trade. Per-sheeting was in use as early as Martin Luther’s time, who mentions the price—a curious fact. The Reformation did one great mischief; in destroying the monastic orders, it deprived us of the only bodies of men who could not possibly be injured by the change which literature had undergone. They could have no peculium; they laboured hard for amusement; the society had funds to spare for printing, and felt a pride in thus disposing of them for the reputation of their orders. We laugh at the ignorance of these orders, but the most worthless and most ignorant of them produced more works of erudition than all the English and all the Scotch Universities since the Reformation; and it is my firm belief, that a man will at this day find better society in a Benedictine monastery than he could at Cambridge; certainly better than he could at Oxford.

“You know I am no friend to Popery or to Monasticism; but if the Irish Catholics are to be emancipated, I would let them found convents, only restricting them from taking the vows till after a certain age, as Catherine did in Russia; though perhaps it may be as well to encourage any thing to diminish the true Patrician breed. The good would be, that they would get the country cultivated, and serve as good inns and gradually civilize it.”

We omit the rest. The idea suggested here will startle many a modern improver of Ireland: and if monasticism were nothing more

than the worldly system which the tone of this letter would lead us to imagine, we are sure it would never do good : but the subject suggests reference to a topic connected with it.

We have not before referred to this point, which deserves notice in connection with Southey—his being, as he evidently was, so deeply enamoured of the grace and majesty of the institutions and characters formed in the Catholic Church. One of his early plans (in 1799, *æt.* 25) was to write a drama, of which the plot was to be laid during the reign of Queen Mary ; we will quote the letter presently ; another was, as we said, to write the history of the Religious Orders ; he admired what was great, noble, and sublime about them ; yet as it would seem chiefly with an æsthetic or literary admiration. He hated the religion itself, and would have persecuted the orders. This is the sketch of his play.—

“The time chosen is the latter part of Queen Mary’s reign ; the characters,—Sir Walter, a young convert to the Reformation ; Gilbert, the man who has converted him ; Stephen, the cousin of Sir Walter, and his heir in default of issue, a bigoted Catholic ; Mary the betrothed of Walter, an amiable Catholic ; and her Confessor, a pious excellent man. Gilbert is burnt, and Walter, by his own enthusiasm, and the bigotry and interested hopes of his cousin, condemned, but saved by the Queen’s death. The story thus divides itself :—1. To the discovery of Walter’s principles to Mary and the Confessor. 2. The danger he runs in his attentions to the accused Gilbert. 3. Gilbert’s death. 4. Walter’s arrest. 5. The death of the Queen. In Mary and her Confessor I design Catholics of the most enlarged minds, sincere but tolerating, and earnest to save Walter, even to hastening his marriage, that the union with a woman of such known sentiments might divert suspicion. Gilbert is a sincere but bigoted man, one of the old reformers, ready to suffer death for his opinions, or to inflict it. Stephen, so violent in his hate of heresy as half to be ignorant of his own interested motives in seeking Walter’s death. But it is from delineating the progress of Walter’s mind that I expect success. At first he is restless and unhappy, dreading the sacrifices which his principles require ; the danger of his friend and his death excite an increasing enthusiasm ; the kindness of the priest, and Mary’s love overcome him ; he consents to temporise, and is arrested : then he settles into the suffering and steady courage of a Christian. To this I feel equal, and long to be about it. I expect a good effect from the evening hymn to be sung by Mary, and from the death of Gilbert. From the great window, Mary and the Confessor see the procession to the stake, and hear the *Te Deum* ; they turn away when the fire is kindled, and kneel together to pray for his soul ; the light of the fire appears through the window, and Walter is described as performing the last office of kindness to his martyred friend.”

So again in a translation of some verses given as a note to the following portion of a letter from Portugal :—

"We saw the Berlings on Tuesday night: on Wednesday, Edith and I went on deck at five o'clock; we were off the rock, and the sun seemed to rest upon it for a moment as he rose behind. Mafra was visible; presently we began to distinguish the heights of Cintra and the Penha Convent; the wind blew fresh, and we were near enough the shore to see the silver dust of the breakers, and the sea-birds sporting over them in flocks. A pilot boat came off to us; its great sail seemed to be as unmanageable as an umbrella in a storm; sometimes it was dipped half over in the water, and it flapped all ways, like a woman's petticoat in a high wind. We passed the church and light-house of Nossa Senhora de Guia, the Convent of S. Antonio with a few trees behind it, and the town of Cascaes. Houses were now scattered in clusters all along the shore; the want of trees in the landscape was scarcely perceived, so delightful was the sight of land, and so cheerful does every thing look under a southern sun."

"Now was the time, when in the skies,
Night should have shown her starry eyes;
But those bright orbs above were shrouded,
And heaven was dark and over-clouded;
And now the beacon we espied,
Our blessed Lady of the Guide;
And there, propitious, rose her light,
The never-failing star of night.
The seaman on his weary way
Beholds with joy that saving ray,
And steers his vessel, from afar,
In safety o'er the dangerous bar.
A holy impulse of delight
Possess'd us at that well-known sight;
And in one feeling all allied,
We blest our Lady of the Guide.
'Star of the sea, all hail!' we sung,
And praised her with one heart and tongue;
And, on the dark and silent sea,
Chaunting Our Lady's Litany."

Again, how true an appreciation of some of the benefits of one religious ordinance is shown in the following letter:—

"To John May, Esq.

"Feb. 18, 1800.

"My dear Friend,—Your last letter entered into an interesting subject. A young man entering into the world is exposed to hourly danger—and what more important than to discover the best preservative? To have a friend dear enough, and respectable enough, to hold the place of a confessor, would assuredly be the best; and if the office of confessor could always be well filled, I would give up half the Reformation to restore it. In my moments of reverie I have sometimes imagined myself such a character—the obscure instrument in promot-

ing virtue and happiness, but it is obvious that more evil than good results from the power being, like other power, often in improper hands. I have wandered from the subject. It is not likely I shall ever gain the confidence of my brothers to the desired extent: whatever affection they may feel for me, a sort of fear is mixed with it; I am more the object of their esteem than love; there has been no equality between us; we have been rarely domesticated together, and when that has been the case, they have been accustomed, if they were faulty, to understand my silent disapprobation. No; — will never intrust his feelings to me: and as to precepts of warning, indeed I doubt their propriety; I doubt least, from the strange perverting power of the mind, they should be made to minister to temptation. Indirect admonition, example,—are not these better means? Feelings almost romantically refined were my preservation, and with these I amalgamated afterwards an almost stoical morality.

“ Yours affectionately,
“ ROBERT SOUTHEY.”

With these extracts we commend the volumes themselves to our readers—they will find in them a store of agreeable and interesting matter such as has not for a long time come from the English Press.

THE ECCLESIASTICAL SUPREMACY OF THE CROWN.

1. *Church Matters in 1850. No. 1, Trial of Doctrine.* By the Rev. JOHN KEBLE, M.A. Oxford and London: Parker.
2. *The Things of Cæsar and the Things of God. A Discourse.* By WILLIAM DODSWORTH, M.A. London: Masters. 1850.
3. *The Church, the Crown, and the State. Their Junction or their Separation. Considered in two Sermons.* By the Rev. W. I. E. BENNETT, M.A. London: Cleaver. 1850.

It is admitted by all thoughtful men that we have arrived at no ordinary crisis in the destinies of the English Church. There are those who would willingly ignore the existence of this crisis, and who imagine that it has derived a mere fictitious and transitory importance from the agitation of a few restless minds. Some from mixed, others from the purest, motives, would fain hope and believe, that the expected decision in the Gorham case once given, matters will very shortly settle down into their usual quiet and tranquil course. The Baptismal controversy will, they think, be set at rest, either by a clear affirmation of the doctrine of the Church, or by some shuffling compromise between truth and error. In the latter case, those who feel aggrieved may be expected to vent their

disappointment in useless protests to the Crown or the Bishops, to flutter for a time, like a wounded bird; but, after all, to submit to a state of things which cannot be altered, without the risk of greater personal sacrifices than most men are willing to make. For our own part, we deem it a duty to assert, that, however desirous men may be to return to the quietude of past years, this retrograde step is neither lawful, nor possible. The Baptismal question is, even now, merging itself in another, to the importance of which no Christian can shut his eyes, who has any jealousy for the faith of CHRIST, and any regard for the independence of the Church. An extraordinary chain of circumstances is attracting unwonted attention to the theory of the Regal Supremacy. Lately, we have seen the Minister of the Crown, by a claim of supremacy, obtrude into an episcopal see an individual accused of false doctrine, against the reclamations of no mean body of Churchmen, and without condescending to grant, either the accusers, or the accused, the justice of a fair, impartial, inquiry. This memorable event disclosed to the world the unpleasant facts, that the chief Bishop of the English Church lies open to the imputation of being a mere minister in the hands of the temporal power, having no will or judgment of his own; and that the most solemn forms of confirmation, transacted in the House of God, and accompanied by prayer, have been made, by a claim of supremacy, a fearful mockery, and have so continued during three centuries. And lest we should forget the lesson which this remarkable event was intended to teach us, another case arises, presenting a few more startling facts for our unpalatable digestion. A trial between a bishop and a parish clergyman, in the course of its progress, reveals what seems to have been unknown to many before,* that the Sovereign in Council is, by the existing laws of England, the final court of appeal in all spiritual causes affecting the Church of England; and that the Crown, by its judicial committee, consisting exclusively of laymen, of any or no creed, has a right by law and prerogative, to make decisions on points of doctrine, which shall be legally binding upon the national Church. Well may men look aghast, and ask, how can these things be? Has the Church, indeed, sold herself, and her inalienable spiritual rights, to the world, for the sake of lands, and palaces, and rural ease, and earthly pomp, and the gold that perisheth? Is it possible for any religious man, once this startling fact is thus strangely brought before him, to pass it by, as if it were of no practical moment to himself? Is he not, on the contrary, bound, by a strong obligation of duty, to look

* Mr. Keble in his tract on Church Matters, says, "The mind of the Church was not roused by them to any consciousness of her having intrusted to a merely civil court the authority now claimed. I speak for myself, and I have no doubt, for the great majority of my brethren, when I say that we bore with this state of the law through ignorance." Mr. Dodsworth says much the same in his sermon.

this question in the face; to use the liberty freely conceded to him by the English Church, and the English constitution, and to examine the grounds upon which our sovereigns have laid claim to supremacy in spiritual matters;—to see how far the Church has yielded to these claims, and to trace the limits, within which alone, it can be lawful for the Church of God to recognise the interference of any temporal potentate?

With a view to the solution of these questions, it is not sufficient to frame for ourselves a moderate theory of a limited supremacy over the State Ecclesiastical in temporal matters, and then say, that the Regal Supremacy cannot mean anything more than what we may wish it to mean. In dealing with this matter, we are dealing with facts, far more than with theories; and we must remember, that in assenting to the assumption of Ecclesiastical Supremacy by the Crown, we must either take the full meaning attached to this power by the State, (whatever it may be); or the imposing party must clearly understand and sanction our reservation, namely, that we consent to any Ecclesiastical Supremacy being vested in a temporal prince in one particular sense, and in that sense alone. The claim of ecclesiastical pre-eminence on the one hand, and the assent to it on the other, is virtually a compact between the Church and State: and when two parties enter upon any agreement, and put their seals to any bond of covenant, it is usual for them to know beforehand what are the exact obligations they contract by the engagements into which they enter. Otherwise, a man might sign away his property in the dark, or find out that by consenting, (as he supposed,) to be another's servant for a time, he has bound himself to be his slave for ever. We will not, therefore, as has been done too frequently, first of all, frame our own theory of supremacy, and then attempt to reconcile facts with this theory; but we propose, fairly and honestly, to examine the existing statute law of the land, to learn from it its own meaning of the supreme power in matters ecclesiastical, and then to see whether or not the Church has, in any way, signed deeds in the dark, and unwittingly consented to her own bondage and degradation. We have no other desire than to discover the truth. The time has arrived when we must know with clearness and certainty, what the State really does mean by the word "supremacy"—not what we have hitherto thought it might, or ought to, mean. And if from this inquiry painful and unpleasant truths are brought to light, it is better to learn the truth at any cost, than to go on in our present state of uncertainty, indecision, doubt, and ignorance. Besides, matters cannot be so bad that they may not be mended by prompt and vigorous action; but how can the evil be remedied if it be not known in its full extent?

Few, it is hoped, would be willing to defend the violence and tyranny with which Henry VIII. proceeded to restrain the papal

jurisdiction in England, and to separate his people from the communion of the Western Church. Impelled by the vehemence of his personal quarrel with Pope Clement VII., he entered upon a course of hostility to the see of Rome, from which he soon discovered that there was no retreat. His first serious step in this direction, was the assumption of the title "Supreme head in earth of the Church of England," and his attempt to obtain its recognition from the English clergy. The way this was effected is worth relating. It was pretended that by submitting to the legatine jurisdiction exercised by Cardinal Wolsey, the whole body of the clergy had subjected themselves to the penalties of premunire, by virtue of a statute of Richard II. Obsolete statutes were suddenly brought to light, and the king threatened to put in force the penalties enacted by them. The fear of these penalties affrighted and awed the clergy, who attempted to propitiate their rapacious monarch by voting him, in convocation, a subsidy of £100,000. The timidity of the Convocation immediately disclosed to Henry the weakness of his opponents, and gave him proportionate confidence in his own strength. He therefore refused to accept the sum they had voted him, unless it was accompanied by a formal recognition of his claim to be "supreme head in earth of the Church of England." The clergy for a time demurred to this demand, as well they might, but at last timidly yielded their assent, and in full synod acknowledged Henry as their supreme head, *quantum per Christi legem licet*. This act of convocation was subsequently accepted by Parliament, which in two separate acts (26 Hen. VIII. cap. i.; 35 Hen. VIII. cap. iii.) recognised this title as rightfully belonging to the Crown. These two statutes were afterwards repealed in the reign of Queen Mary, and were never subsequently re-enacted. It is however the opinion of lawyers, that the style legally belongs to the sovereign, although it may not be expressed. Burn observes with respect to this title, that "these are the words which seem to be understood in the abbreviated style of the king, as it is now usually expressed, [defender of the Faith, and so forth.]"*

The title of "supreme head in earth" was no empty sound destitute of practical meaning, in the intentions of the impetuous and tyrannical Henry. If the mere assumption of such a designation pained all good Christians, and brought lasting scandal upon the English Church and people, how much more was Western Christendom astounded and amazed, when they beheld the fearful reality into which this usurpation speedily rose? Henry, in his use of the title, and in the corollaries he deduced from it, appears to have stopped little short of direct blasphemy. As a necessary consequence of being head of the Church in earth, he claimed to be God's

* Ecc. Law, Art. Supremacy. See also Gibson, Codex, Vol. I. p. 30.

vice-gerent in the government as well as the defence of His Church : and to commemorate the assumption of his favourite title, he caused a golden medal to be struck off, having on the one side the king's effigy, and in a double circle the legend, *Henricus Octa. Angliæ. Franci. et. Hib. Rex. Fidei. Defensor. et. in. Terr. Eccle. Angli. et. Hibe. sub. Christ. Caput. Supremum.* On the reverse was the same legend in Hebrew and in Greek. "Thus," adds Dr. Hickes, "triumphed this king in his new style and title, from whence he derived his ecclesiastical supremacy, making an inscription of it in letters of Greek, and Latin, and Hebrew, as Pilate did that over our LORD upon the Cross, 'This is the King of the Jews.' I never yet heard any man talk of this medal but who made this observation, viz., that king Henry crucified the Church, as Pilate did the SAVIOUR, with the solemnity of three superscriptions."*

Previous to the formal recognition by parliament of king Henry's new ecclesiastical title, an act had been passed, by which the whole papal jurisdiction in England was completely and effectually crushed. We allude to the celebrated Statute of Appeals (24 Henry VIII. c. 12). This act, observes Mr. Hallam, "annihilated at one stroke the jurisdiction built on long usage and on the authority of the falsedecretals."† It had been well for Henry had he never passed a worse law. For although this statute must undoubtedly have given offence to the Roman Court, and was framed in a bad spirit, it need not, necessarily, have occasioned a breach between the two Churches. It was, virtually, a re-enactment of various ancient statutes directed against the undue encroachment of the Papal See, which was passed in the reigns of Edward I., Edward III., Richard II., and Henry IV. In some points, indeed, it went beyond all preceding enactments, because it prescribed the particular order and method of appeals in England, making the archbishop the final judge in all ecclesiastical causes. But still we are inclined to believe, that if other causes had not combined to bring about this rupture, any disagreement between the two Courts arising from the act in question was quite capable of adjustment.‡ The preamble of the Statute of Appeals is well known, and has been frequently quoted. It describes the realm of England as an empire, "governed by one supreme head and king, having dignity and royal estate of the Imperial Crown of the same : and consisting of a body politick, composed of two parts, the spirituality and the temporality : the body spiritual whereof having power when any cause of the Divine law happened to come in question, or of spiritual learning, that it was declared, interpreted and shewed by that part of the said body

* Hickes on the Priesthood, Vol. II. p. 361.

† Const. Hist. Vol. I. p. 89.

‡ If we are not mistaken the Emperor Joseph II. of Austria, and other Catholic sovereigns in modern times, have made as stringent enactments against the forensic jurisdiction of the Roman Court, and yet have continued in communion with the Roman Church.

politick, called the spirituality, now being usually called the English Church, which always hath been reputed and also found of that sort, that both for knowledge, integrity, and sufficiency of number, it hath been always thought, and is also at this hour, sufficient and meet of itself, without the intermedling of any exterior person or persons, to declare and determine all such doubts, and to administer all such offices and duties as to their rooms spiritual doth appertain:" the body temporal taking cognisance of temporal affairs; both parts of the body politic mutually helping and assisting each other.

But the moderation so evident in this remarkable statute was, unhappily, short-lived. Having once tasted the sweets of spiritual tyranny, Henry soon overstepped all bounds. By other acts, he assumed to himself the power of finally determining all appeals, of granting dispensations, and doing everything which, under the old system, it was competent to the Pope alone to do. He compelled the clergy to promise that they would never again enact laws or canons for the Church, or hold synods, without his special licence and sanction. By the act which acknowledged "the king's grace to be authorised supreme head," the parliament invested him with all manner of spiritual authority, in these words—"And shall have full power to visit, redress, reform, order, correct, restrain and amend all such errors, heresies, abuses, offences, contempts and enormities, whatsoever they be, which by *any manner of spiritual authority, or jurisdiction*, ought, or may be lawfully reformed, &c., any usage, custom, foreign laws, foreign authority, prescription, or anything or things to the contrary hereof notwithstanding." How this spiritual authority was exercised is matter of history into which we cannot now enter.

Of the part borne by the clergy in these innovations, we cannot speak except in terms of unqualified disapproval. They exhibited a spirit of subserviency and cowardice, almost amounting to infatuation; which can be accounted for, only on the hypothesis, that the times were evil, discipline relaxed, incontinence prevalent, while wealth and ease had secretly undermined fidelity and courage. It is "the righteous" only who are "bold as a lion." "The main body of the clergy," writes Mr. Hallam,* "was certainly very reluctant to tear themselves, at the pleasure of a disappointed monarch, from the bosom of Catholic Unity. They complied indeed, with all the measures of government, far more than men of rigid conscience could have endured to do: but many who wanted the courage of More and Fisher, were not far removed from their way of thinking." "The Bishops of the Church of England," says Dr. Hickey,† "in those two reigns, before and after the Reformation, overawed through human weakness by terrible

* Const. Hist., v. 1, p. 93.

† On the Priesthood, v. 2, p. 365.

penalties, gave up the cause of CHRIST and the Church, for which they ought to have died martyrs, and by their compliance, have left a blot upon their memories, which no apology can wipe off; unless it be that humble one of father Paul, who with sorrow said, 'God has not given me Luther's spirit.' Their compliance brought a blemish upon the Church, which our adversaries, making no allowance for human frailty, seldom fail to put us in mind of, with insolence enough, as often as they have occasion, without any reflection, and sometimes when they have none at all."

The Royal Supremacy, as propounded and exercised by Henry VIII., lost nothing of its terrible reality in the reign of his successor, Edward VI. On the contrary, it developed into a power still more destructive of the indefeasible claims of the Church. Edward, or his advisers, re-asserted his right to the exercise of all manner of spiritual authority. He considered the throne to be the fountain of all spiritual, no less than temporal, authority, power, and jurisdiction; and he regarded Bishops, or other spiritual persons, as no more than "assistants to the prince," binding them hand and foot, to the most servile compliance with the dictation of his government. Following the steps of his father, he compelled the Bishops to take out commissions,* consenting to hold their Bishoprics during pleasure, and to exercise their office as the delegates of the Prince; this too, not only in matters of external jurisdiction, when it might be needful to call in the aid of the civil sword; but even in that interior jurisdiction,† over which kings of the earth, as such, cannot have any authority. In one respect, Edward went even further than Henry had ever ventured: since by an act passed in 1547, (1 Edw. VI. c. 2,) he declared, that all jurisdiction emanates from the king, and that consequently all summonses, &c., issuing from the Ecclesiastical Courts shall be henceforth in the king's name. It is further enacted, that all ecclesiastical persons who have the exercise of ecclesiastical jurisdiction, shall have in their seal of office the king's arms decently set, with certain characters under the arms, for the knowledge of the diocese, and shall use no other seal of jurisdiction, but wherein his Majesty's arms be engraved. The same statute alters the mode of electing Bishops by *congé d'elire*, to the Deans and Chapters, as derogatory, and prejudicial, to the king's prerogative; and provides that hence-

* Two of these commissions are yet extant: one taken out by Bonner, the other by Cranmer. The latter is printed in Cardwell's Doc. Annals. Vol. I. 1.

† Judge Hales (speaking of the legal power of Bishops), called it jurisdiction *in Foro Exteriori*: which is confessed on all hands to be derived from the crown; viz., the *External Exercise* and administration of justice and discipline, in such courts, and in such ways and methods, as are by law or custom established in this realm. (Gibson, Codex. Int. Disc.)

forth Archbishops and Bishops shall be collated by letters patent. This law was afterwards repealed, along with many others enacted in the same reign, and the older mode of election restored: nor was there any subsequent attempt to revive the statute of Edward in England, although the advisers of Elizabeth procured its enactment in Ireland, where it still continues to be the law of the land.*

It was not to be expected that the supremacy of the crown would lose much of its reality in the hands of a princess, educated with the most exalted notions of the monarchical power, and impressed with a conviction of the almost-absolute nature of the royal prerogative. Yet it is to the haughty and imperious Elizabeth that we owe the virtual suppression of those obnoxious words—"Supreme Head in earth of the Church." Elizabeth was prevented, by a conscientious scruple, from employing this style, and it was consequently omitted in the preambles to acts of parliament passed in her reign, and was modified into "Governor" in the bidding Prayer put forth in the injunctions issued to the clergy and laity in 1559. This was a step, and an important step, in a right direction; but still, we should be greatly deceived in supposing, that the Queen, notwithstanding the change in her style, did not claim, or employ, as much power in spiritual matters, as either of her predecessors.† It would appear, however, that she was obliged to act with greater caution. A very general feeling was growing up in the country against the kind of religious power she arrogated, as inherent in her prerogative; and this wide-spread and increasing repugnance compelled her to anticipate opposition, by issuing, as an ease to conscientious scruples, her authoritative interpretation of the oath of supremacy.‡ This exposition of the

* The reader who would wish to form a clear idea of the meaning of the royal supremacy in the days of Edward VI., cannot do better than read with care the first one hundred pages of Cardwell's *Documentary Annals*, Vol. I. From them he will learn how Edward inhibited Archbishops from holding their visitations, restrained the Clergy from preaching, licensed Bishops and Clergy to preach, changed the ritual of the Church, suppressed and altered ceremonies, defaced churches, tore down altars, and committed many other acts, of which it is painful even to think. We have one comfort in the knowledge, that such proceedings could not be attempted in the present day; although it is a question whether lawyers would not decide that the Queen has still a right to *license* preachers in virtue of her supremacy.

† The royal supremacy was frequently asserted in its utmost extent by Queen Elizabeth; as for instance, in the following answer to a petition from the House of Commons, concerning Reformation of Discipline in the Church, A.D. 1575. "Her Majesty, before the parliament, had a care to provide in that case of her own disposition; and at the beginning of the session she had conference therein with some of the Bishops, and gave them in charge to see due reformation; and if they should neglect or omit their duties therein, her Majesty, by her supreme power and authority over the Church of England, would speedily see such good redress therein, as might satisfy the expectations of her loving subjects." *D'Ewes' Journal*, p. 257. This answer was "most thankfully and joyfully received by the whole house with one accord." Cardwell. *Doc. An. Pref.* note.

‡ This exposition is well known. It may be seen at length in Gibson's *Codex*,

oath is admitted to be a restraint of the supremacy, which it defines to be the Queen's right, "under God, to have the sovereignty and rule over all manner of persons born within these her realms, &c., so as no other foreign power shall, or ought to have any superiority over them." Yet this exposition, although explanatory of the oath, in effect left the question of supremacy, as it was before. All that the Queen disclaims, is "authority and power of ministry of divine service in the Church," while, as if putting forth a most moderate claim, she admits "that she neither doth, nor ever will, challenge any other authority than that was challenged, and lately used by the said noble kings of famous memory, King Henry VIII. and King Edward VI." This evidently was a saving clause in favour of her indefinite prerogative.

The supremacy, as it stands at the present day, annexed to the crown, mainly rests upon the statute, 1 Eliz. c. i., intituled, "An Act to restore to the crown the ancient jurisdiction over the estate, ecclesiastical and spiritual, and abolishing all foreign powers repugnant to the same." Sir Edward Coke observes, with respect to this statute, that it "is not introductory of a new law, but declaratory of the old." "Which," remarks Bishop Gibson, "is undoubtedly true with regard to a general right of jurisdiction in the crown, over the state ecclesiastical; but doth not equally extend to the whole act." We cannot avoid perceiving that the same subtle policy which dictated the exposition of the oath of supremacy, is apparent also in this act, namely, an attempt to satisfy conscientious scruples by a sacrifice of words, while the power itself is retained in its full reality. Thus, the title of the act would lead one to conclude, that the crown designed to claim no more than the restoration of that *ancient jurisdiction*, which (while sovereigns professed a definite faith,) belonged of right to Christian kings, and was legally exercised in England by such monarchs as Edward III. and Henry IV. But when we inspect the details of the act, we perceive that it grants the crown much more than this ancient jurisdiction; annexing to it many powers, which had never been exercised before the time of Henry VIII. and Edward VI. This act is still in force, with the exception of the eighteenth clause;* and from it may be gathered the full extent of the powers at present vested in the crown of England, under the name of Ecclesiastical Supremacy. We do not propose to notice all these powers at length, but shall briefly set down such of them as have the strictest bearing upon our present object.

Vol. I. p. 54, fol. Ed. Cardwell, D. A. Vol. I. p. 199. Hallam's Const. Hist. Vol. I. p. 152, *note*. Mr. Hallam's remarks on the Oath of Supremacy are worth reading. See also Hickes on the Priesthood. Vol. II., 385, &c.

* The oath of supremacy prescribed in this act is also repealed, and another substituted in its place, by 1 Will. and Mar. c. 8. The present oath contains no clause about the Queen being "Supreme governor in all spiritual and ecclesiastical things and causes."

1. Such jurisdictions, privileges, superiorities and preeminences, spiritual and ecclesiastical, as by any spiritual or ecclesiastical power or authority have heretofore been, or may lawfully be exercised or used for the visitation of the ecclesiastical state and persons, and for reformation, order, and correction of the same, and of all manner of errors, heresies, schisms, abuses, offences, contempts and enormities, is for ever united and annexed to the imperial crown of the realm.*

2. The sovereign is the ultimate judge in all cases of appeal, and has authority, through his commissioners, or delegates, to decide what shall be considered heresy, and punished as such. And his determination, according to the law, is definitive, and binding upon all his subjects, unless exempted by subsequent acts of toleration.†

3. The sovereign nominates to all Archbishoprics and Bishoprics, by means of a *congé d'elire*, addressed to the cathedral chapters, commanding them to elect the person named in his mandate; the penalty of refusal being, as is now well known, a *præmunire*.‡ It has not yet been decided whether it is lawful to object to the nominee of the crown at the ceremony of his confirmation; the judges, in the recent case of Dr. Hampden, having been equally divided upon this point. It was, however, the opinion of the ecclesiastical officers, who presided at the confirmation of Dr. Hampden, as well as of Justice Erle and Lord Denman, that objections, although called for as a matter of form, could not be entertained without the Archbishop's incurring the penalties of *Præmunire*.

4. The sovereign has received the submission of the clergy of the Church of England,§ by virtue of which they are precluded from meeting in any assembly, synod, or convocation, but by royal writ; so being convened, they cannot open their mouths to deliberate or make any constitution touching doctrine or discipline without the sovereign's assent first had under his signet, and having made any constitution they cannot enact, promulgate, publish, or put in use the same, before it be confirmed under the broad seal.||

5. In order that the sovereign might have power to carry out the extensive authority conceded to him by the 17th clause of the 1 Eliz. c. 1, for the reformation of all heresies, &c. it was enacted

* Seventeenth clause of the Act.

† The statute of appeals, (24 Hen. VIII., c. 12.) and the statute of the submission of the Clergy, (25 Hen. VIII. c. 19.) with other acts, are revived by 1 Eliz. c. 1, which therefore places in the sovereign the powers mentioned above.

‡ 25 Hen. VIII. c. 1, revived by 1 Eliz. c. 1.

§ Act of the Submission of Clergy, 25 Hen. VIII., c. 19; revived 1 Eliz. c. 1.

|| See a curious paper claiming for the sovereign the most unlimited supremacy over the English Church, printed by Collier in his *Ecclesiastical History*, part 2, B. 2. Collier replies to this paper: which in many respects, at least, states the existing law correctly, and concludes by observing, that "the independency of the Church upon the State, in matters purely spiritual, is a question which cannot be decided by the Municipal Law."

in the next clause, that he might appoint commissioners under the great seal, who should have full power to correct and amend all manner of ecclesiastical abuses, errors, schisms, and heresies. These commissioners constituted the celebrated high court of commission, which played so conspicuous a part in English history from Elizabeth's reign to the time of Charles I., by whom it was most reluctantly abolished. James II., as is well known, attempted its revival at the expense of his crown. By the 1 Will. & Mary, c. 2, King James's commission and all others of the like nature were declared illegal and pernicious.

By the abolition of the high court of commission, the power of ultimately deciding on all spiritual matters, whether relating to doctrine or discipline, reverted to the commissioners appointed by the lord chancellor (25 Hen. VIII., c. 19), commonly called the court of delegates. It is an error to suppose that the jurisdiction of this court was limited to ecclesiastical causes as distinct from ecclesiastical doctrine.* We fear such a distinction would not hold good in the eyes of the law. On the contrary, Bishop Gibson informs us, that "the matters carried from the spiritual judges into that court are not only of an ecclesiastical nature, but are more *merely* and undeniably so than any others; being purged from all temporal matters, before they arrive there, by prohibitions prayed on one side or the other, upon any the least pretence or colours of such mixtures." It is also an error to suppose that the commissioners in that court were necessarily spiritual persons; because the sovereign by his chancellor, might appoint whom he pleased, and it became the usual practice † to nominate a mixed court of divines and lawyers. These commissioners were called the court of *delegates*, as being counsellors appointed under the great seal to whom was delegated that ecclesiastical authority of the sovereign, which has been conceded to him as the supreme head of the Church. By the 2 & 3 Will. IV. c. 92, and 3 & 4 Will. IV. c. 41, all the powers and jurisdiction of appeal were transferred from the court of dele-

* Mr. Bennett, in the second of his Sermons, makes the following remark:—"Ecclesiastical *causes* may be distinguished from Ecclesiastical *doctrine*. While it is unquestioned, that the Church alienated from her authority mere trials of law, it is certain that she never did, and never could have meant to alienate from her authority questions of *doctrine*." This statement is inaccurate: the Church did not alienate from her authority any "trial of law," upon which she was accustomed to decide, prior to the Reformation; but she gave the sovereign the power of reversing and annulling her sentences, which he had not before.

† The first statute of appeals expressly limits the cognizance of certain spiritual matters to spiritual persons, but the second statute leaves the sovereign wholly to his own choice. Bishop Gibson adds, that "there are no footsteps of any of the nobility or common-law judges in commission till the year 1604, (i. e., for seventy years after the erecting of the court)—nor from 1604 are they found in above one commission in forty, till the year 1639, from whence (i. e., from the downfall of Bishops and their jurisdiction which ensued) we may date the present rule of mixtures in that court." (Codex, Int. Discourse.) The reader must be reminded that the spiritual persons to whom certain spiritual appeals were to be made by 24 Hen. VIII. c. 12, were in no sense the King's delegates.

gates to a judicial committee of the privy council, which is virtually the same court under another name.* The facts—that the committee of council is a fixed court, composed almost exclusively of laymen, and that the majority of these laymen need not be members of the Church, are indeed important discrepancies between it and the original court of delegates; but they are not *essential* differences, for this plain reason;—because the principle which gives spiritual jurisdiction to the committee of the privy council is the same with that which gave spiritual jurisdiction to the court of delegates. That principle is founded on the maxim that the sovereign, acting by his commissioners, has the right as head or governor of the Church, to decide finally for the realm of England, what is truth and what is error; what is in accordance with the Catholic faith, and what opposed to it; what is essential doctrine, and what non-essential; what unfits a man for the cure of souls, and what does not. If this principle be a just one, and if this maxim be the law of the land, acquiesced in by the Church, it is plainly competent to the monarch by the advice of his parliament alone, to appoint as his delegates any body that may be considered to be most expedient.

The court of delegates was called into existence by the king and the parliament: and what these authorities enact they can surely annul. Nor did those, who first established this court, make any compact with the Church, nor enter into any agreement with her as to the limits of the power to be entrusted to these delegates: but they were appointed to be the mouthpiece of the king, and were bound to decide upon whatever came before them. The powers and jurisdiction of these delegates have been transferred, as we have observed, to the judicial committee of the privy council, and the decision of this latter court is now binding upon the courts of the Church. It cannot be repealed. Under the former court of delegates a revision was possible; it having been laid down by Sir E. Coke, and subsequently ruled, that “on a petition to the king in council, a commission of review may be granted under the great seal, appointing new judges, or adding more to the former judges, to revise, review, and re-hear the cause.” But, even then, a commission of review was matter of discretion and not of right, and if it were a hard case, the chancellor advised the crown not to grant it.† This power, however, of granting a commission of review is taken away by the 2 and 3 Will. IV. c. 92. The third section of this act prescribes the form of proceedings to be followed by the

* Mr. Keble contravenes this statement in his tract on Church Matters, p. 12—18. He holds that the Church cannot in any wise be bound by any other court than the court of delegates. It may be that the individual conscience of the members of the Church, (the clergy especially) may not be bound by the present court, but the practical evil is not the less, and the principle remains the same.

† Burn, Art. Appeal. See also Gibson's Codex, note on Statute of Appeals, Vol. I.

Judicial Committee. Having heard the case, they are to make a report to the Queen in Council for her decision as heretofore, in the same manner as has been heretofore the custom, and the nature of such report or recommendation is always to be stated in open court.

Such, then, are the chains which the realm of England has woven around the Church;—such the meaning of “Ecclesiastical Supremacy” as proposed for recognition by the state. In the eye of the law, this supremacy of the crown signifies not only the right of ruling all orders in the commonwealth, and above all, protecting the Holy Church; the right of aiding ecclesiastical censures by the civil sword, and giving effect to them by civil sanctions; the prerogative of accepting and publishing synodal canons; and the supreme authority to redress, reform, and amend, heresies and schisms, by restraining, or punishing, their authors and favourers;—but, over and above all this, it implies, or seems to imply, an irresponsible right to the appointment of bishops, and authority to decide definitively, through its delegates, judging according to law, matters of doctrine, as well as matters of discipline. What it does not claim is the power of the keys, the gifts of holy orders, and authority to minister in the divine service of the Church. In these respects, even Hooker admits, that “kings and princes are as much as the very meanest that live under them, bound in conscience to show themselves gladly and willingly obedient, receiving the seals of salvation, the blessed Sacraments, at the hands (of priests) as at the hands of the LORD JESUS CHRIST, with all reverence, not disdaining to be taught and admonished by them, not withholding from them as much as the least part of their due and decent honour.”*

So far have we traced, omitting many extravagant pretensions of the common lawyers, the powers legally vested in the crown by right of its ecclesiastical supremacy. We proceed to consider how far the Church of England has implicated herself by concession to these claims and powers, with a view to discover whether there remains any fair mode of retreat or deliverance.

1. The 37th article of religion defines the supreme power conceded to the civil magistrates in a sober and moderate sense. “Whereas we attribute to the Queen’s majesty the chief government,—we give not to our Princes the ministering either of God’s Word, or of the Sacraments—but that only prerogative which we see to have been given always to all godly Princes in Holy Scriptures by God Himself; that is, that they should rule all estates and degrees committed to their charge by God, whether they be ecclesiastical or temporal, and restrain with the civil sword the stubborn and evil doers.” “The ministering of God’s Word” would seem expressly

* Hooker, B. 8, c. 6, s. 11.

to exclude from the cognizance of the civil magistrate all questions (consequently all decisions) of doctrine, while the power otherwise allowed him is no more than what is now exercised by the Crown in such Catholic countries as Naples and Austria.

It is obvious that this limitation of the supremacy is the authorized meaning attached to that word by the English Church, and is the only sense in which, by this article, any of its members can be required to consent to that power. It is in this sense that the three canons relating to the regal supremacy are to be interpreted, although the wording of them is vague and loose, and much too favourable to the civil power. The first canon is identical with the first clause in Queen Elizabeth's injunctions; the 26th repeats the original oath of supremacy, ascribing "to the Queen's Majesty under God" the Supreme Power, "as well in all spiritual or ecclesiastical things or causes as temporal." The second canon excommunicates "whoever shall affirm that the Queen's Majesty hath not the same authority in causes ecclesiastical, that the godly Kings had amongst the Jews, and the Christian Emperors of the primitive Church, or impeach any part of her regal supremacy in the said causes restored to the crown, and by the laws of this realm therein established." The serious difficulty in this canon is the allusion to the statute laws relating to the supremacy. We cannot escape from the conclusion that the canon adopts the statute laws on this subject, and admits the justice of their claims: yet by these laws the crown is appointed the final judge in matters of doctrine; so that there at once arises a contradiction between the latter clause of this canon and the 37th article, in which questions of doctrine are excluded from the cognizance of the civil magistrates; unless "the ministering of God's Word" be restricted to mean public preaching in the Church,—a restriction we can hardly conceive the framers of the article to have intended. It is, however, beyond all doubt, that he whose office authorizes him to declare *ex cathedra*, dogmatically and definitively, what is truth, and what is so received by the Church of CHRIST, is exercising the highest and most responsible department of the public ministration of God's Holy Word; and this office is what we believe to belong by inalienable right to the bishops and priests of the Christian Church, and to them alone.

It may be urged with respect to the second canon, that it cannot be supposed to contradict other statements of the Church about the supremacy, put forward at the same time; much less can it contradict itself. This it would do, if it meant those who subscribe it, to assent, in a full sense, to *all* the present existing laws regulating and defining the supremacy of the crown over the ecclesiastical state. For the first part of the canon ascribes to our sovereigns only that prerogative which was enjoyed by godly kings amongst the Jews, and Christian emperors in the primitive Church.

Now the godly Jewish kings never claimed, or exercised, the right of deciding upon matters of doctrine; and although Christian emperors, in early times, had many prerogatives with regard to the Church, this was not among the number. Constantine sat in the Council of Nice as a layman, on a throne below the bishops, in which he would not sit down until the synod desired him. S. Ambrose is reported to have said, at the Council of Aquileia, with reference to the letter of the Emperor Gratian, convening the synod—"This is what the emperor hath ordered; he would not wrong the Bishops; he hath declared them interpreters of Scripture, and judges of this controversy." And when Palladius wanted to have a mixed court to decide his case, S. Ambrose opposed him by saying, "the Bishops are appointed to judge laymen, not laymen to judge Bishops." After this, he reminded the Bishops of the emperor's having referred the determination of this dispute to them, as being the interpreters of the Scriptures.* Now, the Church of England cannot be supposed to concede to our monarchs more than was ever claimed by Christian emperors, in primitive ages; and therefore it may be said, when it denounces those who "impeach any part of the regal supremacy in the said causes restored to the crown, and by the laws of this realm therein established," it can only mean such laws as are consistent with the rights of the Church, and the practice of primitive times.

This would be a satisfactory explanation of the canon if the present legal exercise of supremacy in ecclesiastical matters did not actually step beyond the due limits of Scripture and antiquity. In yielding a general assent to a great body of laws, carrying us many centuries back, we should endeavour to keep clear of rigidity and stiffness, as well as of laxity and indifference. In all subscriptions, a certain latitude is permissible, of which a well regulated conscience will know how far it is safe to avail oneself. There are, on our statute book, some laws of ancient date, which, although not formally repealed, have become virtually obsolete. The state does not, and would not, enforce them. They are allowed quietly to drop into desuetude. And no judge, although sworn to maintain the laws, would feel himself bound to put them in execution. But unhappily there exists no analogy between these antiquated and disused statutes, and such laws as the 25th Hen. VIII., c. 19. Of this act, it cannot be said that it is obsolete. No one can now shut his eyes to the fact, that most objectionable powers are not only vested in the ecclesiastical supremacy of the crown, but are still in full force and operation. It is no antiquated claim of the crown of England to appoint Bishops, irrespective of all remonstrance. It is no antiquated claim, that the sovereign should not only punish for heresy, (which is his lawful right,) but should also

* Fleury, Book 18.

decide what is to be considered heresy. Many who were not aware that the crown possessed such a power, can no longer plead ignorance in this matter; and consequently we do not see how it is possible for them, if they believe the Church alone to possess the right of deciding in matters of faith, hereafter with a safe conscience to subscribe that clause of the second canon, which prohibits them from impeaching "any part of the regal supremacy, by the laws of this realm established;" unless those laws, which constitute the crown the final judge, be repealed and annulled.

But further, it must be remembered, that it is not the wording of this canon alone which protects and sanctions all the laws relating to the supremacy. These statutes constitute no unimportant portion of the ecclesiastical code, received and acted upon by the English Church. Few people appear to be conscious that the Ecclesiastical Courts are real portions of the Church, and that the laws which regulate their proceedings are, really and truly, the laws of the Church. These laws are of three kinds. 1. The common law of the Church, or the rule of ancient custom, and immemorial practice. 2. The Canon Law, so far as it has been received in England, or created by the decrees of English national synods. 3. The statute laws, or those acts of parliament, which were intended either to supply the defects of the other laws, or to supersede particular parts of them. The ecclesiastical statutes passed by the legislature, are the result of the union between Church and State. If that union were completely dismembered, these laws ought, and, we presume, would, cease to be operative; and the Church would fall back upon its appropriate code, ancient custom and the Canon Law. So long, however, as this union exists, it is idle to shut our eyes to the plain fact, that the ecclesiastical statutes passed in parliament are a real portion of the laws of the Church. The courts of the Church are obliged to regulate their proceedings in accordance with those acts. By these statutes, Bishops are controlled, not only in administering the temporal affairs of their dioceses, but even in such strictly spiritual matters as the correction and punishment of delinquent clerks. And if this be so, it follows as an inevitable consequence, from which no sophistry can liberate us, that the Church is, to a certain extent, committed to all ecclesiastical acts passed in the legislature, and assented to by the sovereign; and that there are only two methods by which she can escape from the consequences of being thus committed;—either (1) by obtaining a repeal of such acts as infringe her just rights and liberties, or (2) by separating from the State, and so throwing off altogether, the cumbrous yoke of parliamentary legislation—a yoke "which neither we, nor our fathers were able to bear."

And these are the only alternatives of which it is possible for members of the English Church to avail themselves, in endea-

vouring to steer with unsullied consciences through the present momentous crisis.

We are glad to find that these remedies have already been pointed out by three such men as Mr. Keble, Mr. Dodsworth, and Mr. Bennett; by the last, especially, with that clearness and straightforward earnestness, which must win respect and admiration, even from those who may not be able, on all points, to go along with him. Mr. Dodsworth's Sermon is equally clear and decisive, although he does not enter so fully into probable consequences, as Mr. Bennett has thought it right to do. Both these clergymen put strongly forward the real evil in the matter, which is not so much the accidental constitution of the existing court, as the fact, that it is "*a court, sitting by authority only of a temporal power.*" "On this," adds Mr. Dodsworth, "I would found the strength of the objection to it. This would remain in all its strength, even if all its members were bound under solemn obligations and duties to the Church as her own members." In some respects we regret the publication of Mr. Keble's tract "On Church matters in 1850," because, although it breathes the quiet piety and deep earnestness of its respected author, it is calculated, we fear, to draw off men's minds from the real point at issue. Mr. Keble writes as if the question related more to a particular court than to *a false principle*. His observations might lead his readers to infer, that although he objects to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, deciding in Church matters, he would not object to "the old court of delegates." It is true that he proposes, that all cases of heresy be referred for final decision to the Upper House of Convocation; and adds, that "the principle which we plead for, is equally saved, whether the synod itself be the court, or some other body properly authorized by the synod." But still he nowhere definitely enunciates the principle, *that it is unlawful for the Christian Church, or any portion of it, to entrust the civil magistrate with the power of finally deciding upon matters of faith*. Believing this truth more deeply and humbly than others, he yet evidently keeps it in the back ground, and dwells too much upon the particular court to which we all equally object. "If," he says, "we go on at all to accept, or connive at the claim of the *Privy Council* to settle controversies of faith, what do we but render ourselves actual and wilful partakers in the sin of betraying the faith?" Now, in point of fact, the Privy Council has made no such claim, and Lord Brougham lamented, the other day in the House of Lords, that it was under the necessity of deciding in a case which he, as a member of that Council, admitted ought not to be within its cognizance. It is not the Privy Council which has made this claim, but the crown; and if it is lawful for the latter, it cannot be unlawful for the former.

This, then, is the real point at issue:—to be met calmly, tem-

perately, humbly, but firmly and boldly. If the English Church is, through Divine Providence, to pass in safety through the present crisis, it must be by laying hold of an intelligible principle, and adhering to that principle at every risk. We do not desire to rake up old sores, or to dwell upon unhappy blemishes: but the fact is, that by assenting to statements which require to be understood with reservations, we have let slip a great truth, and have given the State an undue advantage over us. "*Revocare gradum—hoc opus, hic labor est.*" Retreat may be difficult, but it ought not to be impossible. Let what has been done in ignorance, or in weakness, be now formally undone. Let the Church—not by a party, or by protests, or by unauthorized assemblies—but by a lawful synod declare, that it does not, and cannot yield to any temporal sovereign, the right of deciding upon matters of doctrine, either personally, or by means of delegates. Let the Church of England clearly assert that she claims to teach all her children what is truth and what is heresy: and that she can no longer suffer the civil magistrate to wrest this right from her. If the decision to be given by the Privy Council be false or evasive, let it be promptly annulled in synod. Petition the Crown to sanction the assembly of a Provincial Synod; and in this synod let all things be done decently and in order, according to Canonical precedent. Let grave and learned men be employed to investigate the practice of the Catholic Church, and to report what "*appellant tribunal*" would be most consistent with the customs of former times. And when those grave and sober doctors have honestly done their work, with prayer and fasting, and have reported thereon to the synod, then let the Bishop and Clergy re-enact the celebrated canon of the Council of Nice—*τὰ ἀρχαία ἐν ἡμετέροις*, "*let the ancient customs prevail.*" If the State refuse to annul those laws which are inconsistent with the just maintenance of the truth, and to sanction the assembling of the national synod, then it is still the duty of the Church, to "*obey God rather than man,*"—"*to render unto Cæsar the things which are Cæsar's, and unto God the things which are God's,*" to prefer the loss of all things to the detriment of the faith, to separate from all connection with civil power, and to hold its synodal meetings, whether the State wills or no. By this, and by no less decisive course, can the Church of England ride in safety over the stormy billows which are even now breaking against her fundamental doctrines.

From these remarks it must be evident, that in our judgment, the Bishop of London's proposed new Court of Appeal, cannot, and ought not, to satisfy the members of the Church. It is much to be feared, that his bill will soon pass into law, and this new court be substituted for the existing one; as if a modification of the accidental constitution of the Committee of Privy Council could, in the least, alter the fallacious principle. If the Crown is

still to be the Final Judge of Doctrine, it makes comparatively little matter, whether its delegates be six Bishops, or six Judges. Of the two, the latter is the least objectionable; for while it is only natural that the Judges should in all things be the Sovereign's delegates, it is a very near approach to a betrayal of their divine commission, for Bishops to consent to act as delegates of any temporal Prince in purely spiritual matters. Besides, how can the Church be satisfied, if the Crown appoints a Court to judge points of doctrine, "by and with the advice and consent" of such a body as the House of Commons; but without the advice and consent of the Clergy, its proper counsellors upon all such matters? And, (if we must allude to the humiliating fact,) has either party in our Church such entire confidence in Bishops appointed by the irresponsible power of the Minister of the day, as to bind itself to stand or fall by the decision of any five or six of these Prelates? Is it not unreasonable to ask the Church to commit herself to the tender mercies of this new Ecclesiastical Commission? But is it not still more unreasonable that the Church should be thus committed, without even asking her consent?

Other grave objections lie not only against this particular court, but against the whole bill. It is one of the worst features in the practical working of our Church, that such measures as the "Clerks Correction Bill," should again and again be debated in Parliament, without calling forth any remonstrance either from the Bishops or the other Clergy: nay, that they should even be brought forward by the Bishops themselves. Let any man consider for a moment the nature of such acts, and he will see that they deal with things which are wholly beyond the ordinary cognizance of Parliament. Such acts relate to those kinds of immoralities, with which Parliament professes not to interfere. It interferes not with doctrine or opinion. What then has it to do with heresy? Why should it pass any law about it? Is there not an extraordinary inconsistency in a body, the majority of whom hold that it signifies nothing what a man believes, or at least, that every man should be at liberty to believe what he pleases, creating a particular court to decide matters of doctrine? When this new bill comes before the House of Commons, we trust the liberal members will oppose it, as inconsistent with the present principles of parliamentary legislation. Again, what has Parliament to do with the ordinary class of immoralities? The correction of these sins belongs to religion and not to Parliament. The latter does not punish them in any other class of the community; are the Clergy so much more liable to be guilty of such crimes, that they alone, of all ranks require to be corrected by act of Parliament? O how deeply fallen is our holy Church! once mother of Saints, parent of virgins, mistress of the holy, and the brave! "How is the gold become dim! how is the most fine gold changed!" "She that was great among the

nations and princess among the provinces, how is she become tributary!—among all the lovers she hath none to comfort her: all her friends have dealt treacherously with her, they are become her enemies.” Christian reader! would you behold a sight, more than sufficient to confound Apostles, to abash martyrs, to make angels weep—nay more than sufficient to excite the indignation of the Great Head of the Church?—behold a Bishop invested with divine authority to administer godly discipline, submissively asking Parliament to pass spiritual laws for the correction of his own priests? The whole Christian Church, from the beginning, has always considered the correction of offending priests and deacons, a purely spiritual matter: and instead of weakly surrendering this office into the hands of the civil power, it has rather endeavoured to stave off even such interference as is unobjectionable. If anything were needed to prove that *real Ecclesiastical principle* has, after all, made small progress amongst us, it would be the fact that no protest has, as yet, been made against the indecency of all such bills; and that the Bishops themselves have forgotten, that if indeed, any fresh laws are necessary for the restraint and punishment of Clerical offences, they should be enacted *in the form of Canons*, in the synods of the Church, not in such motley assemblies as our present parliaments.

There are circumstances, it is true, which may bring such measures in a modified form, under the proper cognisance of temporal legislation: namely, where the Church and State are united, and it is considered necessary to enforce spiritual censures with civil penalties, or in any way to interfere with the civil rights of the subject. Here Parliament has a just claim to be consulted, and the Bishop, in doing so, is discharging a clear duty. But this is the only case in which, upon any intelligible grounds of religion, he is justified in applying to Parliament to interfere in the ministration of Church discipline; and in this case, it ought to be the single purport of his bill to strengthen ecclesiastical censures with corresponding civil penalties, whenever the latter may be considered *indispensable*. But to surrender the spiritual discipline of the Church into the hands of the temporal legislature, and to receive at its dictation, the exact form in which alone it is to be exercised—this is such a departure from the first principles of Christianity, as ought to overwhelm us with shame, and excite us to a prompt repentance.

We trust, then, that the Church will not allow itself to be deceived by any specious arguments in favour of the measure now before the House of Lords—a measure which will not in the least improve our present position. The sole effectual remedy is the formal recognition by the Church and by the State of the vital and essential principle, that the Church alone, through her Bishops and Priests, is the judge of all matters of doctrine. In other words, the single remedy is the repeal of the 25th Hen. VIII. c. 19.

There can be no doubt that this remedy would be promptly and speedily applied, if it were not for our unhappy divisions, which render what would be acceptable to one party disagreeable to the other. Disunion is the cause of our weakness. It is one secret of the present danger. The false decision of an ill qualified court could not do such serious harm to a Church united with itself: it may be the downfall of a divided House. Union is strength. If the English Church were blessed with members really united in the profession of one common faith, not only might it safely surmount the present storm, but it might gain renewed vigour from the trials through which it must pass. Since our predecessors yielded a cowardly submission to the tyrant Henry, a struggle has always been going on within the Church against the chains that enslave her. The obnoxious title of "Head of the Church" has been silently dropped. Elizabeth's oath of supremacy was obliged to be explained into an unobjectionable sense; and in more recent times, it has been the policy of the Crown to keep off open hostility by abstaining from such acts, whether in the way of episcopal appointments, or otherwise, as might direct attention to the injustice of its exorbitant authority. Still a struggle has gone on within the Church. The controversy about the Supremacy of the Crown was warmly agitated in the reign of James II. It was then lulled for a season, but has now revived again, in an age of equal earnestness, and of equal readiness for action. What direction it may take, and in what manner it will terminate, are questions which we do not desire to answer. We shall leave the issue in the hands of Providence. To the children of the Church, we would say, in all humility,—“The hour of trial has come. Be ye strong, and of a good courage. Love not your ease, your comfort, your luxury—but love your Faith, and your God! Be clear as to the principle for which you contend; be prompt, and vigorous in action: and make no compromise with the world. If evil days are coming upon our National Church, they are a visitation, because a compromise *has been* made: if from this impending evil she now suffer and fall, it will be, because ‘loving the praise of men more than the praise of God,’ her rulers and her sons have quailed before the frown of the world.

“No man can serve two masters; for either he will hate the one and love the other: or else he will hold to the one and despise the other: YE CANNOT SERVE GOD AND MAMMON.”

P.S. The preceding Article was written and partly printed before the publication of Mr. Maskell's "First Letter on the present position of the High Church Party in the Church of England," (London: Pickering.) Many of the statements advanced in this article with

respect to the laws relating to the Regal Supremacy will be also found in Mr. Maskell's "Letter," in language somewhat different : and this is so far satisfactory, as presenting the concurrent testimony of two independent writers, who are unknown to each other. We have read Mr. Maskell's "Letter" with a sorrowful heart—with sorrow the more real, because the writer of this article, individually, is obliged to concur with much of what Mr. Maskell has said. He lies equally open, with Mr. Maskell, to severe censure for attempting to unfold the real truth on this question : but he would plead in justification, that the truth ought to be known, and that there can be no remedy, except it be known and acknowledged. What has been said in the preceding pages, with reference to a remedy, may, we fear, appear "visionary" in Mr. Maskell's eyes : but whatever obstacles may lie in the way of an effectual remedy being promptly applied, we are hardly justified, upon any principle of faith, in concluding beforehand, that these obstacles will prove insurmountable. At least, it seems more charitable to hope that they may not : and we cannot err by inclining to the side of charity ; so long as we do not allow it to blind our eyes to manifest truths. We have written, therefore, in the language of charitable hope ; but at the same time, we feel convinced, that if any remedy is to be found for our present difficulties, unless it be applied by the National Church itself, (for without the restoration of the Church's Synodal action we can do nothing,) and that with promptitude, it will arrive too late—too late for the retention of many much valued members of her communion—too late, it *may* be, for her own preservation, as a member of the Church Catholic.

AGRICULTURAL DISTRESS.

AGRICULTURAL distress is now the prevailing, almost the absorbing, topic of the day. It meets us every where. The lugubrious scowl of the farmer, the blustering indignation of country squires, and the downheartedness of the pauperised labourer, protectionist meetings in all parts of the country, the desponding tone of the "Mark Lane Express" and "Bell's Weekly Messenger"—all these bear undoubted witness to the depreciation of the agricultural interests of this country. The cry of "wolf" is true at last, and for once the complaints of the farmer have some foundation. This is a fact, then, which we do not intend to dispute. It is to the assigned cause of the evil that we are

not a little incredulous. We have only heard one cause assigned as to the origin of the present state of things—the abolition of the corn-laws; and certainly, at first sight, it seems a reasonable way of accounting for it. Doubtless, to some extent, this is a cause. Into this broad question, however, we do not intend to enter—free-trade may be right, or protection may be right. With civil politics we have little concern, and, we believe, very little skill; so that our readers might possibly be deceived if they were to adopt our opinions on that point. As this subject, however, has an ecclesiastical, nay, a theological bearing, as we think, so we are not afraid to view it in this aspect; and the more so as it is one which has never yet been hinted at, so far as we have observed. Free-trade is the grand evil—protection is the only panacea. This is the chorus which agriculturists sing to a somewhat mournful strain, at all the meetings on the subject of agricultural distress which we have heard of.

Let us take, however, a more serious view of the subject. We are convinced, whatever else may be a cause of the prevailing distress, that *the* cause are the sins of the agriculturists as a body; and that the prevailing distress is a punishment from God upon these sins. This will be a view of the subject, startling as it is novel; so that we are bound to make good our conclusion. This shall be our first object in the remarks which ensue.

We have spoken of the sins of the agriculturists as a body. Now it will be allowed that the abuse of privileges is a sin; nor will it be disputed that God's kingdom of nature, with which the agriculturist is concerned, has been invested with the very highest privileges. It is the special work of God's own hand:—"God made the country, man made the town." Out of the earth was man himself created, in the same nature which the Son of God Himself took when He was made flesh and dwelt among us. To the heathen world God has revealed Himself through His kingdom of nature. "For the invisible things of Him from the creation of the world are clearly seen, being understood by the things that are made, even His Eternal Power and Godhead." And to those, to whom God hath revealed Himself in His Son, the kingdom of nature is still the counterpart of the kingdom of grace. The one explains the other, as Christian writers from S. Irenæus to Bishop Butler have shown. And besides these privileges, the Great Creator condescended to receive of His own the offerings made to His glory. The first-fruits were especially holy, inasmuch as they were to be dedicated to Him. Both under the Law and the Gospel, His Priesthood were to receive in His Name, the hire of which the labourer is worthy from the fruits of the earth. Tithes are the consecration of land, and the endowment of God's special blessing and favour. For these reasons, then, it is that agriculture has ever been considered a holy employment,

a sanctuary no less than a church for those engaged in it, and as bringing us most within the sphere of Divine agency. The economy of nature which produces

“The pomp of groves and garniture of fields,”

is scarcely less mysterious and wonderful, though of course less miraculous, than is restored vitality to the man that is dead, or the resurrection of the body, or any other miracle of God’s power and love. The poet of the Seasons, without suspicion of Pantheism, might truly sing—

“These as they change, Almighty FATHER, these
Are but the varied God. The rolling year
Is full of Thee.”

And doubtless it was in a spirit of true piety that the Three Children in their glorious song, invoked “the earth, mountains, and hills, and all green things upon the earth, to praise God, and magnify Him for ever.” And such is the spirit in which the Church of CHRIST has ever contemplated God’s kingdom of nature. Those who were called to labour there were ever considered as standing upon holy ground, and labouring in a “field which the LORD had blessed.” Even now it is so in theory, and might be so in practice. For once in each year, the Priest and clerks, with the people, are to perambulate in procession, the bounds of their respective parishes, chanting songs of praise and thanksgiving, and hearing holy words beneath the umbrageous shade of “Gospel trees,” many of which yet remain. At the four ember seasons, special prayers, with fasting, might be offered for God’s blessing upon the fruits of the earth, for which we make special supplication in the Litany.

Now all this is a direct acknowledgment of the sanctity of agricultural pursuits, and of the responsibilities which were connected with the privileges bestowed upon them. “Landed interests” cannot be dissociated from “landed duties.” And, accordingly, England was happy England, while this spirit survived, so that even now poets draw their descriptions of rural and pastoral scenes from those times, which, though miserably unreal to us, were no doubt quite applicable to them. God had blessed the land for the sake of His people, with all the blessings of a happy and united social system; each class, indeed, preserving a due subordination to the other, and the rights of each being acknowledged and respected; but all—the priest, the landowner, the farmer, the labourer, all blending together in one harmonious and happy whole.

It is otherwise now—and no wonder. We hear a great deal of landed interests, but little of landed duties; the social system is disorganized. Agriculture is a mere trade, and a matter of brute labour, or at best, of scientific experiment. The holiness, and

therefore the mirth of the land is gone, and agricultural distress is the legitimate consequence of agricultural sin.

And first, let us look at the landowner, or as we may say, the tithe owner, for these, alas, are almost convertible terms now. In many thousands of our parishes, as Mr. Malet, the excellent secretary, and we believe, founder of the Tithe Redemption Trust, a society which, though not all that we could wish, is worthy of high praise and general encouragement, has shown in a letter to Lord Littelton, the squire, in numberless instances, owns the tithes. It not only is not acknowledged that tithes belong to God, but it is a fact almost unknown, or where not unknown, it is utterly disbelieved by the great mass of our agriculturists. Squire A. is the owner, Mr. B., the attorney's clerk, who sits half-yearly at the village pot-house, is the receiver, and the farmers amidst the fumes of tobacco, and the exhalations of brandy and water, are, and no wonder, the grumbling payers. In their inmost hearts they curse the tithe, the tithe owner, and the tithe receiver. It is a *burthen* upon the land, which they would rejoice to shake off. They are, however, almost hopeless on that head, notwithstanding that the Tithe Commutation Act, and the blandness of the tithe commissioner, not unfrequently a dissenter, promised great things. But alas, ungodly commutation only riveted the chain, and the old saying yet holds true—that it is better to live under the crosier than the lance.

The Squire then is in numberless instances the tithe owner, and in every instance, the tithe is no longer weighed in the balance of the sanctuary, but in the scales of tithe commissioners and land valuers, so that in parishes where the tithes are not impropriated, the commutation of them is fast impoverishing the Clergy. This fact is very clearly and amusingly, if it were not so grave a matter, shown in "*The Tithe Owner's Tale, or, a bleat from the pasture, by a Black Sheep, (Ridgway),*"—a clever pamphlet which has just fallen into our hands, and to which we shall have occasion to refer again. Now, if this state of things is not sufficient to account for agricultural distress, that God, to whom vengeance belongeth, must indeed be slow to show Himself. But we have His own word for it, that this sacrilege is the certain cause of Divine punishment—"Will a man rob God? Yet ye have robbed Me. But ye say, Wherein have we robbed Thee? In tithes and offerings." And mark the consequence. "Ye are cursed with a curse: for ye have robbed Me, even the whole nation." (Mal. iii. 8, 9.) And most signally has this curse hitherto been fulfilled upon many of the lay impropiators themselves, as Sir Henry Spelman has shown in his well-known treatise. But now the judgment extends itself throughout the whole agricultural system, of which this sacrilegious sin is the bane and incubus, and with which it is commensurate. We really do wish, therefore, that some of those well-fed and well-dressed

country gentlemen, who talk so feelingly, and complain so vehemently at Protectionist meetings, would really consider this view of the case, seriously consider, that is, whether they are not the chief agents in the very distress which they deplore; and that it is not even in the omnipotence of parliament to remedy it, as long as they are the spoilers of God's Church and poor. With them is the evil, and with them must be the remedy; the bane and antidote are both before them.

But the squire is only one of the links in the chain which encircles the agricultural world. Let us pass from the *landowner*, to the *landholder*, the farmer or yeoman, one of a class which is said to be peculiar to England, and according to Guizot and Alison coeval with the Norman Conquest, of which it was one of the most signal benefits. In an English farmer of the nineteenth century the observation of Bishop Sherlock is often most painfully exemplified,—"a beast without reason is a much more honourable creature than a beast with it." Without any profession of Hutchinsonianism, we are confident that many of "the creatures irrational and mute" which form the farmer's live stock, are in every way more loveable, honourable, generous, and exalted in the scale of being than their owners. The strongest soil is more easily worked and drained, than you could work upon the farmer's immoveable heart, or carry off in beneficent streams of usefulness even the overflowing of his pocket. He drains, and ploughs, and harrows, and sows, and reaps year after year, mowing and toiling, without learning a single lesson of generosity which *justissima tellus* would fain teach him at every step. The farmer has no sympathies beyond his farm and the market. He is a slave of earth in the real sense of the word, and what Seneca said of heathen Egypt, may now be applied to Christian England,—"*Nemo aratrorum cœlum aspicit.*"

In speaking of the labourer we feel that we are describing a class which is more sinned against than sinning, and that the faults which we deplore are scarcely to be called their own. Still the truth must be told. In many parts of the country there is not a more stupid, besotted, ungrateful, vicious, vindictive, and lustful race, than that which poets persist in calling "a bold peasantry their country's pride." Mortal sin prevails to an extent amongst the farm-labourers, of which they who only know them as they are described in romances, as the indwellers of cottages embowered in roses and woodbine, have no conception. Not to mention incest which abounds fearfully, the men are almost without exception, drunkards, and the women are generally unchaste. The deadly sin of fornication is eating out every remnant of purity. Parental authority, reverence, or even decency to holy persons and things, there is none. A sullen and practical atheism abounds everywhere.

Such being the lamentable condition of our agricultural population, can we wonder at the present distress, and have we not here

the real and only efficient cause of it? Wise M.P.s, loquacious country squires, and grumbling farmers, may sneer at the sophisms of free trade, but they are the generators of their own malady.

But how has this state of things arisen, and what is the remedy? It arises from the disorganisation of our social system, by which we mean the disruption of those ties which bind the different classes together in mutual interests and sympathies; a system which restrains the power of the highest from becoming tyrannical, and protects the condition of the lowest from oppression, and which evolves a feeling of mutual forbearance and self-respect that keeps alive even in servitude the spirit of an exalted freedom. These ties are broken. The squire has as little sympathy for the farmer, (even though he be not a small farmer—a class which he would exterminate), as the latter has with him, and as the labourer has with either class. The squire may be better educated than the gentry whom Mr. Macaulay so truthfully describes. He may not drink so many bottles of port after dinner, nor perhaps give so many to his poor neighbours in sickness; and be rather more select in his company. The agent, often a schismatic and always a skinflint, may do the squire's dirty work instead of the squire himself; the squire's lady may spell more correctly than in Dryden's or Addison's day, and leave the pickling of her cucumbers, and the preserving of her gooseberries to her house-keeper: but what they have gained in civilization, they have lost in kind-heartedness, and by being less blunt and John Bullish, they are become more intensely vulgar and sensual. Lord John Manners must write a great many more pamphlets before he can break down the barriers which keep asunder from all sincere, and inoffensive, and unpatronising intercourse, the squire and his tenantry. They distrust each other, and so confidential intercourse is impossible. The squire returns disgusted from the social meeting and votes it a bore, and the farmer suspects that there is something more in the landlord's hospitality than roast beef and nut-brown ale.

And so it is with the farmer and the labourer. They have no confidence in one another, and no bond of union except the day's wages—so far from being anxious to improve the intellectual and moral condition of the labourer, the farmer is notoriously opposed to it. He has a decided aversion to the National school, and does what he can to counteract the endeavours of the parson and school-master. This is the universal testimony of school-inspectors, government and diocesan. It matters not to him how the labourer fares, or what are his morals, if he does his work. He may drink his hard-earned wages at the beer-shop—or he may stretch his weary limbs on “an uneasy pallet” in a room wherein his whole family, of either sex and of all ages, are sleeping together. His shattered and mud-floored cottage may totter in the midst of dis-

eases generated from stagnant drains, filthy sewers, and a confined and polluted atmosphere—but this is the labourer's own concern, the farmer has nothing to do with it—except in many instances to deduct a weekly rent from his weekly wages.

Then again, as the landowner too often appropriates the tithes, the farmer in many instances claims the gleanings which by Divine Command belong equally to the poor as tithes do to God Himself. "Be off," roared a gruff farmer with an oath to a party of gleaners last harvest,—“I allow no gleaning here; I want all the gleanings for my—*pigs*.” And how hardly do they bear upon the poor when they exercise over them the oppressing offices of overseer or guardian of the poor, as they are sadly misnamed. “We cannot relieve you for long, you must get another husband,” said one of these unfeeling officials to a poor woman heart-broken at the recent loss of her husband, when she, for the first time craved an allowance for herself and fatherless children at a town's meeting.

But we need not adduce any further evidence to prove a fact sufficiently patent to most of our readers, viz:—that our social system is disorganized and utterly broken up. The more important question is; what is the cause of this sad disruption so pregnant with evil of all kinds? It is, then, the disorganization of another system which is the conservator of the former—the parochial system—that type and image of the Church universal, which adapts itself to each man's necessities. The same description which applies to the one applies to the other—a people united to their pastor. So that when we speak of the parochial system, we speak of the Church itself, and mean that division of the Church to which we are each locally and by neighbourhood united. The Church and the Church only it is which can bind together the whole human family in the bonds of Christian brotherhood, because it is the Church alone which is that one body of which all its children are members. The people's charter and the socialist's moral world are all yearnings for that reciprocity of love and sympathy which is the special privilege of the Communion of CHRIST. In it there is room for all, and sympathy for all, and unity is not a matter of mere preference but a duty of religious obligation. Equal rights and equal privileges are only found in the Christian's charter. Social life can only develop itself in the Church of God. And each parish is a Church in miniature so to speak; and the parish priest is the centre and living exponent of the parish. As the associate of all classes, he is the medium through which the wants and sympathies of all are made known; he is the universal peacemaker, and a kind of solicitor and attorney general for his people; in his holy ministrations all are equally concerned and all have equally a share. The seasons of confession appointed by the Church make him a denizen of the bosom of all his parishioners, and the awful powers of binding and loosing which the Church has committed to

him, subdues the haughtiness of the proudest sinner, and cheers the heart of the lowliest penitent; and besides this he is the real conservator of public morality and virtue. As our friend the "Black sheep" observes, "if there exists in England a high moral tone, an honourable feeling, a principle of law-obeying and order-preserving, a patience of endurance, an indomitable courage under suffering, all based on true religious faith; you have to thank for it neither your Muntzes nor your Disraelis, nor your platform mummery, nor your speechifying, but simply and entirely the calm, steady and true, zealous piety, and moral and virtuous lives of the Clergy, which have gravitated downward, downward to the very lowest substratum of mankind, and forced the flower of honesty to blossom even in the smoke of Manchester." Truly therefore the parochial system, that wonderful institution of the middle ages, permeates every corner and relationship of social life, of which it is the only real conservator.

But, alas, the parochial system exists only in name in England. The godless and cruel "union" has supplanted it. The Church is no longer coextensive with our parochial boundaries. Perambulation of parishes is all but extinct, because it is found to be a solemn farce, under existing circumstances. The English Church is no longer the exponent of the English nation; hence our parishes are no longer the dwelling places of Catholic Christians, and consequently the parish Priest has ceased to be a living bond of union between the people amongst whom he sojourns. His office, nay, his existence, is scarcely acknowledged at all. Even those who acknowledge him as their pastor, do so not from any perception of priestly authority, but from feelings of partiality or personal respect—because he is a gentleman, a scholar, or an attractive preacher.

But even this frail tie holds only with a few. The squire perhaps having a hatred of what he considers the vulgarity of dissent, and in many cases being the *patron* in the real sense of the word, of the living, thinks it desirable that he should appear with his family in his capacious ancestral pew, in his parish church, provided it be conveniently near; if not he chooses the nearest church, and altogether withdraws himself from the supervision of his own pastor. It never occurs to him that a man's spiritual father is given to him as *providentially* as his natural, and that, ordinarily speaking, he sins as much against the Providence of God when he withdraws himself from the one as from the other. He thinks it civil, however, to ask the clergyman occasionally to dinner, and when very courteously disposed, to send him a brace of birds. When "Church and Queen" is given at a county meeting, he claps his hands and stamps his feet lustily as he gulps a bumper in honour of the establishment, which he is certain will stand so long as the gentry support it. And such is the squire's churchmanship.

But the farmer does not even advance so far in orthodoxy. With more honesty than his superiors he openly withdraws from a Church for which he has no sympathy. He boasts that he is a Methodist to the back bone ; or at least, church and meeting are all the same to him—one is as good as the other, and why walk a mile to church, when you can hear the Gospel at farmer H.'s who lives next door. Besides he pays tithes, and if he be obliged, Church rates, so that he does enough for the Church in all conscience.

Like master like man. So that the labourer's churchmanship may be inferred from that of his superiors. Unless the village feast or a railway trip rouses him from his really sabbatical rest ; too often he does not even change his working dress on a Sunday, but lounges about the fields and hedgerows undressed and unshaven. The "poetry of steeples" has no charm for him—and the heavenliest sound which hill or vale prolongs and multiplies, awakens no sympathy in his insensate heart. The gray church tower tells its tale in vain. Should a better spirit linger amongst the rural poor, the iniquitous pew-system has virtually closed the doors of their parish church against them, so that they become a ready prey to the ravings of dissent, which cool down into apathy and infidelity. No wonder then that the parochial system being broken up, our social life should be expiring almost, and that in its place the sins of disunion, selfishness, and vice should spring up and entail upon them the vengeance of God.

Again then we declare, that it is here we must look for the real cause of agricultural distress. It is occasioned by those sins, which especially abound in agricultural districts ; and it will continue so long as these sins remain unchecked and unrepented of. The Church of God, as we have shown, alone can check them, so that we have here an unanswerable and most practical argument for doing what we can to enable the Church to regain her hold upon the people. And to effect this, first, and above all, it is essential that all impropriated tithes should be restored to their sacred uses. So long as they remain perverted to secular objects, a curse, more deadly than Kehama's, must fasten upon our parishes, counteracting every effort for good, and paralyzing every energy of Priest and people. Then again, the Church, in her holy offices, in all their integrity and impressiveness, must be brought before the people, that they may see and acknowledge her maternal care for their welfare. Daily prayers, frequent communions, catechising, open kneelings, must be restored before it is found that the Church affords scope for every sympathy of man's heart, and every season of his life. Education, superintended vigilantly, if not partially dispensed by the parish Priest, must be carried out in strict accordance with the Church's discipline and doctrine, would we have a constant succession of faithful sons and daughters of the temple. Any concession here must be fatal. And far better that

the darkest ignorance should prevail, rather than give the light of mere knowledge without the warmth of Gospel truth. In this way then, may we hope to restore the blessings of our parochial system, and with those, of our social system also, for the latter can only exist in the former. And amid the virtues of social life, it is that we may look for the fruit of those Christian graces, which are the best offerings of praise to ALMIGHTY GOD for His mercies, and the surest way to obtain His blessing.

*"Et patiens operum, exiguoque assueta juvenus,
Sacra deum, sanctique patres; extrema per illos
Justitia excedens terris vestigia fecit."*

This is the only way to protect the agricultural interests. "Let the people praise Thee, O LORD; yea, let all the people praise Thee. Then shall the earth bring forth her increase, and God, even our own God, shall give us His blessing."

To the description which we have given of the different grades which compose the social life of our agricultural districts, we are quite aware that there are many exceptions, and to some parts of the country we would hope that it does not apply at all. Right gladly do we admit, that Sir Roger de Coverly might find a kindred spirit amongst many of our country squires, especially amongst those who belong to aristocratic families; and Fuller's honest "Yeoman," or Wordsworth's "farmer of Tilsbury vale," has many a counterpart amongst our English farmers. Well too, we know, that in many a hidden dell, in many a rural nook, the saint's prevailing prayers are often heard; humble and simple hearted Christians are to be found amongst our peasantry. This is most true, we thankfully admit. But then these are spheres where the Church still sanctifies our social life; and therefore these exceptions most strongly confirm all that we have stated.

THE REVIEWER OF STEPHENS' IRISH PRAYER BOOKS IN REPLY TO DR. ELRINGTON AND MR. CLAY.

[At length we publish Dr. Elrington's letter with the reply of our reviewer. Should any one wish to take up the defence of the Irish Church in our pages, we shall feel bound to afford the necessary space, provided that the writer will confine his remarks strictly to the two points now at issue—viz. (1) the responsibility of the existing Irish Church for the Articles of 1615; and (2) the union of the Churches of England and Ireland. The deci-

sion of the first of these questions, especially, is matter of very grave import to the Church in Ireland; but we would beg Irish Churchmen to consider whether if the view here affirmed be true, it is not most expedient that the truth should be made known and opportunity given formally to disown those offending Articles, the toleration of which *may* have been the cause why their Church has gained such little influence over the hearts of the people.—ED.]

To the Editor of the Theologian.

SIR,—I must beg leave to correct some statements with respect to the Church in England and in Ireland which appeared in the last number of your periodical. In the review of Mr. Stephens' edition of the Book of Common Prayer it is stated "as a fact," that "the canons, articles, and forms of public prayer used and accepted by the two Churches are not simply distinct but different." And again: "we deny unequivocally and distinctly that the Church of England has in any way or to any extent whatsoever united herself with a Church, whose articles contain heretical statements." It is scarcely credible, that any person writing on the subject of the Church at the present day should be ignorant, that the Articles of the Church in England and Ireland are precisely the same, and have been so since the year 1634. It is just as reasonable to censure the Church in Ireland for now receiving the Articles, which the reviewer condemns, as it would be to accuse the Church of England in maintaining the six articles of Henry VIII. Had the writer of the article read the introduction to Mr. Stephens' work, he would have found a statement made by me, that the Church in Ireland, so far from "steadily resisting for two hundred years any union or connection with the Church of England," had in the Convocation of 1662 adopted the liturgy revised by the English Convocation for the purpose of showing *the union between the two Churches*, and that the liturgy of the Church in England as settled by the Convocation of 1662 is by ecclesiastical law and has been since the year 1665 the liturgy of the Church in Ireland. The republication of the MS. copy of the Irish Book of Common Prayer preserved in Ireland is as interesting to the Church in England as to the Church in Ireland, for the only use of that document is to supply the defect occasioned by the loss of the English exemplar. Whatever Prayer Book is determined to be the proper exemplification of the liturgy ordered by the English Convocation of 1661 is the service book for Ireland by the decision of her Convocation. To discuss the legality of the union between the Churches at the end of half a century seems a strange proceeding, and as mischievous as it is strange, but this is a question upon which I shall not now enter. My object is

to prevent the extraordinary mistakes made by your reviewer on a question, with which he will naturally be supposed well acquainted, from being adopted without examination.

I am, Sir,

Your obedient Servant,

Trin. Coll., Dublin,

Nov. 20, 1849.

C. R. ELRINGTON.

SIR,—In the *Theologian* for November are some remarks on Mr. Stephens' edition of the Prayer Book. Of course, I have nothing to do with your strictures upon that work : I only write in my own behalf ; and though I have to thank you for the very favourable way in which you have been kind enough to speak of my labours, I wish to enter a protest against two observations on page 267 in which I am blamed. I cannot help thinking, that the blame thus cast upon me is unmerited. For first, I *do* say that our daily service was formed upon the Breviary. I mention the Primer of 1545 merely as a book, which was employed, as well as the Breviary, particularly from its being in *English*. Assuredly I never meant that the Breviary and the Primer were really different books ; and as regards the antiquity of their contents, that is a point which did not *then* enter into my consideration. I thought only of the table around which the compilers were sitting, and of the books probably lying thereon. Secondly. As regards Herman's *Simplex ac Pia Deliberatio*, you deny, I see, that it was relied on. I cannot agree with you, and I have diligently looked into the subject—the coincidences are too plain to allow me to hold any other opinion. To fortify myself, too, with authorities—Cardwell says, it is clear on examination that they were indebted to this work ; and Dr. Pusey even allows that our liturgical reformers “had this work before them ;” also, that one prayer was admitted from it. I do not complain of your opinion being contrary to mine, but of your unqualified language, which would lead the unlearned to imply that my notion resulted from profound ignorance. Were I now to alter my statement in any way, it would only be by changing one word, “much relied on,” instead of “principally relied on.”

I have the honour to be, SIR,

Your obedient Servant,

College, Ely,
Dec. 3rd.

W. K. CLAY.

Jan. 24, 1850.

MY DEAR SIR,—I was unable last month to send you any notice of Dr. Elrington's and Mr. Clay's letters, on the Review of Mr. Stephens' publications, which I contributed to your number for November last. Nor must you think that I desire

to show any disrespect either to Dr. Elrington or Mr. Clay, by the shortness of this reply.

But, really, there is in the Doctor's letter to you, nothing to answer. I repeat the statements which were in the Review : namely ; that " the Canons, Articles, and Forms of Prayer of the two Churches are, not simply distinct, but different." And, " that the Church of England has not in any way united herself with a Church, whose Articles contain heretical statements." Dr. Elrington says the Church of England is as much answerable for the six articles of Henry VIII. as the Irish Church for the articles of 1615 ; which if it means anything, as regards our present controversy, must mean " as much answerable *now*." Passing by the difference (for the sake of argument) between the authority on which each of these documents originally rested, let me ask Dr. Elrington whether he seriously means to assert such a proposition as that ? if he does, I will endeavour to show, if he will give his reasons, that he is mistaken ; if not, he ought to state exactly what he does mean. It is perfectly useless to attempt to refute objections in the dark. I hold that the Articles of 1615, upon all sound ecclesiastical principles of argument, are *now*, at this very day, the exposition of the Faith of the Irish Church in all points and upon all matter of doctrine whatsoever, which have not been differently explained and stated in some succeeding document of the Irish Church, of equal authority. I ask Dr. Elrington to point out what particular statements of the Articles of 1615 have been repudiated or altered or explained in a *contrary* sense, by the Thirty-nine Articles accepted (in some sense) by the Irish Church about twenty years afterwards ? And I ask this, distinctly declaring and being prepared to prove that the Irish Articles of 1615 contain and propound unsound and heretical doctrine ; so heretical, as to be sufficient to throw *most serious doubts* (I would not say more, at present) upon the claims of any religious community, which has put them forth, to be a true portion of the Holy Catholic Church.

To draw any just comparison between the authority of the Lambeth Articles, reclaimed against by the Church of England, and the Articles of 1615, accepted and enforced by the Church of Ireland, is, as it seems to me, so impossible, that I must wait to hear the grounds on which it can be said to rest.

It will be necessary also for Dr. Elrington to produce some proof of the withdrawal and repudiation of the 1615 Articles, no less solemnly agreed to by the Church of Ireland, than their original acceptance undoubtedly was.

This question of the Articles is of such great importance, that I do not hesitate to defer for the present any remarks on the Irish Canons and Prayer Book. I am prepared to allow that the

Prayer Books are almost the same ; but there are variations which are sufficient to prevent their being exactly so. *If the Articles cannot be cleared*, we shall not be required to go into the other question.

As to the union between the Churches, upon which Dr. Elrington hesitates to enter, I assert that the English Church has never accepted or sanctioned it, in any way ; and, really, it is for Dr. Elrington to produce the evidence to the contrary, if it be not so. On this, however, I will offer him some help ; being quite ready to admit, that the question of the Royal Supremacy over the Church of England is mixed up with the inquiry ; but then I must also ask, is Dr. Elrington equally prepared to take that ground, or some other, in support of his objections to my statement ?

I would add, heartily and sincerely, that I am anxious to discuss this whole matter in a kind and Christian spirit. It is of the highest importance. It has been opened plainly, and in deliberate words of distinct affirmation of very serious accusation against the truth of the position of the Irish Establishment, as a Church. Having been opened, it must be argued out : the salvation of thousands *may* depend on it ; it is certain that the minds of many will be unsettled and made doubtful even by the mere assertion of the possibility of such a charge being true. And it will not be enough to bring vague denials : there have been facts brought forward on the one side ; let there be facts produced upon the other.

A word, only, with Mr. Clay : he is a person for whom I have a sincere regard and respect, independently of the thanks we owe to him for his labours ; and I am quite sure he must be right in his impressions of what his own book was intended to tell us. We can only regret that it has not been put a little more clearly.

As it seems to be a mere matter of opinion how far Herman's book was referred to by the people who made up our present Prayer Book, I shall prefer to abide by what was said in the Review. Mr. Cardwell's "clearness" of vision about it may be what it will. When he reprints old documents, I can rely generally on his accuracy : when he gives us, besides, his view of their meaning, I decline it : one likes to look through one's own spectacles.

Yours sincerely,

My Dear Sir,

THE AUTHOR OF THE REVIEW OF
MR. STEPHENS' PRAYER BOOKS.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES.

History of the Church of England. By J. B. S. CARWITHEN, D. D.
2 Vols. small 8vo. Oxford: J. H. Parker.

WE are sorry that we cannot concur with an esteemed contemporary in praising Dr. Carwithen's "*History of the Church of England*," of which a new edition has just been published by Mr. Parker of Oxford. We do not see that it is at all superior to the Bishop of S. Asaph's history. Dr. Short is somewhat of a liberal in religion, as avowedly in politics; and Dr. Carwithen was a strict *via media* Anglican. But for ourselves, if we must make a choice, we are disposed to think that truth through the long course of history, has a better chance from a really candid liberal, such as the Bishop is, than from one whose opinions are fixed in a narrow school of Post-Reformation orthodoxy. However we are not anxious to draw invidious distinctions: all we care to maintain is that neither are entitled to be received as historians of the English Church. Dr. Carwithen's book is at best a history of the Reformation; the whole previous period being disposed of in a single brief chapter: and even that chapter is polemical, treating each circumstance mentioned in a manner so as to justify the Great Event whose shadow fills the whole work; we mean the Reformation of the sixteenth century. Now we are decidedly of opinion, that no person who sets about a history of the English Church in this spirit, can possibly produce a work that is worth reading. Each age must be judged by its own light, not by that of another period selected arbitrarily by the writer; and in point of fact to give up all the ante-Reformation centuries as is in effect done when we call the Church of that date "*Roman*" at once disqualifies the writer from doing it justice. In theory all Anglican writers claim continuity for the English Church from the days of the Apostles to the present day: but in practice there are very few who have the courage to carry their theory out. And what is the consequence? First they are tempted to dress up the facts of history so as to make them conform to an ideal of their own imagining; and in the next place instead of that generous sympathizing spirit which is the first requisite for an historian, it fosters a proud and supercilious treatment of the great men of all ages on account of some difference between them and the writer which from circumstances is forced into an unnatural prominence. In this spirit, men like S. Dunstan and S. Thomas-a-Becket, are made abettors of the Papacy, rather than champions of the Church; and the extravagancies of the Lollards, and Wickliffe, and Luther, are palliated or even defended. Whoever shall write a history of the Church worthy the name must throw himself heart and soul into each successive period that he is portraying, and try to see things with the eyes with which churchmen then saw them. The reader does not want to know what Dr. A. or B. thinks of a certain event in past ages; but how the people of that day felt and acted; and they are not to be judged by the experience of the nineteenth century, but by the principles and knowledge of the age in which their lot was cast.

Four Sermons preached before the University of Cambridge, in November, 1849, by the REV. J. J. BLUNT, B.D., Margaret Professor of Divinity. Cambridge: Deighton. London: Rivingtons.

WE have read these Sermons with very great pleasure. They treat of the Church of England under the several heads of (1) its Communion of Saints, (2) its title and descent, (3) its text—the Bible, (4) its commentary—the Prayer Book; and though not bringing forth (we rejoice to say) any new view, but simply that view which began to be revived among us, in the sister University, about seventeen years since; they are written with that peculiar freshness and vivacity of style which cannot but arrest the attention. We trust that we may take the publication of these sermons along with other circumstances, as certain evidence that the foundations are being laid of a theological school at Cambridge, such as that University has not witnessed since the Reformation.

Sermons preached in S. Stephen's Chapel, Dublin. By FRANCIS B. WOODWARD, M.A. London: Rivingtons. 1850.

IN these able sermons the writer attacks many popular doctrinal misconceptions in clear, concise, and unaffected language. The character of the discourses is argumentative and expository. It is the natural inclination of the author's mind to seize upon some acknowledged difficulty, to show how it has been misunderstood, and to point out, with much precision of thought, the solution that appears to him to be correct. In this way, he has dealt with three of our Lord's Parables—the Prodigal Son, the Unjust Steward, and the Labourers in the Vineyard. Most persons will allow that the ordinary interpretation of these parables is not satisfactory. Mr. Trench, in his *Notes on the Parables*, collects some interesting matter from patristic and German sources, which throw light upon particular parts of them; but the real difficulty, like most commentators, he leaves as he found it. We think Mr. Woodward has solved the difficulty in each of these parables, and we recommend his solution to the attention of our readers. We would also recommend the Sermon on Fasting, in which the necessity of this duty is proved in a very forcible manner. The sermon preceding it, "On the Hindrances in the Road to Heaven," is an able discourse, and contains some truths which are well applicable to the present times. Altogether, we should say of this volume, that it reminds us of Bishop Horsley's sermons, as well in clearness of style as in close and accurate reasoning.

Mr. Woodward's sermons are dedicated to Dr. Elrington, "in token of unfeigned respect for his character, and of gratitude for years of unremitting kindness." It is a melancholy circumstance that this dedication could have been scarcely printed, before the eye for which it was intended was closed in the sleep of death.

Cottage Prints from Sacred Subjects. Edited by the REV. H. J. ROSE, and the REV. J. W. BURGON. Oxford: Parker.

THIS work has been commenced in order to supply a want which has
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often been expressed, and still more often felt, of some cheap pictorial works of art which may take place, in the dwellings of the poor, of those miserable and often offensive daubs which they seem to delight in affixing to their walls. We venture to say there is hardly a parish priest who is not familiar with some score at least of these eye-sores, which he would be glad of any excuse for removing. The editors hope not only to facilitate their ejection, but also to afford means for instilling into the minds of the humbler classes some principles of good taste, by thus bringing before them, and making them familiar with the works of the best masters. The desire which the poor appear to entertain for something, however homely, in the way of picture to decorate their otherwise blank and cheerless walls, is one which cannot be repressed; nor indeed were it possible to do so, does it seem that we ought to discourage such a feeling; we should rather endeavour to direct it into a right channel, and make it, as we should make everything, a means, direct or indirect, of instilling Divine Truth into their minds, and furthering the great work of Christian edification and perfection. Such is the object which this publication has in view. Three numbers, containing in all thirteen prints, have been published. They are selections from the works of Raphael, Overbeck, the blessed Angelico, and others. The choice of designs seems judicious, and the execution very creditable,—nay, beautiful—but the main fault of them is their extremely small size. We are quite convinced that owing to this unfortunate error, not one of the thirteen already published will ever fully answer the end for which it was designed. What we require is a good sized, and if the term may be used, *legible* picture, not a miniature of a celebrated painting. The execution need not be artistically minute, for the class of persons for whom the Cottage Prints are intended, are best pleased with a bold, though rough, outline. And we would recommend the editors to make as much use as possible of the designs of Fra Angelico. The simplicity and devotional feeling which every one of them displays, are sure at once to make them useful in doing their intended work, and to render them general favourites. We regret above all that his beautiful “Flight into Egypt,” (No. 6,) was not published of at least double the size. It is to be hoped that no objection will be made to giving the cottager a little knowledge of hagiology, and so of ecclesiastical history, by introducing among the prints authentic conventional representations of the principal Saints in the kalendar. These should be interspersed along with the scripture subjects—especially such as our old Churches are dedicated to—SS. Nicolas, Giles, Lawrence, Margaret, &c. &c.

FOUR numbers of a very useful and interesting work have been lately published, entitled *Sacred Hymns and Anthems, with the Music as used at the Church of S. Saviour, Leeds*. (Morrish: Leeds. Masters: London. Oxford: J. H. Parker.) The hymnal department of our services seems to be one which deserves especial attention; since it admits of complete adaptation to the several seasons of the Church's year. And for this reason the use of hymns, as well as anthems, and introits

where practicable, is so decidedly preferable to that of metrical psalms; there being much more liberty in the former than in the latter, besides, that the last exclude many of the finest tunes owing to the stiffness of the metre. We understand that in one of the Metropolitan churches, Antiphons and Hymns are distributed about the church in four parts, one for each of the seasons. This excellent plan of separating the Hymns for each part of the year from the rest, does not appear to be followed in the present publication, though generally those for contiguous times are naturally grouped together. The Music is chiefly extracted from Catholic and ritual sources. Among them we may mention the "Pange lingua," "Alleluia dulce carmen," "Dies Iræ," "Stabat Mater," &c. There are also several which have been in common use amongst us. The tune popularly named "Sicilian Mariners," from its superficial and secular tone, its weak structure, and its meretricious air, is perhaps scarcely worthy of the collection. But still, to those who are desirous of some compendious form of well-selected Music for parochial use, this promises to be as well from its general character and tone, as from boldness of type and cheapness, a most useful publication. The hymns, which have been put forth without the music, have reached a third edition.

As the least painful of two alternatives we have withheld all notice of Dr. Hook's recent publications, but as they are sent us to review, we ought not perhaps to decline the responsibility of the critic. The professed object of his last brochure is expressed by the title "*The Nonentity of Romish Saints and the Inanity of Romish Ordinances.*" (Murray.) It is not our business or desire to defend the Roman Church. We wish only we could think the blow would fall as harmless on our own people as on hers; we wish we could think the author has no *more personal* opponents in his mind, than such as are indicated in the title of his two Sermons.

Israel after the Flesh, (J. W. Parker,) by Mr. JOHNSTONE, Chaplain of Addiscombe, is appropriately dedicated to Sir Ephraim Stannus. The writer does not appear to be intentionally unorthodox; but "taking his Bible alone," wherewith to form a Creed, how could he do otherwise than fall into all kinds of heresy? Thus (e.g.) he denies the HOLY GHOST to be the Paraclete, and pleads for the perpetual observance of the Jewish Sabbath. When will our Clergy understand that it is not their vocation to *make* a religion, but to deliver that which they have received?

Flowers and Fruit, and *The Scholar's Nosegay*, (Masters,) are the titles of two little packets of children's books, which, we can say, quite realize the promise given by their names; they breathe the spirit of innocence and joyousness.

We are glad to see, that amid the pressure of so many important ecclesiastical matters, the Marriage Question is not forgotten by Churchmen. An able Letter on *The Scripture Argument*, (Rivingtons,) by Dr. HENRY, of Merchant Tailors', has reached us, which we very heartily commend.

Bishop Jewel's views on the two Sacraments have been printed in a separate Tract by Rivingtons. We should scarcely have thought this worth while.

Mr. STREET, of Bishop's College, Calcutta, has published a small volume of orthodox Sermons. (J. H. Parker.)

Parochial Institutions, (London, Darling,) by the Hon. and Rev. SAMUEL BEST, contains the history of some very varied and apparently very encouraging efforts for the temporal and spiritual amelioration of the people of Abbott's Ann. It is a question, we think, if greater simplicity could not be introduced into this machinery. In all such projects it appears to us most desirable not to weary the poor with too great *fussiness* and complicity of rules.

Mr. TRIP has published a judicious and useful selection from Percy's and Evans' "Ballads." (Bell.)

For combined beauty of composition, (it is in verse) typography, and illustration, we will venture to pronounce *Margaret, an Olden Tale*, (Masters,) even in this day of handsome books, unrivalled. We would only suggest, that as the writer has not followed exactly the history of S. Margaret, it might have been better not to have taken her name.

ARCHDEACON HALE, ("whose title," he tells us, "denotes a primacy amongst the Deacons in the most populous Protestant City in the world,") has published a pamphlet, *The Duties of Deacons and Priests*, (Rivingtons,) which, though rather circuitous in coming to the point, is really of importance, as showing the growth of a conviction, even in minds the most slow to receive new impressions, that the exigencies of the Church demand the revival of some of the inferior orders among us. The Diaconate in England (as in France, from a different cause,) has well nigh ceased for practical purposes, to be a distinct order; and we quite agree with the Archdeacon in thinking, that what is wanted is the restoration of the Sub-diaconate or Readership. We cannot notice this pamphlet, however, without protesting against the essentially unsacramental view of the Priesthood set forth by the writer. We certainly did look for a higher tone in the Archdeacon of London.

Education in England historically considered, (J. W. Parker,) by the Rev. W. H. TRALE, is an inquiry that will astonish others, perhaps, besides Sir R. Kaye Shuttleworth, and those who with him are in the habit of asserting, that education was never cared for till the institution of the Committee of Privy Council in 1839. The sketch of the progress of education, from the Anglo-Saxon times to the Reformation, is exceedingly interesting; while full justice is done in later times to Archbishop Cranmer, Robert Nelson, Dr. Bell, &c. It is the great merit of the writer, indeed, that he can appreciate as well the labours of S. Dunstan, as of the founders of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge.

Our readers will be pleased with *Hints on Church Colonization*, (J. W. Parker,) by the Rev. J. C. WYNTER. The views of the writer are sound, and his writing spirited.

MONK'S ANGLICAN CHANT BOOK.

The Anglican Chant Book. By E. G. MONK, Mus. Bac. Novello.

HAD the above publication been simply a collection of chants, we should only have expressed regret that another had been added to the already perplexing number that exist ; (an evil, indeed, admitted and regretted by the compiler of the book before us.) But the reasons alleged for adding to this evil, and the theory propounded by the author are such as compel us to notice this production at greater length than we should have felt disposed to do had it been simply a music book and nothing more. And, moreover, because we think the arguments sufficiently plausible to influence those who have not time, or will, or means, or perhaps ability, to inquire and judge for themselves, we wish to throw out a caution as to the reception of Mr. Monk's statements ; premising, however, that any one who knows even but little of the historical part of the subject, will see at a glance how absurd and untenable a theory it is that is here set up.

We have real respect for any man who so boldly throws out an idea, and pushes it with the vigour here displayed, albeit his weapons are straws, his defences lath and plaster ; and we distinctly disclaim any disrespect for the individual, however roughly we may deal with his work. We may respect a carpenter for his excellent character, but, if his work tumble about our ears, we cannot respect that. In the present case, as we are told, we have every reason to esteem our author as an industrious, earnest, hardworking man ; and we almost feel disposed to prophesy, from a certain something which pervades the whole of his preface—the negative support of his avowed opposition, which seems on his own showing to be without rhyme or reason, may be one item in producing this feeling, for we seldom find men at one extreme without soon after discovering them at the other—that not many years will pass ere we find him as strong an advocate for, as he is now against, the ancient Ritual music, commonly called Gregorian.

The fact that first strikes us is the “pretension” of this book, a fact we are carefully advised of in these words : “Any one who glances his eye over these sheets can scarcely fail of observing two things—an appearance of pretension about their title, and the obvious exclusiveness of their contents.” It is this pretension, for it is not merely an “appearance of” but a positive “pretension,” that we wish to examine ; its exclusiveness we do not quite so clearly see. We must here advert to the inference which, whether

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meant or not on the part of the writer, will surely be drawn from the statement that, from the title of this book "it may be deduced not only that the system which it contains is held to be Anglican, but also, by implication, that some other systems are *not* Anglican. From these conclusions there is no intention of shrinking." In the sense intended by Mr. Monk we deny both statement and inference. In so far as *Anglican* means uncatholic, (which we hold to be its proper meaning,) we adopt the distinction.

The selection of the Gregorian system cannot, he says, be maintained "because it has the suffrage of the earliest times; for it is really much more modern than a former one—the Ambrosian; for although it seems to be agreed upon all hands that we are in ignorance of what the 'Cantus Ambrosianus' precisely was, there is no doubt the unbending bishop, who was the author of it, would admit only the four 'authentic modes,' as they are called, and would not tolerate the 'plagal.'" Here are several blunders: S. Gregory's improvements and systematizing did not create a new style, but altogether more firmly established the old one, namely, the Ambrosian, (if it might be so called,) and was kept entirely subordinate to it. To call the selection of S. Ambrose by his name is a mistake; as is also, indeed, the styling S. Gregory's re-arrangement "Gregorian." It is a common way of speaking we know, but if we will use the terms, let us always remember they do not imply what similar terms in those days generally would imply, viz., that the thing was styled after its *inventor*. Neither S. Ambrose nor S. Gregory were inventors, they only selected and arranged what was most fitting for the purposes of the Church. S. Gregory doubtless would never have thought of reforming, had not a spirit of secularization and musical pride (for there certainly is such a thing) crept in and marred the serenity of the Church style. Evils, the growth of two hundred troublous years, were not to be eradicated at one stroke. S. Gregory was too wise to disgust people by all at once going from seasoned to simple food; but meets them, it would seem, if fairly considered, by enlarging the range. He adds to the limited choice of S. Ambrose,—(limited not because more was not allowable, but because in those troublous times it was perhaps, among other reasons, as much as men could well manage.)—but seems to caution them that it is but in charity to their depraved taste, acquired by heretical and pagan association and contamination. The modes selected, or as it would seem merely corrected and arranged from the Greek Modes, by S. Ambrose, are carefully retained by S. Gregory*; and those superadded, (the plagal modes,) are drawn from the same source, and have a similar and cognate character. If "music had advanced in the interim" between these holy Bishops, a period of two hundred

* These are commonly known now as the 1st, 3rd, 5th, and 7th Tones.

years, is it not striking evidence of reverence for authority, and admiration of the peculiar fitness of what authority had established, to have firmly fixed and legalized what before had been in danger of corruption or extinction?

As S. Ambrose lived two hundred years before the plagal modes were, by competent authority introduced, we have, unfortunately for Mr. Monk's off-handed assertion—"no doubt that the unbending Bishop would not tolerate the plagal,"—no means of ascertaining his sentiments; but if we are to make an assumption at all, surely the most reverent one would be that of the entire agreement of two such men, supposing them for the moment contemporary. What the remaining portion of the paragraph, from which the above quotation is taken, as to the "old system" being "got rid of by secular influence" means, we would gladly know. The writer seems to think the advocates of the correct Church style contend for it "*only* because it is antiquated." That there are minds which love a thing merely because it is old, no one will deny; but that the advocates of the ancient music, as legitimately developed in any age in the Church of CHRIST, should have no better ground than this, would be indeed to peril their cause; but those who have really grasped the subject well know they have no such sandy foundation as this.

The comparison with the "kindred arts" will not, we think, hold. There is a point at which partially hidden truth is developed into a distinct and open fact, and it is that point which is *the* antiquity which will always be appealed to. *This* principle is tolerated in the "kindred arts," and, in music too. We cannot deny to bygone ages the palm of architecture, the palm of painting, the palm of sculpture. Present practice shows that we look *back* to a real standard, not at any as existing, nor to a future and ideal one.

With regard to Mr. Monk's question—"why should not the Church of England choose," we will only reply that the Church of England is too true a branch of the Church Catholic to choose modern devices (least of all Mr. Monk's book, which he seeks to recommend to her, and that by abusing what she has always held sacred,) but has ever adhered at least in principle to what general consent from the beginning has considered as pure and fitting.

In the use of the Gregorian Tones, our writer tells us that "to be consistent, we must abandon all harmonies and instrumental accompaniments whatever, for these are utter novelties." Why? We think no one would assert that the profusion of instruments of various degrees of compass, of widely different character, the multitude of voices of altogether different classes, (in one place we read of four thousand, and at the restoration of the Temple, of three hundred and ninety-three besides others)—that we find an account of as taking part in the wonderful services of the Temple,

played and sung the same thing, i.e., in unison. The diverse musical registers (both vocal and instrumental) that must have there been found, make such an idea most improbable. The great attention paid to, and diligent care for, the singers and their office, their living together a distinct and separate class, necessitate the strong supposition of a high state of musical cultivation, of its being in fact a distinct study. And this under a deep sense of the abiding Presence of the ALMIGHTY. It will not do to laugh at this; many things have come down to us with reference to art which make us shrink into nothing in comparison with our ancient fathers. And with regard to music of the Christian era it would be absurd to assert that in a church style, we, with our three hundred years of gradual degeneracy are in a condition to set up a standard. No branch of the Church is, just now, capable of doing it, much less an individual. We must follow in the old paths. But as to harmony: there seems very good reason for supposing that harmony has from a very early period, among ourselves, been used with the tones. We have early traces of harmony (or "organizing," or "descant" as it was called, the former term not improbably referring to instrumental, and the latter to vocal, harmony,) found in the works of the Venerable Bede, at the latter part of the eighth century. Also in Hubald or Hucbald, (880), and others. Again, Guido's small book "Micrologos," (1022), where we find the Church song in two parts. Burney quotes a Welsh MS. (1100,) where the music is in parts. A Bishop of Paris, (1198,) ordains that certain portions of the service, at a certain season, shall be in three or four parts.*

Now we are not going the length of some theorists who assert so positively that harmony is incompatible with the ancient ritual style, rather indeed, (for we think they have jumped at a conclusion,) we would assert the contrary, with this qualification:—That bound as we are to offer the best and grandest of our earthly things to Him from Whom they first proceed, and especially so, in the worship of His Sanctuary, yet we maintain that the devotion of Christians whether individually or collectively, is quite as much satisfied, and the offering of praise so to speak, worth as much, offered by the means of simple plain song, as by the same thing offered in all the gorgeousness of harmony. But the use of harmony rests simply on the fact of its beauty and grandeur, and is therefore a fitting offering in the Temple of the Most High. The instrument is worth no more as to its utility and efficacy; it is but adorned for the sacrifice which is our bounden duty and service. The care of worshippers is simply to lay hold of the enduring part, not to be

* Our contemporary, the "Ecclesiologist," in its last number, notices in the second of a series of most able papers on Church Music, the inference drawn from the "enigmatical epigram" of the Emperor Julian, who died A.D. 363, that the finger organ was in use "about the middle of the fourth century."

dazzled by the ornaments which are worthless, apart from that which they decorate; to be wary that the lust of the ear yield not to the temptation of sweet concords, and be led to delight in those rather than in Him for Whose glory alone they were adopted. That this is a real danger, no one who has carefully watched his own feelings while engaged in singing in a harmonized service, will deny. And here we would just remark how entirely modern composition and harmony for church purposes destroy this principle. Take away the harmony from our (so called) Anglican chants, (those of the book before us if you will,) and who would endure the simple (?) melody of them? Will any one who has heard the ancient tones sung in unison by firm and zealous voices ask such a question as regards them? We think not.

The rise of harmony, like the rise of anything good, was not one undeviating pure progress. In everything impurities, errors, corruptions, will arise as we go. Nothing entrusted to human guardianship ever arrived at any degree of perfection by one undeviating path. Bearing this in mind, how can we wonder at the opposition harmony ("organizing"—"descant") met with in the ages before mentioned? and can any argument be adduced to show that the mere principle (not principles) of harmony was objected to? Our stern fathers doubtless did not see clearly how to make a fitting application of what they *must* have seen was a grand auxiliary to the Divine praises. They saw the evils which a mis-application of harmony would produce, and so in individual cases perhaps altogether opposed it; but there were some who saw its intrinsic worth and waited patiently to develop its right application to the purposes of the Church, and as soon as this was in any degree substantiated by actual trial, do we not find authority immediately to lay hold of and sanctify it? It was first abjured on account of the secularity and pride of display it admitted of, being ungoverned by rules or laws, except indeed, as we may well imagine, those of worldly self-sufficient minds; but as soon as the laws of its application to sacred purposes were understood, so soon, under deeply religious guidance and control, did it assume its proper place. Again, we would ask, have we any irrefutable argument for asserting that harmony is a discovery or invention of the Christian era? We think not, as we above hinted; and we would suggest that the progress of the music of the Jewish was in many respects similar to that of the Christian Church. The power of music is simply a gift of God. We find it everywhere. The cultivation of it for a Divine object was clearly intrusted to the Israelites. And to say they did not cultivate it, would be to say simply what was not true. To fix any limit to their cultivation of it would be unsupported. To confine the cultivation of music to them only would not do; for to deny to the rich and cultivated heathens around them this so great adornment of the pomp of their false worship—this grateful

accompaniment of their revels and feasts, were to assert something which the most obvious inferences and, indeed, historical facts would quash. We must admit its cultivation wherever other arts were cultivated, and we must see from the care displayed by the Jews, and from the object they had in view in exercising such care, that there were opposing elements at work in this as in everything else, between the people of God and the people of the devil. The evil one is ever watchful to take us where we are least prepared, and where we least expect to be assailed by him, and so in this most gracious gift of music, he finds in us an easy prey. When we find in other arts that what we think discoveries, are but resuscitations of some long hidden fact known aforetime; when we think to have discovered some new principle, and afterwards find it to be but a revival, in a new shape probably, of what was long since understood, but obscured by the dust of ages and forgotten, we may well suspect there is "nothing new under the sun," and that we are rather trying to regain a lost standard of perfection than going onwards to a yet distant one. Truly we improve in our means and appliances, our helps and our powers, but do we improve upon *first principles*? Is this an age to give out a new principle?

But to our point, which is to assert that a thoughtful consideration will discover a strong probability that the principles and practice of harmony as fit for Divine purposes (for with secular harmony we have not now to do, the development of which may be on religious grounds allowed, perhaps, to be still progressive) were known to the Jewish Church. They might have been written or oral, but whichever way this might have been they were lost at the final dispersion along with much else that was good. The singers, the cunning men in singing, dispersed, their vocation gone; the knowledge of the concords they helped to make would gradually die; and those only would be left whose habits and vocations had forbid their acquiring more than the simple melody which would therefore exist and be handed down. We know somewhat of a parallel in these days:—in an old country church, twenty years ago, a choir existed, and full harmony was used, and now not only is the singing (what there is of it) conducted in unison, and that with weak support; but the very persons who recollect taking parts in that choir, cannot now recollect one clef from another, nor could they tell you what notes form a discord or concord. So soon is tradition lost, as to detail at least, if not to the general fact. What would be our condition, musically, twenty or thirty years hence supposing our books destroyed, and our musicians forbidden, or prevented, exercising their calling?

But no one will surely deny but that the laws and rules (for there must have been such) which governed the diverse voices and instruments of the Jewish worship might not be rediscovered and appropriated to the use of Christian worship; and would then

come out, as in the absence of positive tradition they would, as a new thing? To deny this would be to deny the truth of parallel cases in other arts and sciences. But whether this theory has any foundation or not, and supposing harmony to be a thing invented (though depending upon acoustic laws it can be looked upon only as a discovery) a long time after the commencement of the Christian era, still the very different character in the old harmonies and in the modern, would show that altogether different principles governed the application to church purposes. The design seems to have been always rather to produce what should be overwhelming, and eloquent of Him Whom it was intended to glorify, than to please the ear by neatly fitting concords and sweet cadences, lulling to rest by their completeness and fine-drawn terminations. It is a remarkable and noticeable point of the old melodies that they take you to a high point of devotion, but leave you with a sense of incompleteness (*not* dissatisfaction); you feel you have not got to the end, that something remains to complete your emotion but it is not afforded you: No, that only can be in Him to Whom all our praises are directed. This was the point in view; everything with those holy ones of old pointed to Him, and they let no opportunity escape of prominently developing this grand idea.

But we are straying. From what we have as yet said about harmony, and our imperfectly expressed views of its rise and progress, and adaptation to the purposes of the Church, it will be seen that we do not admit the truth of our writer's assertion when he says, those who most strenuously argue in favour of the ancient ritual style allow it (harmony) to be uncatholic, nor his assumption that they deem "their favourite melodies dry without it."

The inference drawn from Marbeck's book to support the writer's position is simply absurd. He affects to look on this book as merely an "effort to preserve the Gregorian system," which being "tried, appears to have failed:" seeking to have the inference drawn that this system was already distasteful, and that this was its last dying struggle. Whereas the fact, as every inquirer into this subject knows, was that this system was the only Church system known, the only system authorized by the Church, and that therefore it was of the greatest importance to adapt it to the new state of things produced by the Reformation, as quickly as possible. Difficulties would be experienced in adapting the same music to a language new in Divine Service; and therefore a guide was of the utmost importance. This guide Marbeck, a thorough musician, and a staunch supporter of the Reformation, and therefore most unlikely to help to perpetuate anything which would be at variance with its principles, prepared. Does this not establish its essentially *Anglican* character? It was altogether a strict application of the old ritual music to the new ritual, and that of the most simple form, for Marbeck chose the *ferial* rather than the *festal*

form of service; that which being the most simple, would, in his judgment best accord with the simplicity of ritual now adopted. It cannot be too carefully remembered that Marbeck, under Archbishop Cranmer's direction, and to his entire satisfaction, produced a book which carefully preserved the Ancient Plain Song (or as we should popularly say the Gregorian style) throughout the reformed ritual. So urgently must the need of this book have been felt that it is not improbable from an entry in an old parish book, that MS. copies were used in parish churches before the regular edition appeared. It is no answer to say that two years elapsed after the change of ritual had been adopted before this work appeared. It does but establish the fact of the absolute necessity of adopting the *national* mode of performance of Divine Service to the new order of things, for so long a period to pass, and still the want to be felt; and that too in a period most changeable and distracting. Moreover in that age, and in times like those, and for such a work speed was neither desirable nor, indeed, attainable. There is moreover no evidence for believing that nothing was done for two years, indeed there would seem no doubt whatever but that temporary arrangements obtained.

The inference drawn from Tallis harmonizing the responses (we never heard of harmonized "versicles,") utterly fails, when we see how strictly the Plain Song was preserved and the harmony compelled to yield to it. How is it that we have seen so many mutilations of this Plain Song in modern editions of Tallis, but that ignorant persons dazzled by the ornaments have sought to add other supposed enrichments, by tampering with the structure itself? With what success this has been attended, the antipathy shown to choral performance of Divine service, and that on reasonable grounds, may show. We say "reasonable grounds," for has not such performance become more and more unreasonable, as we have more and more departed from the true Church model? and therefore, have not people reasonably set their faces against it, though without sufficient musical knowledge, perhaps, to say why; but with sufficient discrimination to discover its unfitness and departure from ancient popular use. We are not speaking so much of people *now*, their case is altogether different; they have altogether a different tradition, and consequently object to that which is really good. They have lost first principles which must be restored to them ere they can appreciate.

There is no evidence whatever to show that Tallis wrote the chant that goes by his name in bars, or in any other way than simply breves and semibreves, which meant nothing as to modern musical notation.

We certainly understood that one distinction (if the two things admit of any comparison) between the Gregorian tone and the chant, (we cannot call it Anglican, for it is altogether un-English,)

was that the former was more rhythmical, and the latter more metrical; so that to be told that at this period the "want of rhythm in the Gregorian scheme had begun to be felt," is certainly something new, and, too, very odd, for the "Gregorian scheme" had been under trial for upwards of nine centuries!

Tallis might have written other "chants similar in character and form to this—(the chant above mentioned)—yet *not* derived from the Gregorian melodies,"—though we do not see clearly the possibility of this, for every one knows that Tallis' chant is but a form of the first tone, and anything of a similar character would at any rate have a Gregorian phase, however its origin might be repudiated. If Tallis did write "several" such chants it is singular Mr. Monk has only discovered *one* of them; or, if others, that he prefers those of Turner, Hayes, Dupuis, and also composers of our own day, to them. But we must remember that Tallis and his contemporaries had two styles of composition, and it is not difficult to see which had most attractions for their genius, though they gave in to the spirit of the times, instead of resolutely keeping, (as did their Italian contemporary, Palestrina,) to that which their own judgment correctly approved. Those who have compared the several works of the composers above alluded to, will know what we mean and will easily separate those intended for the Church, and those intended to meet the Puritan taste which had sprung up. It would be a mistake to take particular compositions of any master as representing his style or even as evidences of his approval of a style,—we must take those of his works which clearly demonstrate his entire agreement with what he was doing, those which show his heart to have been in them; and which also show their agreement with certain of his known principles. We know the best of men have been obliged often to send forth work which their better judgment would have withheld. But are we to judge of their minds by that work? It is no argument because an eminent architect has been obliged to build a church like a town hall, to please the depraved taste of his employers, who *will* have his services, that, therefore, he relishes or in any measure approves of his building for its object. He has but yielded to circumstances, and trusts to his other works, not so hampered, to establish his name, and to set forward his real views. So we maintain that Tallis, or any other composer, having written such a composition is no more committed to the style of that composition, or even to consent in that style, than is the architect to the town-hall church. Is Mr. Monk's own participation in the singing of the double chants used in Radley College, any evidence of his approval of double chants? certainly not, if we are to take his repudiation of them in the present book as sincere.

We make the following extract for several reasons. "Byrd, Childe, Purcell, Blow, and Croft, with many others,—all wrote single chants on the ordinary plan." (What *plan* could this have

been ?) "Now what induced them to devote their time to such a species of composition ? It must have been because people had found it either too difficult, or too dull, or both, to sing the ancient tunes. This was natural enough ; for, as the knowledge of the present scale, and the harmonies of which it is susceptible, had become fixed and extended, the inartificial tones—for many of them are so—(how many ?)—would be sure to sink in estimation, and a longing would be felt for the grandeur of counterpoint. Several of them are almost incapable of harmony, and so the old masters would be led, if it were for this reason alone, to write original chants, avoiding their clumsiness, while *taking pattern from their gravity*. This growing dissatisfaction was no doubt fostered by the noble music which was at this time applied to the metrical version of the Psalms." The italics are ours, for we thought it right to acknowledge this deference to the ancient tones in one of their grandest points from so desperate an opponent, though we cannot allow the "old masters" to have availed themselves of the pattern to any great extent. Why "*must* it have been because people found them too difficult or too dull, or both, to sing the ancient tunes ?" Inexperienced youth, throwing off the restraint of parental guidance, plunges into all sorts of extravagances, seeks change after change ; nothing which reminds him of home restraint and discipline pleases ; he finds plenty ready to minister to his morbid wants, and so he goes on—change, variety, is his cry. This is really very like the condition of the period alluded to in this extract. Change, variety, *was* the cry ; and most readily was it caught up and ministered to.

If what is said about the harmonies of the present scale is meant to lead people to suppose that so much more can be done with them and that they possess a so much greater range and variety ; we would just remark, as we have elsewhere read and verified, that from C to its octave, perhaps one hundred and fifty varieties may be had upon the triad combined with the discords of the seventh, ninth, eleventh, and thirteenth. It is a fact which will startle those who have not before heard of it, that out of the Church scales we can get compound harmonies to nearly the amount of three thousand ! To talk of the limited resources, the cramped means, of the ancient Church composers after this, will not do. And *if* there are any of the "inartificial tones," which are "incapable of harmony" we should certainly like to see them, for they must be most unfortunate simples that will not combine with some out of so extensive a variety. If the "noble music" was that, which judging from our author's line he would thus dignify, we do not wonder at its fostering dissatisfaction, on the same ground that we should not wonder at dislike for water from one whose ordinary beverage was much less pure.

But we are spending far too much time in criticising the Preface to the "Anglican Chant Book," and must proceed a little faster with what remains.

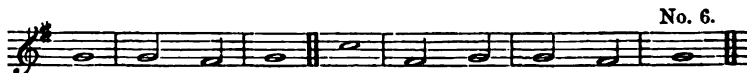
Our author "has not seen Clifford's book," which would have shown him the Gregorian tones, as the only recognised "tunes" for the Psalms; but Lowe's book, published about the same time and which gives the tones nearly the same, though not so purely, he *has* seen, and yet deduces another extraordinary inference to prove his "Anglican Chant" position. Because a note or two is different from preceding or original forms, therefore the tunes are not Gregorian. Would Mr. Monk affirm that the Evening Hymn, as popularly sung, was not the Evening Hymn, because it was not the version of Mr. Hullah, or other, which is substantially correct, but some other disfigured by slips, slurs, and grace notes? Surely not. Truly it would not be *the* Evening Hymn of Tallis, but who would mistake it for altogether a different tune? No one. It would still be the Evening Hymn, though deformed and spoiled. From the disordered state of Choir books in Lowe's time, he could not possibly be sure that his version was the same as used in Edward's tune. He might have thought so, but subsequent research has shown him to have been mistaken. The conclusion that with the "summit of the beauty and grandeur of the English Cathedral style" being reached, the "Gregorian tones were banished" is curious indeed; but even if it were so it would prove nothing. The grandeur and beauty of the Cathedral style did not necessarily extend to the whole of Divine service. It was in the Anthem, in the "solemn composures" (as the musical compositions distinct from the ancient ritual music were called) that this grandeur, perhaps, obtained. The chanting of the Psalms was now falling into desuetude. True they had never ceased to be chanted in Cathedrals, but these had it all their own way. Parish churches failed to supply means to preserve choral service, so that no check was offered to the caprices and fancies, (anecdotes of which are plentiful,) of the Cathedral choirmen; people would seldom go to Cathedral service, and had lost the remembrance of the old tunes, through the poverty of their own parish churches, so that the men aforesaid, and those who had the power to carry out their own erratic notions, soon succeeded in "banishing," but only from their own ears, those "common tunes" which afforded so little display to their musical abilities, albeit so much earnestness and devotion, now alas! fast leaving the sacred edifices where they exercised their holy vocation. Let it be remembered, that in the chanting of the Psalms, (whatever might be said for the Anthem, &c.,) grandeur had vanished.

A great point is admitted by our writer—he abjures double chants. This we take as an indication of his progression towards right views, (though rather in a blind sort of a way, for his

grand reason for such abjuration is their not "working well;" whereas the secret of their failure is their entire unfitness for devotion,) combined with the fact of his admitting, notwithstanding his theory, nine forms of Gregorian Tones,—*such as they are*,—but oh! how altered! We certainly think that in a musical sense among double chants will be found the best style of cathedral chants. It will, we think, in practice, be found that single chants are thin and unsatisfactory to those tastes which alone can relish this style; to which view there is strong practical testimony borne in the fact, that you will find in ninety-nine churches out of a hundred where the cathedral chants are adopted, that when a single chant is used it will almost always be Tallis, Imperial, Grand, &c., in which the Gregorian melody is still the attractive feature; another proof of the *nationality* of this ancient and true church style.

What is meant by the Tones of S. Gregory sharing the fate of numberless single and double chants judged by the laws of the "diatonic style," we do not know. The ancient modes are purely diatonic.

We are glad to see the principle of a central reciting note, or rather an easy reciting note approved of, though we cannot say it is often adopted, but rather preference is given to widely different reciting notes for the two parts of the verse: e. g. C before the mediation, F after it; G and then to C; A and then D; F and then C; upper D and then down to F#. And on the other hand such hair breadths, as recitations on C followed on B; Bb followed by A; C# followed by D. We would especially notice No. 96 (Battishill) as one of the "tum-ti-tum" school. The principle of the central or constantly recurring reciting (or dominant) note of the Gregorian Tone is not, as Mr. Monk appears to think, for the purpose of rendering it musically easy, but for preserving the unity of the psalm. Fancy D. Purcell in G to the 51st Psalm: the



first half of the verse appropriate enough, and if the same reciting note followed for the second half it might be all very well, but you are then carried up to C, which gives altogether a different character. Mr. Monk has not set this psalm to this chant, but here is what he has set it to, to enable our readers to judge if it is at all improved.



It is in this respect, among many others, that this sort of chanting quite destroys the character of a psalm. The words are thrown

aside, and the music exalted out of its place. We put it to any one if the "Grand Chant," even in a minor key, is suitable to a penitential psalm? and yet it is so set here: chant 9 to Psalm VI. Fancy "De profundis" to



And this in the face of this declaration—"the greatest solicitude has been felt, that the chants should be selected with a view to the character of the psalms to which they are devoted."

Of the versions of the Gregorian Tones we need say little, except to caution the novice that they are Gregorian only in the sense that a man is a Christian because admitted to the Church, though practically setting his profession at naught. We will, however, draw attention to No. 5. Who, that has the least pretension to acquaintance with the ancient tones, admits such absurd blunders as :—



What does Bb Bb C Bb mean; or G G in the cadence?

We ask the same question as to No. 87, another perversion of the same Tone.

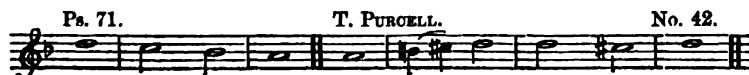
What means A A G A in the mediation of Nos. 1 and 89, and the same thing elsewhere if they profess to be derived from the 1st Tone. No. 93, the 6th Tone (?), we believe Mr. Hullah's version, is peculiarly rich, and we give it.



But it occurs to us, after all, we may be wrong in assuming these to be Gregorians, for the Index says, "From 6th Tone," "from 3rd Tone," &c., so that we suppose these must be improvements upon the Tones, and not the Tones themselves; and so charitably hoping these are not meant to beguile the innocent into error, we can only express our pity for the writer's taste. But to say he follows the example of Tallis in these adaptations is a reflection upon that great composer we must distinctly repudiate.

We cannot help asking if such examples as the following accord with the expressed belief, that "the chants in this volume are such as may be sung without difficulty by any congregation desirous of resuming ancient practice in their daily devotions?" (We presume "ancient" in this sentence refers to the mere fact of *singing*?)

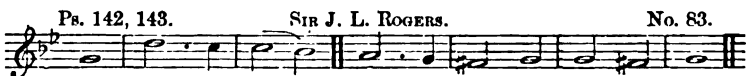
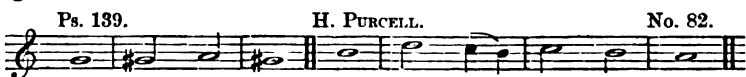
We take at random :



Can the reader tell what this reminds him of ?



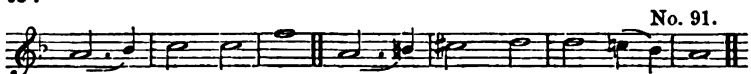
Can this be made to sound ecclesiastical ?



No. 20 changing at once into the major key for the following 29th Psalm, a proceeding very often adopted in this work, and we should say more perplexing to an unmusical congregation, than a complete change of chant.

We take the leading, i. e., the treble part, only, which in these days will always be *the* part followed by the congregation.

Once more,—fancy a congregation striving at the “Benedictus” to :



It is useless to point to the air in the Tenor (a murdered version of the 1st Tone,) the congregation will never look there for it.

Reconcile these passages : “A change of chant has been avoided as much as possible.” A little further on : “Had the editor succeeded in his anxious search for a *sufficient number* to complete his scheme in conformity with the conditions proposed, no attempt of his own had found its way into these pages ; but he failed : for

after examining again and again every chant book to which he had access—and the number was not small—there still remained a considerable deficiency.” And so he gets six original chants from a friend. This, upon a collection of a hundred and one distinct chants, for the change from major to minor, or shifting the air from treble to tenor, and vice versa, will, to our present congregations, practically make them distinct, is pretty well. We have not diligently gone over them, but we believe no two are identical.

Our writer evidently thinks the music everything, for he has said nothing as to a system of *pointing*, a matter of equal, indeed of greater, importance than the music. This omission in a book of such avowed pretensions is rather singular.

Mr. Monk professes to give chants of the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries. Let us see how he fulfils his engagement. The hundred and one chants (the number in the book) may be apportioned thus: three (!) to the sixteenth century; sixteen to the seventeenth century; forty to the eighteenth century, and *forty-two* to the *present* century, only, as yet, *half* gone. We have made very fair allowances in this apportionment; for we think, for example, those by Alcock, Aldrich, and Blow were written in the same centuries in which their authors died, whereas we have allowed them to have been written in the century before. Of the forty-two of the present century, twenty-three are in the Index of Composers; eight have “Monk” against them, eight are “From Tones,” (?) and three we have not had time to look after, but suppose “Monk” would stand equally well against them, and therefore we give this century the credit of them. This requires no comment.* The “tender pen,” as Mr. Monk styles it, of Richard Farrant was not, it appears (for we cannot imagine Mr. Monk’s “anxious search” to have let any slip) equal to more than *one* “Anglican Chant;” and we have noticed above Tallis’s *two*; in fact it is these *three* that just save the “sixteenth century,”—rather a fragile hook to hang so notable a century upon.

But we have done. A standard bearer should be well assured he bears the genuine colours, or he may find out when too late he has been devoting his services to a worthless cause, and that he bears aloft but painted rags. We think a deeper reading, and more attentive weighing of facts will show the compiler of the “Anglican Chant Book” that he has committed himself to an awkward and unsubstantial theory, which will endanger his reputation, and mar, perhaps, an otherwise useful career; and that in charging the advocates of Gregorian music with acting on mere principles of eclecticism, he has been most presumptuous.

* Taking the date of the composer’s death as evidence of the century wherein the chant was written, (except in three cases where that event occurred in the first year of the century,) the numbers would stand thus:—For the 16th century, 3; 17th century, 11; 18th century, 40; 19th century, 47.

In conclusion, we trust nothing we have said will create any other feeling than that which will lead to deeper inquiry and more attentive weighing of facts. We should not have noticed the production but for the views advanced, for the music apart from its preface would quietly have dropped into—oblivion. Perhaps our remarks may for a time save it from this fate; perhaps, and only for pecuniary considerations necessarily connected with its publication, could we feel regret, they may hasten this consummation.

ORATORIAN HYMNS.

The Prayer Book of the Oratory of S. Philip Neri, King William Street. Pp. 82.

Hymn Book of the Oratory. Pp. 46.

Devotions to the Infant JESUS, as practised in the Oratory. Pp. 24.

The Passion of JESUS, and the Woes of Mary. The Lent Book of the Oratory. Pp. 20.

THESE are very remarkable books; and we look on it as providential that they should have been brought out at this time. With all the troubles, external and internal, which beset our Church, these publications must, we think, have the effect of making those who are disposed to turn their eyes to Rome, pause in their resolution.

Oratorianism is a feature of the Anglo-Roman Church, the results of which it seems utterly impossible to predict. It differs, not only from the primitive and mediæval Church,—that everybody knows,—but from the modern Roman Church—the Church of Trent, of Pius V., of Benedict XIV. It seems to be destined to give a new development to the system of Liguori, and to expand the worship of S. Mary into something which the world has never yet seen. For, be it remarked, we are not commenting on particular expressions, on individual prayers, on sentences picked here and there; we are referring to the general tone and teaching of the Oratorian Religion. The centre of this, in the new system, is S. Mary. The strongest phrases of such Saints as Bernard and Bonaventura, expressions used by them to the ever blessed Mother of God in an ecstatic rapture of devotion, are here brought forward and exaggerated, for what? For the every-day devotions of ordinary men—and of converts. Words which S. Bernard would not have dared to utter, are almost forced into the mouths of those who must be fed with milk, and not with strong meat.

Connected with this, is the worship of S. Joseph. He is now made to occupy a place in the mind and prayers of the Church which was utterly unknown to the middle ages. He has now his Seven Sorrows and his Seven Joys, by which his assistance is invoked; nay, in one of these books S. Mary is absolutely made our *mediatrix* with him.

“ O give me thy burden to bear for a while !
 Let me kiss His warm lips, and adore His sweet smile :
 With her Babe in her arms, surely Mary will be,
 Sweet Spouse of our Lady ! my pleader with thee ! ”

This certainly exceeds the wayside Cross which Mr. Webb observed in the Tyrol, with the inscription, *Venite ad Joseph*. And the hymn we have just quoted ends,

“ God chose thee for JESUS and Mary—wilt thou
 Forgive a poor exile for choosing thee now ?
 There is no Saint in heaven I worship like thee,
 Sweet spouse of our Lady ! O deign to love me. ”

Now, all these devotions, absolutely unheard of till within the last half century—how are they now brought forward ? It is not as if they had come down to England by old hereditary tradition : it is not as if they were to be offered to children or peasants ; it is not even as though they were intended for the enthusiasm of Italians or Portuguese. No, they are thrust forward on cool, reasoning, unimpressible England ; they are held up as the means of saving the heathenish thousands of London, men sharp enough to see the littleness, the puerility, the affectation, the inanity of such devotions. What shall we say to these things ? Is such a course of proceeding anything less than giving great occasion to the enemies of the LORD to blaspheme ? What will the English mind, so proverbially downright and straightforward, think of such novelties in such doggrel ? What of such absolutely sensuous devotions ? For example, the Oratorians thus address our LORD :

“ Dear Little One, how sweet Thou art !
 Thine Eyes, how bright they shine !
 So bright, they almost seem to speak
 When Mary's look meets Thine ! ”

Or again :

“ JESUS, dear Babe, those tiny hands
 That play with Mary's hair,
 The weight of all the mighty world
 'Thine very moment bear. ”

“ While Thou art clasping Mary’s neck
 In timid tight embrace,
 The boldest seraphs veil themselves
 Before Thine infant Face.”

And yet again :

“ When Joseph takes Thee in his arms,
 And smooths Thy little cheek,
 Thou lookest up into his face,
 So helpless and so meek.”

Wonderful indeed, that these Oratorian converts should think that teaching, perhaps allowable for a child of three years old, is to be the discipline and devotion of men ! The effect is to us much the same with that of seeing two or three Priests employed in dressing one of the dolls that represent our Lady in the “ month of Mary.” More wonderful still, that the whole Anglo-Roman communion should allow itself to be led by converts of a few years’ or a few months’ standing, to trifling so unspeakable ! Men who, while they were with us, had absolutely no influence whatever in our counsels, are now dragging the Roman Church in this land after them into what, if God, of His infinite mercy, do not arrest their course, must end in heresy !

Again, that which the latter Roman Church has always felt to be its weak point—indulgences,—is here dragged forth, exhibited with a boast, trumpeted in penny books, paraded as offensively as may be,—an absolute challenge to Protestant irreverence and sceptical blasphemy. For example : in the Oratory, on Friday evening, they recite the Rosary of the Seven Dolours : which consist of one Pater Noster and twenty-four Ave Marias. To this the following indulgences are attached. 1. Two hundred days for each Pater Noster and Hail Mary, when recited in the churches of the order of the Servants of Mary. 2. Two hundred days for each, when recited on Friday, on all the days of Lent, and in the feast and octave of the Seven Dolours, in any place whatsoever. 3. One hundred days for each recital in any place, or at any time, together with seven years and seven quarantains. 4. Plenary, with the usual conditions, for those who have said it daily for a month. 5. One hundred years for each recital. 6. One hundred and fifty years on Mondays, Wednesdays, and Fridays. 7. Plenary once a year to such as recite it four times a week. 8. Two hundred years for those who recite it after confession. 9. For those who frequently recite the Rosary, *and have one about their person*, an indulgence of ten years each time they hear mass, &c. All these indulgences are applicable to the dead.” And this is one of innumerable examples of the same kind.

The Oratorian use of the vernacular language is well known. On

this we have again to remark,—If such a change be expedient and good now,—how can the great Roman controversialists of the sixteenth century be excused for their intense hatred to and bitter attacks against it then? We are not saying which is right,—but clearly both cannot be so. And we must say that we never felt more inclined to admire the reverent language of our English Prayer-book, than after such expressions as those of King William Street English. Imagine a prayer, and that too one to which two hundred days of indulgence are attached, commencing thus:—"With that profound respect with which faith inspires me, O my God and SAVIOUR, &c.—I adore Thee!" The vernacularity, so to speak, of the whole devotions is singular. Thus we read of an Our Father, a Hail Mary, and an Out of the Depths. How thoroughly unlike mediæval England! Every one has read of such epitaphs as:

I pray you alle to saye ffor mee
A Pater Noster and an Ave.

And even the names of our City streets and lanes showed that these expressions were familiar as household words. But, apparently eager to have no possible connection with the English Church of the earlier times, the Oratorians have changed all that.

The completely foreign partizan spirit of these devotions is singular,—almost as singular as the title of the author of the Life of S. Cuthbert, an Anglo-Roman Priest, residing at Durham, we believe—the very reverend *Monsignor* Eyre. Not a single reference to an English Saint throughout the volume. No.

" In Philip's name, in Philip's way,
To God and Mary true,
In this our own dear Saxon land
Good work we fain would do.
Dear Father Philip! give to us
Thy manners gay and free:
Thy patient trust, thy plaint of prayer,
Thy deep simplicity."

Besides SS. Peter and Paul, the following Saints occur:—S. Joseph Calasancius; S. Aloysius Gonzaga; B. Leonard, of Port Maurice; and B. Sebastian Valfre. To which we may add S. Philip's Guardian Angel. "And lastly, I thank thee, O Guardian Angel of S. Philip, in so far as thou didst co-operate to his perfection and holiness,—praying thee to recommend me to him."

What do we imagine that the stern old mediæval Saints,—the writers of the *Vexilla Regis*, the *Dies Iræ*, the *Adeste Fideles*, would have said to such strains as these?

" O weary not, but love me still,
For Mary's sake, thy queen:
She never tired of me, though I
Her worst of sons have been.

Then love me, love me, Angel dear!
 And I will love thee more:
 And help me when my soul is cast
 Upon the eternal shore."

or, in a hymn for Easter Day.

" O, I am burning so with love,
 I fear lest I should make too free:
 Let me be silent and adore
 Thy glorified Humanity!"

The hymn on the immaculate conception goes beyond the furthest verge to which that doctrine has been pushed.

" To sinners what comfort, to angels what mirth,
 That God found one creature unfallen on earth!"

Where we no longer find that S. Mary was so conceived for the sake of being the Spotless Mother of our LORD, but that being so conceived, and no one else being so, she of right attained to that honour. But the doctrine of more than one of these hymns is as curious as their composition. Had a member of the English Church written that (p. 16) on the Resurrection, he would forthwith, and with great justice, have been called a Monophysite.

One of the most shocking, we think, to every right and true feeling is that "to our Blessed Lady, for the souls in Purgatory."

1.

" O turn to JESUS, mother, turn!
 And call Him by His tenderest names:
 Pray for the Holy Souls that burn,
 This hour amid the cleansing flames.

3.

" In pains beyond all earthly pains,
 Favourites of JESUS, there they lie,
 Letting the fire wash out their stains,
 And worshipping God's purity.

4.

" Spouses of CHRIST they are, for He
 Was wedded to them by His blood;
 The faithful Cross their trysting tree,
 Their marriage bed its hallowed wood.

7.

" Ah me! the love of JESUS yearns
 O'er that abyss of sacred pain!
 And as He looks, His bosom burns
 With Calvary's dear thirst again."

—Will any one venture to say that this is not heresy?

8.

" O Mary, let thy Son no more
His lingering spouses thus expect :
God's children to their God restore,
And to the SPIRIT His elect."

To us, this last stanza is perfectly fearful.

The devotion of the Sacred Heart of JESUS and of Mary is also put forward. Is it possible that this worship,—never publicly professed till 1685,—equivocated about a hundred times,—the original device of the enthusiastic temperament of a nun, and connected with bodily disease,—can really be expected to make its way into England? A sensual French idea absolutely forced on the cool reasoning English nation? Truly the infatuation of those who thus act is scarcely to be explained by natural causes. Granting the *Fathers* of the Oratory to be the ignorant hotheaded puerile youths that, with one or two exceptions they are, ought we not to have expected more sense in a mere boy?

And this must be remembered: either these devotions of the Sacred Heart, of the patronage of S. Joseph and S. Philip,—these doggerel hymns, these vernacular irreverences, are essentials, or not. If they are, the Roman Church was without essentials of a mission till within a century and a half. If they are not, what words,—supposing the Roman Church alone to be Catholic,—what words can express the awfulness of the woe that must descend on these Oratorians, for hindering to the utmost of their ability the return of the wandering, by the stumbling blocks which they lay in the road, which they exaggerate, which they multiply?

If Rome had not in a great measure lost her once wonderful tact, these men would be put down to-morrow. But what the Jesuits were in 1688, that the Oratorians, without rebuke, are becoming now.

Since these strictures were written Mr. Pugin's "Remarks" in reply to a series of Papers in the "Rambler" on Ecclesiastical Architecture and Decoration, have fallen in our way; and may be conveniently noticed in connection with what has been said above. The pamphlet is exceedingly amusing and instructive, letting us at once a good deal both into Mr. Pugin's mind, and into the differences that exist in the Roman Catholic Communion here at the present day. The Oratorians, as we all know, have not only taken a new line as regards the devotions of the people, but they oppose also the old Catholic traditions which are embodied in the structures of the mediæval Churches, and are advocating flat ceilings, and Greek pilasters, and square-headed windows. The disgust of Mr. Pugin may be well imagined. He recounts the bright and glowing hopes of his youth, when under the idea that the "old religion" was to revive the glories of York and Salisbury, he became a convert to it.

Certainly he was not captivated by the splendour or the pureness of the ritualism then prevailing. Their Chapels he describes as inferior to Wesleyan meeting-houses, as their chanting was "execrable" in comparison with Westminster. But all this he set himself heartily to remedy. Works in masonry, carpentry, wood and stone carving, painted glass, encaustic tiles, incised brasses, metal work from the precious to the more common, embroidery, silk, weaving, and brocades, all had to be simultaneously carried on. And though he complains that his designs have in every* single instance been grievously marred by prejudice, caprice, or stinginess; he can certainly point to a great revival of the best principles of sacred art which has been effected in the Roman communion through his influence—concurrently with the revival in our own. Great was the stride taken from the time when he was "compelled for the first altar lamp to employ an old German, who made jelly moulds for pastry-cooks, as the only person who understood beating up copper to the old forms." The principles of Christian art at least he thought recovered or re-established on an immoveable basis, when suddenly the artist is attacked from a quite unlooked for quarter.

The letter, which is quite worth reading, concludes with these words of earnest protest. "Let me then implore those who are exciting this insane, I may almost say impious, movement against the restoration of old Catholic solemnity, to consider the mischief that may result from the course they are pursuing. They raise doubts and uncertainties among weak-minded persons; they create a spirit of division in the faithful, and to a certain extent they may mar the erection of fitting temples to ALMIGHTY God as to the ultimate and certain failure of their architectural principles. I do not entertain the shadow of a doubt, but in the mean time it is most harassing and afflicting to be obliged to turn our arms against a body of mutineers, instead of advancing on the common enemy—the pagan and infidel principle which requires our united exertions to subdue; and I do trust and hope that in future, they will turn their talents to better account, confining themselves to subjects or questions on which they are fully qualified to write with edification and benefit to the faithful, and leave architectural matters to those who have devoted their whole lives and energies to its study."

* The Church of S. Augustine which he is now building at Ramsgate, at his own cost, or more strictly, we believe, at that of his wife, is the only instance, he asserts, in which he has at all had his own way.

HINTS ON THE SEARCH FOR AUTHORITY.

(Continued from p. 32.)

An Essay on the Influence of Authority in Matters of Opinion. By
 GEORGE CORNEWALL LEWIS, Esq. London: John W. Parker,
 West Strand. 1849.

THREE months ago we endeavoured to give our readers some idea of the nature of Mr. Lewis's Essay upon Authority. Paying due respect to its learning and the general solidity of its reasonings, we were yet compelled to protest against the display of unfairness (however unintentional) and the seeming ignorance which characterised that portion of the work which has reference to the subject of religion. It was not indeed of ignorance of fact that we had any reason to complain, but of that non-realisation of the central truths of Christianity, which must render a man as unfit to dogmatise concerning the faith, as any want of acquaintance with past or existing matters of fact of which the intellect takes cognizance. Mr. Lewis would fain represent Arianism as a diversity from the Church's doctrine upon a purely speculative point. Let us once more dwell for a moment upon this most monstrous assumption. If there be one point of belief which should be enshrined within a Christian's inmost spiritual nature, it is the faith that He who lived and died on earth for us is not merely man, (albeit true and perfect in His humanity) not merely a creature, but the Eternal Word, God the Son Almighty. He has learnt to give his unreserved homage and affection to *a person*—is he to be told that it matters nothing whether the personality of that being be human or divine—that it is practically all one, whether he be worshipping Him through whom the worlds were made, or giving to any one less than Deity the honour which is due to God alone? that it would have no influence on his eternal destiny whether he were guilty of idolatry or only offering to its rightful claimant that love and obedience which to refuse were mortal sin?*

Leaving the reader to make his own reply to this inquiry, we proceed to consider a question of less simple character, whereon Mr. Lewis has argued powerfully and plausibly, though his conclusions appear to us, as in the former case, to be not merely unsatisfactory but untenable.

In the course of the reasonings of his chapter "on the applicability of the principle of authority to questions of religion," Mr.

* See a well-known passage in Bp. Pearson "Nor is this union only a scholastic speculation, &c." on the Creed, Art. III. (section 1 *ad fin.*) and compare Mr. Hopkins' pamphlet upon the Theories put forth by Sir James Stephen. We feel grateful to this distinguished Mathematician for his excellent and seasonable publication.

Lewis maintains, that whereas a large portion of the Christian world make the standard of religious truth to consist in the *teaching of the Church*, such a standard is in point of fact wholly nugatory, useless and unmeaning. And further, that the well-known tests of Vincentius, *Universitas, antiquitas, consensio*, deserved to be characterised in precisely the same manner.

We propose with much sincere diffidence to throw together a few general hints and observations on the subject; our general aim being towards the refutation of the above positions of Mr. Lewis, though not without admissions concerning particular points of his argument.

And firstly, we must demand the existence of certain conditions on the part of him who is to make the appeal to the Church's teaching. This is no unreasonable demand; we should have a right to ask that a pupil in the science of perspective had no extraordinary defect of vision, or that the aspirant for gymnastic prowess was not deficient in the use of his limbs.

The conditions which we may fairly sue for in the present instance seem to be such as these: (1.) That the applicant be really desirous, in all humility and sincerity of heart, to hear that voice for which he professes to be listening. (2.) That this desire be of a practically religious tendency, looking to the glory of God and the good of souls, and not engendered by mere speculative curiosity. (3.) That he should fully intend, so far as in him lies, to act upon the convictions thus obtained. (4.) That he must not constantly expect to find such evidence as is required for legal purposes or mathematical demonstrations, but equitable moral evidence, such as would satisfy him in the ordinary affairs of life and direct him how to proceed in action.

Consideration of distinctions among different classes of mankind in these respects we postpone till we have briefly illustrated the foregoing.

(1.) As to the hearty and humble desire, which is for the most part requisite, in order that the Church's voice may be heard. "A very few and distant hints," says a weighty writer of our own day,* "are quite enough to guide minds, *willing to be taught*, in the right path of the teaching of the Church." And contrariwise it may be asserted that neither hints nor plain speaking nor arguments can affect the minds of those who are *not* willing to learn; who shrink from committing themselves to that body of doctrine, lest it should involve some self-denying works from which they shrink, or some exercise of faith which seems an offence and stumbling-block to their pride of intellect. "When the young man heard that saying, he went away sorrowful, for he had great possessions." "The Jews therefore strove among themselves, saying, How can this man give us His flesh to eat? Many of His disciples when they had heard this, said, This is an hard saying; who can hear it? From that

* Rev. W. Maskell, *Sermons*, X. *ad fin.* p. 137.

time many of His disciples went back, and walked no more with Him.”*

(2.) How completely all yearning after an insight into *unprofitable* mysteries is repressed by the language in Holy Writ it is hardly necessary to remind the reader. “What is that to thee, follow thou Me.” “Intruding into those things which he hath not seen, vainly puffed up by his fleshly mind.” “Neither give heed to fables and endless genealogies which minister questions (ζητήσεις) rather than godly edifying which is in faith.” (οἰκονομίαν Θεοῦ τὴν ἐν πίστει.)†

(3.) A fair illustration of the justice of our third requirement is afforded by the conference between the prophet Jeremiah and the remnant of Judah left after the capture of Jerusalem. Having resolved in their secret hearts to go down into Egypt, they yet feign to be seeking anxiously for divine guidance, and doubtless had the answer been according to their wishes, they would have deceived others and very possibly even themselves into the belief that they were acting in a righteous and obedient spirit.‡ Their language has a fearful solemnity. “Pray for us unto the LORD thy GOD even for all this remnant;—that the LORD thy GOD may show us the way wherein we may walk and the thing that we may do. The LORD be a true and faithful witness between us, if we do not even according to all things for the which the LORD thy GOD shall send thee to us. Whether it be good or whether it be evil, we will obey the voice of the LORD our GOD, to whom we send thee; that it may be well with us, when we obey the voice of the LORD our GOD.” Ten days does the holy man wait for a revelation, and then is made known to him from above, not merely the course which the querists *ought* to pursue, but likewise their falseness of profession and the nature of the course they will pursue. “The LORD hath said concerning you, O ye remnant of Judah; go ye not into Egypt: know certainly that I have admonished you this day. For ye dissembled in your hearts, when ye sent me unto the LORD your GOD, saying, Pray for us, unto the LORD our GOD; and according unto all that the LORD our GOD shall say, so declare unto us, and we will do it. Then spake Azariah the son of Hoshaiiah, and Johanan the son of Kareah, and all the proud men, saying unto Jeremiah, Thou speakest falsely: the LORD our GOD hath not sent thee to say, Go not into Egypt to sojourn there.” Such men do indeed in some sense hear the Divine command, but they hear it only to submit it to pre-conceived desires, they hear it only to their loss and condemnation.

(3.) Evidence must of course be proportioned to the nature of the subject, according to the old Aristotelian canon.§ “As men,” says

* S. Matthew xix. 22. S. John vi. 52, 60, 66.

† S. John xxi. 22. Coloss. ii. 18. 1 Tim. i. 4. Cf. 1 Tim. vi. 4. 2 Tim. ii. 16, 23.

‡ Jeremiah xlii. 2—6, 19, 20; xliii. 2, 3.

§ Τὸ γὰρ ἀκριβὲς οὐχ ὁμοίως ἐν παντί τοῖς λόγοις ἐπιζητητέον. . . πεπαυθεν.

a great Casuist,* "when they are to purchase lands, will desire and propose to have as good assurance as by learned counsel can be devised; but yet must be content to take such assurance as the sellers can make, or else they shall make but a few markets: so although we may desire (*ex abundanti*) a full assurance of faith in every weighty action we shall enterprise; yet ordinarily and in most things we must content ourselves to take up with a conjectural, probable and moral certainty, or else we shall find very few things left for us to do. *Fides Logica* is not to be expected in all cases: in some, and those the most, *Fides Ethica* must serve the turn." With which we may conjoin the following words of a doctor of our own times as bearing both upon the present point as also on our first condition:—

"It is in truth, a very remarkable part of our probation as to Holy Scripture also, that persons may escape almost any argument on authority from Holy Scripture, if they *will*. The Jews did, and do, as to the Divine mission of our Lord; misbelievers, as to every doctrine of the faith by turns; careless livers, as to almost every point of practice. Holy Scripture, like its Divine author, is in the world, and the world knoweth it not; 'the carnally minded *cannot*' (itself tells us) 'receive the things of the Spirit of God.' It speaks to faith, and can be received only by those who 'have ears to hear.' It is in harmony with our whole trial that it does not compel our faith. Proofs from it are scarcely ever so stringent as intellectual persons would have them. The nets of the Gospel will not keep those who *will* burst through them. The history of all controversy both as to faith and practice, shows that misbelief, or wilfulness, always finds something upon which, with more or less plausibility, it can prop itself. Be the proofs ever so solidly brought together, those who *will*, can always find some chink at which they can creep out."[†]

Presupposing these requisites, (the reasonableness of which would hardly, we think, be openly denied by any professing to be Christians,) we may divide the question likely to come under consideration into those upon which judgment has been pronounced anterior to the division of East and West, and those which have arisen since that great division. Mr. Lewis would fain persuade his readers that in both cases it is alike impossible to obtain any satisfactory conclusion as to the verdict of the Church upon any given point of controversy; and that the rule of *Quod semper, quod ubique, &c.*, is a mere vicious fallacy of reasoning in a circle.

Now, without in the least degree shrinking from the admission that there may sometimes be real difficulty in the application of

μενου γὰρ ἔστιν ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον τὰ κριβὲς ἐπιζητεῖν καθ' ἕκαστον γένος, ἐφ' ὅσον ἡ τοῦ πράγματος φύσις ἐπιδέχεται. Aristot. Eth. Nicom. I Cap. III. s. 1, 4. (Ed. Tauch.)

* Bp. Sanderson, Sermon iv. *Ad Clerum* (on Rom. xiv. 23.)

† Dr. Pusey: Evidence on the Marriage Question. Pref. pp. 22, 23.

Vincentius' Canon to disputes of our own day, we must still, in opposition to the school of Archbishop Whateley on the one hand, and the reasonings of the "Essay on Development" on the other, claim for this rule the merit of real weight and significance, though the writers in question would seek to deprive it of all pretension to either. It is of course a moral rule. When men say that it is the universal practice of physicians to prescribe a lowering diet in cases of fever, they are not understood to mean that no quacks ever followed a contrary course, nor even that the practice of some few really eminent *savans* might not be pleaded on the opposite side. Assuredly practical men, busied in their several professions, are generally found to feel the force of the appeal to ancient prescription which is made by our theologians. Sir James Stephen,* (to whom we may appeal as a witness, without citing him as an authority in such matters,) bears strong testimony to the actual power and influence of that maxim in moulding Englishmen's ideas of Divine Truth, and likewise to its congeniality with the temper of our countrymen.

And here we may in passing take notice of a side-blow from Mr. Stanley, which we do the less reluctantly, because at the first appearance of his "Sermons and Essays on the Apostolic Age," we strove to do full justice to the meritorious features of his publication. It is an admitted maxim in all reasoning, that we deal a heavy blow to the soundness of any argument, when we demonstrate that it leads us, if fairly carried out, into some untenable position or palpable absurdity. This service Mr. Stanley undertakes to render his disciples with reference to the Canon of Vincentius. Firstly, he appeals to the treatment which the dissension between the holy Apostles recorded in the Epistle to the Galatians (ii. 11—14) has received at the hands of patristic commentators. There is no denying that many great names, including those of S. Chrysostom and Theodoret, may be cited in favour of the theory that the discussion between S. Peter and S. Paul was a preconcerted scheme, and the reprehension of the leader of the Apostles, not genuine, but merely feigned. Now accept the entire statement, and how much will it prove? That the rule of *Quod semper, quod ubique, quod ab omnibus* may lead us to the adoption of an untenable version of an incident (an important incident no doubt) in the lives of the Apostles. But what real divine ever appealed to the Canon in this way. The argument, if sincere, is a palpable *ignoratio elenchi*. We appeal to Patristic consent, to establish doctrine, or as an evidence to the fact of such and such doctrines and practices obtaining in the Church of the earlier centuries. And what doctrine or practice can possibly be affected, if any should suppose that the *primâ facie* meaning of the Pauline

* Essays, &c. Vol. II.

narrative was not the true one? Thus much we may fairly urge on the hypothesis that the voice of antiquity is unanimous in the interpretation of the passage.

But what will the reader say, when he discovers, as by very little research he may discover, that the *consensus Patrum*, or at least approximation to it, implied in Mr. Stanley's reasoning, does not, as a matter of fact, exist at all in the present instance. S. Jerome, who espoused what we certainly hold to be the mistaken view, claimed the patronage of Origen, Didymus, Apollinaris, Eusebius of Emesa, and Theodorus Heracleotis: a list, of which it has been justly observed, that scarcely one, on S. Jerome's own showing, is an unexceptionable witness. On the opposite side stand Tertullian, S. Cyprian, S. Gregory the Great, and S. Augustine; besides others of less renown in the Church.* Yet more, S. Jerome lived to retract his verdict and yield to the arguments of the great Bishop of Hippo.

Now what reasonable man would ever have hinted that any doctrine thus combated, possessed sufficient weight of patristic authority to satisfy the Vincentian Canon: and if the evidence would utterly fail, as applied to the establishment of a dogma, how can it be pronounced less than wholly nugatory, when summoned in favour of the position for which the employer would fain pervert it in the case before us?

But Mr. Stanley has a second illustration. He has discovered one manifest error into which an overwhelming majority of the Church's ancient doctors fell headlong, not even suspecting, it would seem, their own hapless plight. And what is this appalling falsehood, this heresy which the wise and good unwittingly upheld? They actually, in accordance with the general notions of their day, believed in the existence of the Phoenix! Oh! important doctrine, oh! lamentable evidence of the unfitness of venerable Saints and Confessors for handling the mysteries of the faith or bearing testimony to the existence of what they knew, and beheld with their own eyes. In common with their heathen and heretical adversaries, they fell into a mistake on a point of natural history, and who then is to trust them upon any other subject. Oh! wondrous argument against the authority not of Fathers only, but of all who treating of one theme, have imbibed the ordinary opinions of their day upon matters which did not fall within their own peculiar province; against the authority of Herodotus on the details of the fights of Marathon and Salamis, for did he not, in this very ques-

* Such as Pope Agapetus, and Paulinus, the commentator: and almost all Post-Augustinian writers in the west. Vide S. Aug. Op. tom. VI. p. 464. A. (Ed. Benedict.) and again, tom. II. p. 169, *et seq.* wherein is given Jerome's Letter in self-defence: and the commentary of Estius *in loc. citat.* The last named mentions that the Angelic Doctor has summed up the evidence and ruled quite decisively in favour of S. Austin.

tion of the Phoenix, assume the literal truth of the Egyptian legends? * against the authority of Aristotle on the principles of logic and rhetoric, for was he not a firm believer in numberless physical errors of his age and nation; against the authority of Machiavel in politics, for had he not full credence in the early narrative of Livy: against the authority of great lawyers, physicians, and historians numberless; against the authority of one half of all authors, living as well as dead; for who shall say of any writer, however weighty, that the increasing activity of modern researches, physical and antiquarian, shall not prove him hereafter to have adopted some erroneous notion, (like that of the existence of the Arabian bird,) which in the present day stands free from the slightest breath of suspicion upon its verity?

But to return to the far more subtle and plausible objection of Archbishop Whately† and Mr. Lewis. Both maintain that Arianism cannot possibly be proved not to be the Voice of the Church, if it be tested by the requirements of Vincentius. Now, whatever be the purely external view of the case, we believe that there scarcely can be found an Arian living, who even pretends to feel doubt concerning the Church's verdict in this solemn controversy. What they do contend for is, that the question is not clear upon purely Scriptural grounds, as discussed between man and man; nay, that the first aspect of the Bible looks favourable to their heresy. And herein we are not prepared to give them a decided contradiction; although one half-hour's study of such a work as "Jones' Scripture Doctrine of the Trinity" is enough to exhibit the shallowness and presumption of their bold assertions, when the matter is probed below the surface.

But all that we have advanced involves the serious admonition that men must not dream of making religious controversy a matter to be grasped by the purely intellectual part of their nature; and that if they will thus, and thus only, aspire after sacred truth, if they will make light of the voice of conscience, dry up the fountains of the heart, neglect prayer, meditation and self-discipline, and ignore the Word which saith, "If any be willing to do His will (θέλω τὸ θέλημα αὐτοῦ ποιεῖν) he shall know the doctrine whether it be of God;"‡ then they cannot reasonably indulge the hope of hearing aright concerning things invisible, whether by the Church's doctrine from without, or the teaching of the Holy Spirit from within; they cannot live on, in the righteous trust that what they gain and hold shall be acknowledged as God's Truth in the awful manifestation of the Great Day.

Hereon we see no cause for shrinking from the masterly sum-

* Herodot. II. 73. The German Editor Bähr supposes the fable to have had symbolical reference to cycles of years. *Ad loc. citat.*

† In a Sermon called "The Search after Infallibility."

‡ S. John vii. 17.

mary of that great opponent of the English Church, than whom none can state better, whatsoever he has stated well.

"That there is a truth then ; that there is one truth ; that religious error is in itself of an immoral nature ; that its maintainers, unless involuntarily such, are guilty in maintaining it ; that it is to be dreaded ; that the search for truth is not the gratification of curiosity ; that its attainment has nothing of the excitement of a discovery ; that the mind is below truth, not above it, and is bound, not to descant upon it, but to venerate it ; that truth and falsehood are set before us for the trial of our hearts ; that our choice is an awful giving forth of lots on which salvation or rejection is inscribed ; that 'before all things it is necessary to hold the Catholic faith ;' that 'he that would be saved must thus think,' and not otherwise ; that 'if thou criest after knowledge, and liftest up thy voice for understanding, if thou seekest her as silver, and searchest for her as for hid treasure, then shalt thou understand the fear of the Lord, and find the knowledge of God ;'—this is the dogmatical principle, which has strength.

"That truth and falsehood in religion are but matter of opinion ; that one doctrine is as good as another ; that the Governor of the world does not intend that we should gain the truth ; that there is no truth ; that we are not more acceptable to God by believing this than by believing that ; that no one is answerable for his opinions ; that they are a matter of necessity or accident : that it is enough if we sincerely hold what we profess ; that our merit lies in seeking, not in possessing ; that it is a duty to follow, what seems to us true, without a fear lest it should not be true, that it may be a gain to succeed, and can be no harm to fail ; that we may take up and lay down opinions at pleasure ; that belief belongs to the mere intellect, not to the heart ; that we may safely trust ourselves in matters of Faith, and need no other guide,—this is the principle of philosophies and heresies, which is very weakness."—Newman's *Essay on Development*, pp. 344, 345.

It is now perhaps a somewhat hackneyed comparison, but it is difficult to conceive one more apposite, than that which has been made between the musical ear and a mind attuned to the harmonies of divine truth. When persons are listening to the performance of some oratorio, and one who is gifted with fine discrimination of sound affirms, that there has been gross discord, such as to distress and pain him, this will to ordinary listeners seem over-strained and fanciful, although they may discover that good judges of the art all agreed in the same complaint at the same time ; and in like manner the acute shock given to holy Christian teachers by the discord of heresy is quite beyond the comprehension and even the belief of men, who have never brought home to themselves the sacredness of religious truth, or whose spirits have been dulled and dimmed by constant unbroken commerce with the world and the world's ways. They may be willing to combat false doctrines which plainly tend

to immorality ; but they cannot understand nor be brought to understand that heresy is in itself immoral.

As to whether the Church of the fathers did or did not believe in the doctrines of their Redeemer's full and perfect Divinity or in the Sacraments, as means of grace, of these and other correlative truths, we repeat, that we have always understood those without her pale and in error to maintain that the Church had spoken wrongly, and not (as Mr. Lewis would persuade us) that she had uttered no decree at all. No Anabaptist that we ever heard of questioned whence came the profession of faith *ὁμολογῶ ἐν Βάπτισμα εἰς ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν* : no Socinian ever doubted what society had adopted for its own those glorious cadences :

Te, per orbem terrarum sancta confitetur Ecclesia :

Patrem immensæ Majestatis :

Venerandum tuum verum et unicum Filium :

Sanctum quoque Paraclitum, Spiritum.

But of questions which have arisen in later ages, or which are actually points of controversy between the Churches ; there, if the seeker be in the Church, he is certainly bound to listen to the teaching of that part of the fold in which God's Providence has placed him, not disobeying its injunctions, unless in some way they appear to clash with the plainly revealed will of the ALMIGHTY, nor "hastily taking part against it, as so many do, on account of incidental or subordinate objections, but accepting it in Christian simplicity *as it is*, and abiding by it until *after experiment of holy living* it shall be proved perilous, or at least inadequate to the soul's welfare, according to the very terms of Scripture."*

The hypothesis here made of the inquirer's being in the Church, and the consequent injunction of some submission of private judgment, bring us again upon fresh ground, ground whereupon we do at last find some points of agreement between ourselves and Mr. Lewis :—

"A person who chooses his own guides, chooses them by the light of his own reason ; he exercises a free and unconstrained choice ; and although the process of reasoning through which he travels does not bear directly upon his conclusion, it bears directly upon the means of leading him safely to that conclusion. *From the ultimate responsibility of this determination nothing can relieve him.* A Roman Catholic, who relies implicitly upon the authority of his own Church, must decide for himself to prefer that authority to the authority of other Churches ; or (what comes to the same) to deny to other religious communions the appellation of Churches. In the last result, he is driven of necessity to the exercise of private individual judgment. The appropriate grounds of decision may be removed from us a few steps by an intermediate process ; but the selection of our authority, and our reliance upon it, must be the work of our own reason."—p. 64.

* Miller's Bampton Lectures, Lect. I. p. 15, note, (Ed. 1838) The italics are those of the original.

The argument here employed does appear in some sense to be undeniable, though it is often employed in a wrong and dangerous way. But that it does appeal to men with much force may be gathered from the circumstance that it is wielded by reasoners of such varied stamp as Chillingworth, Mr. Carlyle, Mr. Keble, Mr. Lewis, and Mr. J. H. Newman.* The last-named appears to attempt an answer to his own argument both in the "Essay on Development," and in his tale of "Loss and Gain;" with transparent ill success, it seems to us, and without perfect consistency even with his present line of reasoning.†

For a man believes himself to be either in the Church or without the Church. Now if he believe himself to be without and join some Christian community under the idea that it is the Church, then whatever countenance he may gain from the authority or example of others, the final step must assuredly be an act of his own will, and so far of his own independent judgment likewise. When a distinguished convert‡ to the Church of Rome writes thus: "Without knowing definitely how Rome makes out her pretensions from the history of past ages I bow myself before her, because she plainly corresponds with that type of the Catholic Church which is deeply and habitually impressed upon my whole moral and spiritual nature;" if he be not, in this avowal, enunciating his "private judgment" of the matter, we feel really at a loss to know what the meaning of the phrase can be. When another, in the most powerful and dignified pamphlet which we have seen upon that side of the question, complains that Mr. Allie's work on the Supremacy only gives after all its author's own decision upon the evidence bearing on the point at issue, he ought surely to remember that his own rejection of Mr. Allie's inferences is as simply that of an individual mind, as is another man's acceptance of the same. If Mr. Allie be a single and fallible judge, so is Mr. Gordon, or whoever be the author of this rejoinder.

But it may be urged that all this personal responsibility is avoided in the case where a man simply remains in the place wherein God's Providence has placed him. Undoubtedly the exercise of his judgment becomes in such instances less patent and obtrusive. But we must deny that he thereby frees himself from the duty or the possibility of choice. He cannot, having grown to mature understanding, take part in a public service or openly obey any peculiar precept of the religious community of which he originally found himself a member, without publicly manifesting that he assents to the authority—a manifestation which (excepting in the case of de-

* Religion of Protestants—Heroes and Hero Worship—Preface to Sermons, p. xxvii.—*In loc. citat.*—Romanism and Popular Protestantism, p. 148.—The reader will easily fit on these works to the respective authors mentioned in the text.

† Development, p. 119. Loss and Gain, p. 182—4. It is only just to add that Mr. Newman allows that the argument may be fairly used against such "as would remove all doubt from religion."

‡ Rev. F. Oakeley.

liberate hypocrisy, which we need not here consider) is the outward sign and result of the conviction of the mind and heart.

But then, it may be urged by Latitudinarian thinkers, we may surely as well dispense with seeking for the Church's verdict altogether. Why not, on each particular point of controversy, make, if need so require, a fresh and independent examination? We again appeal to Mr. Lewis for an answer. What he has said of questions purely secular must surely apply with two-fold force to theological doctrines and opinions.

"It cannot be presumed, generally, that an appropriate process of reasoning upon any subject is a better or wiser principle of judgment than a recourse to the authority of others. Even in speculative subjects, a person whose time, or habits of thought and study, do not incline him to a particular department of knowledge, may reasonably adopt the views of persons who are conversant with it. In practice, however, where special attainments and experience are necessary for a safe decision, a man who prefers his own judgment to that of competent advisers certainly does not follow either a wise or a usual course. It surely cannot be laid down as a general thesis, that a private individual is likely, in professional matters to judge better than professional men. A person who thinks that in legal matters his own judgment is better than that of a lawyer, in medical matters better than that of a physician, in questions of building better than that of an architect, &c. is not likely to find that the rectitude of his practical decisions corresponds with the independence of his judgment. In such cases (as we shall show more fully in a subsequent chapter) reason does not forbid, but prescribes a reliance upon authority. When a person is necessarily ignorant of the grounds of decision, to decide for himself is an act of suicidal folly. He ought to recur to a competent adviser, as a blind man relies upon a guide."—pp. 64, 65.

We now come to an important point of distinction between the authority of the Church, and that of teachers of all secular knowledge. The man who bows to the authority of great names upon science need not enjoy any sort of bond or connexion with the spirits of those to whom he listens. But the Church is of a truth the mystical body of CHRIST our LORD, "the fulness of Him that filleth all in all:"* each single member is in union with the Divine Head by virtue of his being in the fellowship of the body. Now in the body physical we see maimed and imperfect members; some are such by birth, some are injured by misfortune, some by their own carelessness or sin. Are there no corresponding phases in the Church Militant? A very brief consideration of this will be found to be germane to our present subject.

That men living in obdurate unrepented sin are maimed members of CHRIST's congregation, and that by their own fault, would,

* Ephes. i. 23.

we presume, be admitted on all hands. "Qui tales videntur intus," writes S. Austin, "non solum spiritaliter foris sunt, sed etiam corporaliter, in fine separabuntur."* Nor would any doubt, that wilful schism separated in like manner, however they might vary in their definition of the sin of schism. But what shall we think of those who naming the name of CHRIST, professing and calling themselves Christians, are yet in a position, which, had it been chosen knowingly, and by their own act, would have been rightly judged to incur the guilt of the schismatic? Are all without the Church's pale precisely in the same condition? are all maimed members of the body equally alienated from its privileges and blessings? Let us consider for a moment the circumstances of the elder dispensation. There, if anywhere, was a strict covenant between the ALMIGHTY and His chosen people: and yet not only do we find remarkable examples of grace and truth beyond its strict limits, as those of Abimeleesh, Jethro, and perhaps Job, and Balaam, (a real prophet,† though a bad man,) but whole races are clearly permitted to enjoy higher spiritual privileges than surrounding nations. The pious Joseph, type of the MESSIAS, recognizes the reality of the Egyptian priesthood‡ of his era; and in another peculiarly§ sacred portion of the elder Testament, we read, "An Ammonite or a Moabite shall not enter into the congregation of the LORD; even to their *tenth* generation shall they not enter: "Thou shalt not abhor an Edomite; for he is thy brother; thou shalt not abhor an Egyptian; because thou wast a stranger in his land. The children that are begotten of them shall enter into the congregation of the LORD in their *third* generation." So that the grandchild of an Edomite was really in a different position from the grandchild of a Moabite. The one might have the happiness of seeing his children, at least, become partakers of many privileges and blessings involved in God's covenant with Israel; the other could not possibly live to gaze upon that sight.

Turn we to nations less immediately within the sphere of Jewish influence. Were they equally favoured in the degree of approximations to Divine truth vouchsafed to them? Assuredly not. That has ever seemed to us a grand and comprehensive theory, and

* De Baptismo cont. Donatistas, (Tom. IX. p. 170. Ed. Bened.) The sentiment is oftentimes repeated by him elsewhere.

† Bishop Horsley's Sermons on Prophecy will be found amply to refute on this head the counter-assertions of Origen, Calvin, and other (very biassed) commentators.

‡ Genesis xlvii. 22, 26.

§ Deut. xxiii. 3, 7, 8. We say *peculiarly* sacred; 1. As belonging to the Pentateuch, of which the Jews believed the author to have enjoyed the highest degree of Inspiration, the *abrophia*. (See Numbers xii. 5—8; Deut. xxxiv. 10; and J. Smith on Prophecy, Cap. II.) 2. "As having a character of its own and containing much that throws the law into a new light." (Morris on Religion of Hindus, p. 118.) 3. As being frequently cited by our LORD and SAVIOUR; more especially, in answer to all the three temptations of the Evil One.

one not unsanctioned by Holy Writ, which supposes that the Angels, appointed as Guardian Princes over the several nations, may have been permitted to reveal different portions and sums of truth to their respective charges,* subject of course to the various tempers with which such knowledge might be sought and held, the resistance to, or the co-operation with, these mediate impulses of heavenly grace, the primary circumstances of the race† and the openings which it might afford for Satanic perversions of its acquisitions of sacred lore. Thus, for example, the ancient Persians appear to have been a favoured race. Minds of very different complexion agree in such an estimate of their creed and conduct in the world's history.‡ And we hold it therefore to be a legitimate conclusion from the analogy of the former dispensations, that it is in the highest degree probable, that men, who by no act of their own are in membership with schismatical bodies, may yet receive, not indeed the full blessings of that union with their REDEEMER, which is vouchsafed through the channels of grace placed by Him in the Holy Catholic Church, but still a portion of that blessing, in proportion as they hold fast and act upon what truths they know. A man so separated does not indeed attain to the privilege of union with the Head of the Church *through a body* as the channel of spiritual gifts, but he may still be permitted to have a personal union with CHRIST: we may well rejoice to believe of many that their case is such, we may well be humbled to see how by earnestness they often outstrip us in religious growth and stature: like the Centurion and the Syrophœnician displaying a faith greater than that of the Children of the Covenant,§ and in some cases gaining similar gifts and graces, albeit not without severer struggles.

We must then add one more condition to the four which we laid

* See again Morris on the Hindus, &c. p. 79. He discusses the following, among other, passages of Holy Writ. Daniel x. 13, 20; Ezekiel xxviii. 16; Genesis xxxii. 1, 2; Zechariah iv. 10; and the Septuagint version of Deut. xxxii. 8. "When the Highest divided the nations, when He dispersed the sons of Adam, He set the bounds of the nations according to the number of the Angels of God." This is shown to be by no means *inconsistent* with the Hebrew, and a mass of patristic authority is gathered from S. Clement, Origen, S. Jerome, S. Basil, S. Greg. Nyss. and S. Ephrem; with hints from Herodotus and Plato.

† The original curse on Ham's descendants and the diminution of favour shown to Lot's incestuous offspring may serve to illustrate this point.

‡ E.g. Professor Hengstenberg, on the Christology of the Old Testament (*ad inf.*); and Mr. Keble, who, in discussing two theories concerning the Persæ of Æschylus, (*Prælect. Academ. Monitum, ad fin.*), has said, "*Rem ipsam in ancipiti linquimus, ne vel poetæ laudatissimo, vel nobili Persarum genti, quam proximè a suis Hebræis caram fortasse habuit Divina Majestas, iniquiores esse videamur.*"

§ A strange overlooking of the Scriptural doctrine of *Covenanted Mercies* appears to have caused perplexity to a distinguished living commentator. Mr. Trench in his work on our REDEEMER'S Miracles is confessedly quite at a loss to account for the repulse at first given to the *Syrophœnician*. Surely no one who had grasped the idea of a Covenant made with the literal Israel of old and the spiritual Israel since could thus have faltered. Vide Dr. Hook's "Sermons suggested by the Miracles."—(in loc.)

down some few pages earlier ; namely, that the party seeking to hear the Church's voice on controverted questions be in full communion with the Church, and thereby with its Divine LORD and Founder ; otherwise he may indeed hear its call from without, as the heathen hears the voice of the Missionary ; or he may unconsciously admit its *dicta*, as the Dissenter is often unwittingly indebted for what orthodoxy he does possess to an external authority which he believes himself utterly to disclaim ; or he may with more lively consciousness catch echoes of its credences, as the heretic who is gradually feeling his way to the true fold ; but he will not, cannot hear in all its plenitude and glory that sound which is one utterance of the voice, which is upon many waters, powerful and full of majesty, breaking the cedars of Lebanon and dividing the flames of fire.

But all this assumes, it may be urged, one main point of the entire controversy : it assumes that men may know whether or not they *are* in the full enjoyment of this Covenant. With reference to this point, Mr. Lewis has observed, that his own reasonings simply lead to the practical conclusion, that every Christian should abide in that Communion wherein he was born, or if dissatisfied, choose another according to the best of his judgment ; a conclusion with which we do not feel disposed to quarrel, provided always that it be understood ; *firstly*, that he strive to act religiously, up to the light and convictions which he already possesses ; and *secondly*, that, with all possible realisation of the importance of a right decision in all that relates to his eternal welfare, he assign that supremacy to conscience, and especially the *prohibitory* conscience, which it does of right possess in all religious inquiry whatsoever. Our main objection to the tone of Mr. Lewis's disquisition upon the subject of religious authority, is the manner in which the intellect alone seems to be taken into account, and the other faculties of the human mind ignored. If it be replied, that the very nature of his work necessitated such a treatment of the matter, we rejoin that it is for the most part easy to perceive whether a writer, who is chiefly occupied with one phase of a subject, does or does not recognize the existence of other (to say the least) equally important phases. Thus, for example, no one could study Mr. Chretien's *Essay on Logical Method*,* and retain a doubt as to whether its author would be willing to apply to the research after religious truth, the cold hard canons of thought by which he would test the validity of chemical experiments. Even Mr. Mill, the *magnus Apollo* of the Essayist under our review, asserts, if we remember rightly, that to obtain a just conception of one view of a subject, we must strive to regard it in all other points of view. Mr Lewis has not done

* Parker, Oxford. 1848.

this, nor hinted at the existence of any but a purely intellectual consideration of the subject of religious authority, and therefore we repeat his reasonings will not be likely to satisfy any serious and thoughtful minds.

He has cited Jeremy Taylor as patronizing his own laxity of doctrine; but he has neglected to observe that this famous prelate spoke far more stringently towards the close of his career, and was led to allow greater weight then to patristic authority and the Canon of Vincentius.*

On behalf of our own line of reasoning, we might summon many great names and authorities, from Plato down to Christian doctors; more especially the disciples of Bishop Butler, that is to say, almost all apologists for Christianity who have written since the appearance of the *Analogy of Religion*. But if any reader has waded thus far with us through a tortuous and not very pellucid stream, we will now try to purchase his attention by the promise of a speedy termination to his toil.

The mention of conscience leads us to the last condition we must name as requisite for him who seeks to hear the Church's voice. Something inward there must be to correspond to external authority; we must needs have somewhat both *de la justice qui dicte les lois et de la conscience qui les observe*.† And the voice of conscience, like that of the ten commandments, is mainly, though not wholly, negative.‡ It certainly speaks more clearly in the forbidding of evil, than in the injunction of the right; though the two processes may oftentimes be so interwoven, as hardly to admit of separation. Hence it follows that, to use the language of Jeremy Taylor, "a man may prudently and piously hold a conclusion, which he cannot defend against a witty adversary; and this is no less the case, even though the wit be his own, and he himself his own adversary." The humblest intellect may say to the acute infidel, "I cannot answer your objection to this or that part of Holy Scripture: but this book is to me the book of life; it is *against my conscience* to resign one jot of my full belief in its inspiration." Will it be said, that such a principle will prove too much; that it will often avail to keep the Roman Catholic, and even the Dissenter, exactly where they now stand. We can see no reason for shrinking from the admission. Men whose loyalty to

* See Keble's Sermon on Primitive Tradition, Appendix. (P. 346 in the collected edition of 1847.) The passage in Plato's *Phædo*, subsequently alluded to, may be found in the same volume, p. 31, 2.

† *Revue des deux Mondes*, for 1 Novemb. 1849. On Public Instruction, by M. Albert de Broglie, a very brilliant, interesting and high-toned article.

‡ Those who have read a Sermon by the Rev. W. Sewell, preached at Oxford in the autumn of the year 1845, will remember this *negative prohibitory* power of conscience being strongly enforced therein. With submission, it seems to be rather over-stated, as compared with the authorities appealed to, Bishops Taylor and Sanderson.

the English Church stands unimpeached, such as Dr. Johnson and Mr. Archer Butler, (the latter a convert from Romanism,) have spoken strongly on the danger of rash attempts to unsettle the faith of those bred in obedience to Rome, the great responsibility entailed upon such as do it lightly, lest they merely pave the way for the influx of utter infidelity.* We may, on our part, have a right to demand weighty arguments of proof for accepting, e.g., the modern doctrine of the Papal Supremacy, but we cannot marvel if another brought up to regard such teaching as an integral portion of his faith, should profess inability to answer objections brought against it, together with a determination not to resign *conscientious* convictions. And in like manner with a Dissenter, whom we are striving to bring within the pale of the one fold of CHRIST. So long as he declares that his conscience forbids him to accept some doctrine of the Church, (as, for instance, that of Sacramental grace,) we may enjoin him to look closely that it is his conscience, and not obstinacy of will, or pride of intellect, which withholds him; we may strive to enlighten his conscience, and to prove that his difficulties have no firm foundation upon holy truth, but we surely cannot rightfully urge him to act in contradiction to that sacred voice, which demands respect even amidst prejudice and erroneous notions.

We have admitted that the Canon of Vincentius, though highly and often imperceptibly influential, is frequently difficult of application in cases of controversy. We have admitted that it is not *always* easy to hear what *is* the Church's voice on every mooted question. It may be argued then, that we hereby acknowledge members of the English Church to be at present in a worse position than any Christians of an earlier date; and further, that our admissions are inconsistent with that firm belief in the oneness of objective truth, which we asserted in another's words a few pages back. We deny the justice of either allegation.

For can any man pretend, that it must not in the very nature of things, often happen that the complex process of the Church's decision must needs suffer truth and error to hang in the balance, unsifted and unsettled, even for periods in which many inquiring hearts may be born, and live and die?† Will any one pretend that the condemnation of the Semi-arians, or of the Monothelite, or Pelagian heresies was so sudden and unmistakable, as to leave no anxious pause, wherein men might reasonably doubt how far they themselves were individually, albeit unwittingly and without intention, countenancing error? Even in that communion, which since the sixteenth century, claims to have spoken *most* dogmatically

* Boswell's Life, II. 264, (ed. 1807.) For Mr. Butler's sentiments, see the quotation in the "Ecclesiastic," No. XLIII.

† See Dr. Moberly on the Great Forty Days. P. 222, *et seq.*

upon the entire range of Christian theology, had there been no previous seasons of stern rivalry between Pope and Anti-Pope, wherein timid breasts must have cowered for fear, lest they should die in a state of estrangement from the fold of CHRIST? and since then, are there no tales of lamentation concerning the great question at issue in the eighteenth century, between Jansenist and Jesuit, no marks of yearning for some clear utterance of judgment between the Port-Royalists and their adversaries? Nay, is not at this moment the question of development, and another very solemn theory closely connected with it a very sore trial of spirit to many of her children? Her organs of opinion seem at least to indicate as much.*

And if the belief that particular Churches may (without forfeiting their Divine privileges of commission and existence,) have overlaid or distorted some parts of Sacred Truth, be inconsistent with the admission of the unity of Truth; it is incumbent on those who assert this to show how it can be in any degree more inconsistent with that admission than a theory, which involves the charge against such men as S. Bernard, and him who composed the most famous *Summa Theologiae*, that they not merely overlooked an important article of faith, implicitly held by the Church of their own age, but actually assailed with weapons of argument a dogma, soon perhaps to be pronounced *de fide*, and binding upon all in communion with Rome—the mysterious dogma of the Immaculate Conception.

Truth is one; but it seems to resemble some vast and many-sided crystal; abstractedly pure, transparent, regular in form; but not easily to be approached in such wise, that the position of the beholder shall secure him from all fore-shortening of certain of its sides, all hesitation as to the inclination of its angles. Truth is one: but not easily to be grasped in all its glorious unity, by individual minds, so long as they remain subject to the *idola*, inwrought by prejudice, climate, nation, temperament, so long, that is, as they are of this earth, and subject to human frailty and temptation. Truth is one: but not always, it may be, to be easily recognized as such, till in "some new and blessed Pentecost," the Holy Spirit shall bind in one the severed communities of Christendom, and fulfil even more signally than in previous ages the gracious promise to guide into all Truth.†

But ever, while the world lasts, the objective teaching, being one, shall dawn by degrees, and part by part upon the framework of individual minds, however blest in position and advantages. Just as growth in grace leads to a deeper and more humiliating self-knowledge, and ever increasing hatred of the thing that is evil,‡ so likewise does it engender a correlative realization of doctrine, even

* E. g. Brownson's "American Review," as opposed to the "Dublin Review."

† S. John xvi. 13.

‡ Ps. xcvi. 10. Prayer Book.

concerning "the deep things of God." One by one, like stars in the clear even, do fresh convictions enforce their own existence in the believer's heart and conscience, and become portions of his inmost soul. They were there before, but they did not vividly shine forth. Now they are palpable, and strike home. Perhaps the resurrection of the body, perhaps the temple it has been made, or the sacredness of all religious teaching and consequent hatefulness of heresy, perhaps some point in the doctrine of the Incarnation, or some kindred truth comes upon them with peculiar power. They held it indeed before, but it was loosely, almost as a matter of words: they see it now, how important in all its bearings, how weighty in its consequences. What they have so attained to, they have directly or indirectly gained through the channel of God's Church on earth: her voice in all they still yearn to hear, and trust, that if in anything they be otherwise minded, God shall reveal even this to them. The Eternal Wisdom speaketh now as of old, "Blessed is the man that heareth Me, watching daily at My gates, waiting at the posts of My doors. For whoso findeth Me findeth life, and shall obtain favour of the LORD. But he that sinneth against Me wrongeth his own soul: all they that hate Me love death."*

SHARPE'S DECORATED WINDOWS.

A Treatise on the Rise and Progress of Decorated Window Tracery in England, illustrated with ninety-seven woodcuts, and six engravings on steel; and with eight accompanying numbers of Illustrations. By EDMUND SHARPE, M.A., Architect. Van Voorst.

THE purchasers of Mr. Sharpe's series of "Decorated Windows" have waited long, and, if we may judge from our own experience, with impatience, for the concluding part: it has at length appeared, and we have now before us one of the most instructive, as well as one of the most elegant of the works yet published, on a subject which admits as much as any other of the union of interesting matter, with elaborate illustration.

The former numbers consist of steel-plates, giving the elevations of a large and well chosen selection of windows, extending over the whole of the period which can be assigned, by the most lax use of the words, to the reign of Decorated Tracery. The descriptive letter-press not only arranges the whole series, according to their

* Prov. viii. 34—36.

characters and dates, but gives a history of the growth of tracery from its elemental germs, to its utmost perfection. In the early part of the work we follow the author over ground which has been travelled again and again, and which must be passed and repassed by all who would obtain a precise notion of the origin and growth of tracery. The first person, so far as we know, to mark the stages of this progress in a correct and popular form, was Mr. Froude, in whose "Remains" (we refer to it by memory) there is a paper on this subject, illustrated with several engravings. Nothing very important, nothing at least involving another principle, has been added to Mr. Froude's essay; but Mr. Sharpe in the volume before us assigns the unconscious merit of suggesting the first forms of tracery to a much earlier period than that to which it is usually attributed. He carries us back to about the middle of the twelfth century, and places us before one of the east chapels of the north transept of Kirkstall, where we find two long narrow Norman lights, with a circle above them, so arranged beneath a pointed roof as to bring together the component parts of a two-light window of the close of the next century. "The relation which these three openings have to one another, and to the spaces in which they are situated, is too evident to permit us to doubt that in this arrangement we have the type of the elemental principle of Geometrical Tracery, and one of the earliest examples of *a circle carried by two arches*," p. 13. The resemblance cannot escape any one, with Mr. Sharpe's wood-cuts before him: it is however a different question, whether the relation of cause and effect exists between the several forms thus brought together. It is enough that there is no improbability that it may be so; and happy doubtless was the man, whether his name has come down to us, or has long since perished, who, living and working among the severer forms of Fountains or Kirkstall, first, as he brooded over his plans, compass and rule in hand, beheld the circle assume its fitting place between the heads of two contiguous lancets: happier still, could he have seen the results of his design in the nicely balanced circles in the windows of Ripon and Grantham; in the endless varieties of geometrical forms in the sportively varied lights of the chapel of Balsall Temple; in the eccentric figures, too much like petrified conceit, yet pretty still, of Whitby and Great Bedwyn; or in the perfect equipoise, and in the exuberance of graceful forms, in the east window of Carlisle, "the queen of curvilinear windows." And yet even here the vision of the results of his discovery (if his modesty should not decline the word) would not be bounded. Not windows only, but almost all arcaded spaces admitted the new element; and all panelling in wood and stone repeated the familiar forms. But alas! the vision, like all other visions, if they are true ones, of a sublunary future, is shadowed with coming evil, and our friend of the compass and the rule, might wish his circles

untraced, could he see the hard dry panels, and the coarse unmeaning rectilinear tracery of another age, displacing the grand flowing lines originating in the west window, and expanding over the whole gable in York Minster: and yet all this too must clearly be traced in its original to the same source with all other tracery and panelling. We will not now, however, awaken any such unwelcome anticipations in his hopeful, trustful spirit, for our present view of window tracery does not extend beyond, though it extends up to, the extreme verge of the age of beauty.

Mr. Sharpe is not content with following the development of *tracery* alone: he also pursues the subjects of *cusping* and *moulding* through all the successive periods of which he treats. In declining to follow him here, we must not be supposed to make light of these elements of beauty in Gothic windows, but our pages are hardly the place for anything more than a general view of the subject.

Having, in the chronological arrangement of windows, distributed them under four heads, *Lancet*, *Geometrical*, *Curvilinear*, and *Rectilinear*, Mr. Sharpe first carries on the indications of gradual development from the simplest geometrical forms, as seen in the two-light window of Elton, Croft, or Warmington, through the reduplication of it in four-light, such as Howden, (south-transept,) and six-light windows, such as Ripon and Raunds, to the most complicated figures presented by the Early Geometrical forms; in which, however, the principle of design is so uniform, that windows of an odd number of lights, to which it cannot readily be adapted, are comparatively rare, while the gradual growth of larger out of smaller windows, might almost be expressed by a geometrical series, thus: taking the single circle resting on two lancets, as the root, and calling it a , the four-light window of Howden would follow as a^2 , Ripon as a^3 , and the east window of Lincoln Cathedral, "the queen of windows of the geometrical period," in which this principle is carried through eight lights, as a^4 .

"If we analyze the design of this window, we shall find that the tracery contains three orders of mouldings, the first of which indicates the leading feature of the design, a large circle carried by two pointed arches; each of these arches have smaller arches, carrying also a circle, the outline of which is traced by the second order of mouldings; and lastly, each of these smaller arches is similarly sub-divided; the third order of mouldings defining the outline of the smallest pair of arches, which bears like the others a circle above them." P. 64.

It is not strange that this kind of repetition became at last somewhat irksome, and that in an age in which perfection was ardently sought, some escape from it was attempted; and we come accordingly to another type of tracery, still Geometrical, but distinctly distinct to be described as a sub-style. Here the

pointed trefoil makes its appearance, "which may be considered as characteristic a feature of the late Geometrical, as the foliated circle was of the Early Geometrical Period." This form is nowhere seen to greater advantage than in the east window of Ripon, the centre piece of which is filled with three pointed and three circular trefoils; this character of tracery continued in use, together with some indications of a change in style, till we come to that noble east window of Wellingborough, which may be selected as marking the termination of the Geometrical period, and the commencement of the next: a very slight alteration in the design would convert it into one of pure curvilinear character.

This use of a peculiar trefoil is not, however, the only effort made to avoid the more simple geometrical forms. In several windows, of which that at Whitby may be called the type, there are in the place of the simple circle, or triangle, certain eccentric figures, without a name in science or in art, and chiefly remarkable for their utter repulsion from simplicity of outline. In a single figure of this kind at Whitby, (and it is by no means among the most complex,) parts of no fewer than twenty-four circles are combined. In this case, the general result is a square broken into points and cusps; in another example which Mr. Sharpe figures, the pattern is composed of two interlacing triangles, drawn on the same eccentric principle. In one instance, that of Great Bedwyn, figures of this character actually disturb the primary lines of the tracery: in short we have here the utmost licence which can consist with the exclusive use of the most exact of all instruments, the compass.

The primary lines of the tracery, as well as the accessorial part, were during the whole course of this style, assuming various characters. (1) At first we found a circle carried by two independent arches. By and by, (2) the window head was divided by two main arches of the same curvature as the window arch into two equal portions, the head being filled with tracery of various forms, concluded in a circle; and at last, (3) the window head was filled with tracery, having no such equal divisions of parts by means of tracery. These three sub-divisions have their parallels in the next, or Curvilinear style, at the commencement of which, (1) there was a general tendency to have a centre piece, which was treated much as the circle had been treated in the first sub-division of the Geometrical Period: then (2) Subarcuation was employed and the upper portion of the arch was filled with tracery, not essentially connected with that of the two sides; and (3) the whole space of the window head was filled with tracery, no part of which was formed into separate side groups, complete in themselves. Of the first of these classes in the Geometrical Period, some of the principal figures of Mr. Sharpe are Howden, (south transept,) Raunds, Ripon, Rudston, Warmington, and Grantham; with which

may be compared in the Curvilinear Period, those of Heckington, Selby, Sleaford, Cottingham, Nantwich, and many others. In the second class, of the two styles respectively, Billingborough, Cartmel, Wells (Chapter-house,) Whitby, Great Bedwyn, Trent, (south side of tower,) and Lichfield, may be compared with the magnificent east window of Carlisle Cathedral, or with the west window of Durham; and finally, with the geometrical windows of the third class, among which are Trinity Church, Hull, (south transept,) and Cartmel, (south chancel-aisle,) may be compared the following of the Curvilinear Period; Hedon, Yorkshire, Great Claybrook, Leicestershire, and all those windows commonly called reticulated, as that in the east gable of Selby, where as usual the reticulations are filled with quatrefoils, and the much more beautiful windows of the Lady Chapel at Wells,* in which the reticulations are of spherical triangles, and trefoiled.

But we must check ourselves in the use of Mr. Sharpe's labours. It ought to be the object of a review to stimulate, and not to satisfy curiosity, on subjects which have been worthily treated. We have, however, one or two little questions to moot before we leave Mr. Sharpe's volume.

As a matter of opinion, in which he, like every one else of real and cultivated taste, will allow us to differ from him, we are disposed to think that he has allowed far too little merit to one of those windows which we must ever place in the very first class of Curvilinear windows—we mean the great west-window of York Minster. This window is included in Mr. Sharpe's first class, or those which contain a large oval centre piece, supported and bounded by two ogee arches: of this class, it is mentioned as the largest and most remarkable window, but with the addition of these depreciating observations:—

“ Although possessing, in its composition, less of the true spirit of the class than, perhaps, any of the windows which we have been considering, it has still two large ogee arches, carrying the primary mouldings, and symmetrical, moreover, in form, and which support a large triple centre-piece, consisting of three kite-shaped compartments, filled with foliated openings of uniform character, resembling flowers, in place of the usual rich oval centre-piece of the class. It is the monotonous effect produced by the feather-like uniformity of the whole of the subordinate tracery in the upper portion of this window, as well as want of harmony in the design itself, which takes from it that prominence to which its great size and elaborate character would seem to entitle it; and it is on these accounts that it cannot be compared with its great rival at Carlisle, which, in simplicity and elegance of outline, as well as in richness of detail, immeasurably surpasses it.” P. 101.

* All the windows, except the last mentioned, are figured either in this series, or in the *Architectural Parallels*.

Now we have no desire to depreciate Carlisle, that we may aggrandize York; but it seems to us, in the first place, that the latter belongs to a higher class than Carlisle: that a subarcuated window has less right than any other to be treated as one grand design; for the two sides are but repetitions of each other; the centre is sometimes, indeed often, of a very different character.

This is remarkably the case with Carlisle. Each side of four lights is an extremely beautiful window; but it has none of that peculiar expression, which the centre derives from three quatrefoiled circles, which stand out from all the surrounding tracery with as great predominance of character, as the eyes and the mouth in the human face. We cannot hope to be understood except by those who have the window, or a perfect elevation of it, (such as Mr. Sharpe's) before them; but we would ask all, with this opportunity of forming their judgment, whether, on such an analysis, they can give any reason why the sides and the centre of this boasted complication of tracery should occur together; and whether they cannot give this strong reason why they should not—that there should be, however great the variety of *detail*, a unity of *expression*, in every traceried window. Still Carlisle has almost a prescriptive title to be called the finest of our Decorated windows; and we would not attempt to disturb this right, except where it is placed in so marked opposition to that of a window, which for our part we greatly prefer.

The rival window at York has eight lights only. The two groupings of lights which support the great centre piece are not of sufficient relative size to suggest the idea of separate windows, and to be judged as such; an advantage which that window has over Carlisle in common with the rest of its class. Above these the tracery is gorgeous in the extreme, and remarkably free from any feature not in harmony with the general expression of the whole. Exuberance and power seem to be equal elements in its composition. The running up of the central mullion like a tall palm, almost to the top, where it throws off its wide spread cluster of feathered leaves, has been accounted a defect, but we believe it greatly helps the majesty of the whole design; and the thickness of the tracery bars, which are more massive than usual, gives to the whole as great force and weight, (in a good sense) as is consistent with extreme grace.

Moreover, no window has more injustice done to it than this, by separating it from the rest of the elevation of which it forms a part. The door beneath it is indeed of late geometrical character; but around and above all is a mass of panelling which seems to be thrown off from it—overflowings of its majesty and beauty. Not only its own pediment is thus made one with it, but the gable of the nave behind, though an open parapet, with a pathway before it, intervenes, takes up the subject, and gives it the crowning

beauty. Where all this can be said with truth, and we appeal to all who have studied the west front of York with attention, that it *can* be said with truth,—it is a great injustice to the window to judge it without reference to all its accessories.

There are one or two other windows which we would gladly have seen figured in this series, that we might have studied them with the advantage of Mr. Sharpe's comment. The first is the east window of All Saints' Church, Maldon, Essex; a geometrical design of five lights, subarcuated, with a beautiful centre piece of eight rays, composed of segments of circles, the spaces filled with trefoil triangles, themselves subtrefoiled; the whole suggesting the idea of a wheel in motion, throwing off animated triangles in its revolutions. A circle of similar principle, but less elaborate, adorns the head of each of the side compartments. This very singular window is figured by Mr. Hadfield, who also gives the east window of Tilty Church, Essex: a curvilinear window of five lights, the central light, and the composite side compartments formed by the two outer lights on either side, supporting a magnificent circular centre piece, of a radius of four feet. It seems to us that almost every beauty belonging to Decorated tracery is here combined, and almost every difficulty surmounted.* The tracery is very full, without confusion, the whole and every part is perfectly balanced. The subordination of mouldings of which there are four orders is beautifully managed, and the number of cusped spaces in the head is no fewer than thirty-five. Carlisle, a nine-light window, has forty-five,—if it were elaborated in the same proportion it would have eighty-one.

Ecclesiology has been of late so favourite a study, that perhaps it is too much to say that this work of Mr. Sharpe's will tend to make it still more popular; certainly however it will do good service in strengthening its hold on the mind of the people.

DR. LAMB'S ARATUS.

The Phenomena and Diosemeia of Aratus, translated into English Verse, with notes. By JOHN LAMB, D.D., Master of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, and Dean of Bristol. Pp. 128.

IN one respect we are especially pleased by the Dean of Bristol's having published a translation of Aratus, (though our notice of it is rather late) in that it is a breaking of new ground. Our Greek scholars for the last fifty years have confined themselves to so narrow a range of study, that the numberless works of information as well

* There is a very slight defect on the top of the outer lights arising from the difficulty of fusing their arches into the lines of the tracery above.

as of taste and genius, which lie beyond the limits of Homer and the best Attic writers are almost a terra incognita. It is well to make any step towards the wide and sound classical knowledge of the scholars of the seventeenth century, and a translation of Aratus may tempt others to explore this extensive field.

Dr. Lamb has not produced, we think, a powerful translation: it falls very far short of the grace and majesty of his original, which in the best days of Latin literature was regarded, it seems, as second only to Homer.

Dr. Lamb has however prefixed an interesting life of the Poet, and an introduction containing much that is curious on the subject of the origin of the celestial sphere and its constellations among the ancients. The Greeks (he observes) were always said to have borrowed their knowledge of the sphere from the Egyptians: they, in turn, as Dr. Lamb conceives, derived it from the Assyrians and Phœnicians, combining in one the two distinct schemes of the constellations received by those earlier nations. The Assyrians—the earliest of astronomers, maintaining a traditionary knowledge and reverence for their progenitors—imagined in the constellations the history of mankind; and that chiefly under human figures. The Phœnician mariners, studying the heavens as guides in navigation, pictured in them the animals which were the favourite emblems and heads of their ships, Pegasus, i. e., “the bridled horse” (in the Hebrew and Phœnician tongue), the Ram, the Bull, the Swan, the Dolphin, and the Whale. “Had we,” says Dr. Lamb, “the Babylonian sphere unmutated, it would be a picture history from Adam to the time of its invention, commencing from the north: the two Chariots”—for such (*ἀμάξαι*) was the Babylonian picture for our two Bears, “like Charles’ wain” revolving round the pole, turning each way, one to the east and one to the west, and never setting, with Draco, the great Serpent, between them, were emblems of “the Cherubim,” (we remind our readers of the first chapter of the prophet Ezekiel) “and the flaming sword turning every way. The first figure of which Aratus and the early astronomers give us a description from the tradition they had received, is that of a labouring Man, ‘a man doomed to labour:’ his name is unknown: the cause of his task is unknown, he is in an attitude of supplication, kneeling down on his right knee, hence his title Engonasin (*ἐν γόνασιν*) Geniculator, his left foot treads on the dragon’s head: he is naked, and bears on one arm the skin of a beast. That this figure represents our first parent as described in the third chapter of Genesis there can be no doubt.” The name of Adam, as Dr. Lamb naturally suggests, was lost, from Adam meaning a man—so it would be Adam (a man) doomed to labour, or a labouring man. “The name of the next figure, translated from that which he bore on the Babylonian sphere into Greek is, *Ὀφιοῦχος*, ‘Ophiuchus,’ ‘Serpentarius,’ ‘qui tenet serpentem,’ ‘the man who holds or restrains the serpent.’ Here

then. follows close upon Adam, 'the promised seed,' that is, Seth, who, in the early period of the human race, was considered to be the promised seed." Dr. Lamb refers to Gen. iv. 25, he would probably include the critical interpretation of Gen. iv. 1 :—"I have gotten *the* man from the LORD"—in the grounds of his statement. But we should think it quite as likely that the figure should be that of a future expected SAVIOUR as of Seth, that the picture of the condemnation of man should contain in juxta-position the figure of the Deliverer yet hoped for, and that we might as fairly believe that the promised seed was regarded by the Assyrians as yet to come—as that He was believed to be already come—that the great promise was still regarded as the object of faith and hope, and not as already exhausted in the past. But to pass by this. "In like manner," Dr. Lamb proceeds, "the traces of other antediluvians may be found north of the equator; south of it we have Argo, the hinder part of the Ark, as it might be seen at that time on Mount Ararat :"—and the Altar of Noah, as he observes in another place,—“the Raven resting on the Hydra, 'the water snake;'" all the fables, we are informed, relating to this bird represent his having been sent by Apollo to fetch water, not returning in proper time, and then with an empty vessel, evidently in allusion to the raven sent from the ark, Gen. viii. 7.—“The Centaur (Noah) bearing (*ἑρπύων*) a victim, an offering, or as some say (*οἶνον ἀσπὸν*) a flask of wine; and not far distant, Orion (Nimrod) 'the giant,' the mighty hunter.”

After this curious extract, we will recall the description of our first parent—doomed to labour, by Dr. Lamb's metrical translation of that passage of Aratus. It is a beautiful picture of man, fallen, toiling, praying, lifting up his hands, stretching towards what is above, and treading on the enemy :—

“A LABOURING MAN next rises to our sight,
But what his task—or who this honoured wight—
No Poet tells. Upon his knee he bends,
And hence his name ΕΝΘΟΝΑΣΙΝ descends.
He lifts his suppliant arms and dares to rest
His right foot on the scaly Dragon's crest.”—p. 35.

We cannot agree with Dr. Lamb's notion that S. Paul quoted the whole of the opening verses of Aratus in his address to the Athenians. For we conceive that the Apostle's object was to show the spiritual nature of the Deity; in that we, who “are His offspring,” are really spiritual beings—*νοῦς ἐστίν ὁ ἀνθρώπος*—and therefore we ought not to think “that the Godhead is like unto gold or silver, or stone graven by art and man's device,”—a view, be it observed, which would raise the Apostle in the esteem of his philosophic audience, and prepare them to listen to him with more ready attention. Dr. Lamb conceives that the Apostle's view was to adduce

their own authorities for the doctrine of the eternity, unity, and omnipotence of the Godhead; but we think the entire passage is almost if not quite as open to a pantheistic interpretation [see Dr. Lamb's note, p. 83], and would so far have been a sanction of the miserable error of the Stoics which, as developed by the later philosophy of Alexandria, proved the great antagonist view to the doctrines of the gospel. We will quote the passage itself, only observing this—that the few words quoted by S. Paul suggest directly the opposite view to that of the Pantheists; they seem to say we, His offspring, are persons—individual originals of actions—He therefore is so likewise:—

“ Let us begin from Jove. Let every mortal raise
His grateful voice to tune Jove's endless praise.
Jove fills the heaven—the earth—the sea—the air :
We feel his spirit moving here, and every where.
AND WE HIS OFFSPRING ARE. He ever good
Daily provides for man his daily food.
Ordains the seasons by his signs on high,
Studding with gems of light the azure canopy.
What time with plough and spade to break the soil,
That plenteous stores may bless the reaper's toil,
What time to plant and prune the vine he shows,
And hangs the purple cluster on its boughs.
To him—the First—the Last—all homage yield,
Our Father—Wonderful—our Help—our Shield.”

We will only add, that the notes are interesting as explaining the poem by the observations of a man of science and a scholar, and illustrating the whole subject of classical astronomy.

We have dwelt gladly on this subject;—it is a pleasure to meet the Dean of Bristol on a literary ground, and we hope the imaginative turn, and good thoughts of this work may be moulded to an appreciation of the music of the sanctuary, more majestic, and more harmonious than that of the spheres.

THE CRISIS.

1. *Resolutions, &c.* By ARCHDEACON MANNING, and others.
2. *A Letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury.* By the BISHOP OF EXETER.
3. *The Present Crisis of the Church of England.* By W. J. IRONS, B.D.
4. *A Letter to the Rev. W. Maskell.* By the REV. W. MAYOW, M.A.
5. *A few Words of Hope on the Present Crisis of the English Church.* By the REV. J. M. NEALE, M.A.
6. *The Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, and the Petition for a Church Tribunal in lieu of it.* By an ANGLICAN LAYMAN.

SINCE we met our readers last, the Crisis which we then announced has still further developed itself; and it is impossible for any one who is able to understand what Christian doctrine is, and the manner ordained for its preservation and dissemination among men any longer to doubt, that the English Church has arrived at a conjuncture of circumstances which must determine absolutely whether or no she is to continue a living branch in the One True Vine. Let us not be misunderstood. We do not presume to say that it will be in the power of any of us to determine this question without risk of error; nor do we mean that any man may venture to let his course of action turn, as though on a single cast of the die, upon the adoption of such or such measures by the Church within a certain fixed limit of time. This might be to claim too much for our fallible judgments. But of this we feel sure, that in the councils of God, the continuance or removal of our candlestick will be determined by the spirit in which the Church meets the discovery of her relation with the State which has been gradually brought to light during the few last weeks, and is now consummated in the judgment of the Committee of Privy Council, leaving the question of Baptismal Regeneration open and undefined, and demonstrating beyond controversy that it is in the power of the sovereign acting by the consent of her ministers, or in other words, her parliament, to decide what is and what is not *de fide*. It is true that the judgment is studiously indecisive. It is true that it altogether declines grappling with the arguments of the court below, whose sentence it yet presumes to reverse. It is true that the ventilation of the question has utterly shaken the *locus standi* of the Low Church party. It is true that the judgment supports itself by false quotations, by a parallel which is no parallel at all, by a supposed *reductio ad absurdum*.

dum,* which is a strict and positive truth. Yet there it is: the judgment of the Supreme and Final Court of Appeal to which the English Church has access; and whatever may be thought of it now, there is no doubt, as is remarked in that very ably-drawn document which stands first at the head of this article, that "the Church of England will eventually be bound by the said sentence, unless it shall openly and expressly reject the erroneous doctrine sanctioned thereby." To criticize and ridicule the judgment is mere child's play. It is the formal decision of a tribunal at least legally competent: and if churchmen are content now to sit still, or to indulge in merely empty protests and addresses of condolence, it becomes the law and judgment of the Church. And what then will be the result? "The conscious, deliberate, and wilful abandonment of the essential meaning of an Article of the Creed will destroy the divine foundation upon which alone the entire faith is propounded by the Church. And any portion of the Church which does so abandon the essential meaning of an Article of the Creed forfeits not only the Catholic doctrine in that Article, but also the office and authority to witness and teach as a member of the Universal Church; and can no longer assure to its members the grace of the Sacraments and the remission of sins." Should this decision continue the law of the land, we must expect of course that the Churches of Scotland and America—yea, and we believe many of her own Colonial Daughters—will withdraw from communion with her.

Further, it must, we repeat, with shame be admitted that this tampering with Catholic doctrine has not been forced upon us illegally, but only in the discharge of a trust which the Church has consciously and solemnly surrendered to the State. We say consciously: for, as was shown in our last Number, the Act of William IV. constituting the present Court of Appeal was only the legitimate result of a power confided to the State at the Reformation.

The injury inflicted upon the Church then has been two-fold: her doctrine has been depraved: and her liberty violated. And the question at once ensues, Which shall we try first of all to remedy? Is it best to try immediately to recover the Church's liberty; and then leave her to vindicate her own doctrine by a synodical act or in any other way that she may think fit? Or should we content ourselves with solemnly repudiating the heretical interpretation that has been imposed upon our formularies, and seek another opportunity of claiming for the Church that freedom of synodical action which was faithfully promised to her upon the word of a sovereign,† but which has now for nearly a century and a half been denied to her.

* We allude to the argument, that we must consider the promises of faith and repentance to be implied in Private Baptism. "Any other conclusion," say these learned Judges, "would be an argument to prove that none but the imperfect and incomplete ceremony allowed in the exceptional case would be necessary in any case." Of course nothing more is necessary in order to the completeness of the Sacrament. The matter and the form, the words and the water alone are of the essence of Baptism.

† See King James's Declaration prefixed to the 39 Articles. "Out of our princely

Much doubtless might be said in favour of either of these courses of action. On the one side we might argue that the evil lies deeper than the mere forcing upon us a single heretical judgment. This judgment only lays bare a condition of things which has long since existed, although the great majority of us have up to this time been ignorant of the fact; and as we are now to all appearance robbed of one Article of Christian Doctrine, so in like manner may we successively be despoiled of many others. According to the principles laid down by Lord Langdale, it would be impossible for the Church to defend the Apostolic rite of Confirmation if disputed. Or (what is really at the present moment a most likely object of attack) should the Inspiration of Holy Scripture be impugned, it would, we conceive, be impossible to convict the person propounding such a view of heresy, so long as this judgment is unrepealed. "If there be any doctrine (says the Court of Appeal) on which the Articles are silent or ambiguously expressed so as to be capable of two meanings; we must suppose that it was intended to leave that doctrine to private judgment, unless the Rubrics and Formularies clearly and distinctly decide it." Now the Articles, it is plain, say nothing whatever about the Inspiration of Holy Scripture, nor does the Prayer Book. Consequently, upon the principles here laid down "we must suppose that it was intended to leave that doctrine to private judgment." Convocation cannot pronounce upon the question, for her voice is silenced. And though Sir Herbert Jenner Fust might, upon the authority of ancient Councils, condemn any individual denying the Inspiration of the Bible, the judgment must infallibly be reversed by the Committee of Privy Council. This instance may suffice to show that all parties are equally concerned in the danger now impending over the Church, and one advantage which might be looked for in taking our stand upon this point, rather than upon the question of Regeneration in Baptism, is, that we might hope more effectually to carry men of all parties with us.

It is true that it may be many years before another question concerning the interpretation of doctrine shall be brought before this Court of Appeal. It may be one year, or it may be one hundred years. But our duty as a Church is surely quite irrespective of probable or possible events: that cannot depend upon the uncertain issue of futurity. The power to interpret doctrines is at this moment actually vested in a Court of laymen, every one of whom may at any time be without the Communion of the Church—heretics or infidels—not one of whom is necessarily in the smallest degree conversant with Ecclesiastical law or custom. And should the Church tamely acquiesce in this spoiling of her inalienable

care that the Churchmen may do the work which is proper unto them, the Bishops and Clergy from time to time in Convocation upon their humble desire, shall have licence under our broad seal to deliberate of, and to do all such things, as being made plain by them, and assented unto by us, shall concern the settled continuance of the Doctrine and Discipline of the Church of England now established."

rights, and of that commission with which she has been invested by her Divine Founder, she must be held to have forfeited her prophetic office, and will speedily become a dead Branch in the Vine. To say that we shall have done our duty by petitioning and protesting is simply ridiculous. A "candle that is put under a bushel" may as well not exist at all: and God Himself, we may justly expect, will extinguish it.

So much at least might very justly be urged in favour of a demand for the instant revival of Convocation, with full liberty to deliberate upon all matters touching the Church's welfare. And then certainly the whole question of the relation between Church and State must come under review. Neither can arguments be wanting, of a nature too quite in harmony with the spirit of the age, for enforcing its re-adjustment. The compact now existing bears all the marks of Tudor tyranny. And if liberty has since been extended to all classes of her Majesty's subjects, both in matters civil and religious, on what possible ground can a similar boon be denied to churchmen? Emancipation has freely been granted to Roman Catholic and Protestant alike; and we must demand it for ourselves. Never did Statutes so defeat their expressed object as those of Henry and Elizabeth, to which we referred last month. The intention of their framers was to destroy the power of the Roman See in England. The effect of them is that they are driving persons into the arms of that very See; and must infallibly force many more in the same direction; (for we are persuaded, experience will show that there is no middle course;) unless the Church does gird on her armour and commence the struggle, (not rashly or out of momentary spleen, but calmly and deliberately,) for a just measure of freedom. And if the submission of the Church were at the first wrong, or mistaken, or even questionable, the course of time has aggravated that wrong or inconvenience a thousand fold. At the epoch of the Reformation and long subsequently the Church might well repose a large measure of confidence in her own Court of Convocation, which could vindicate the purity of her doctrine whencesoever it were assailed. No such safeguard now exists on the side of the Church; while the danger to be apprehended is greatly enhanced, both by the altered character of the Parliament, which at the time of the passing of the Act in question consisted exclusively of Churchmen, as well as by the virtual transfer of the Supremacy from the person of the individual Sovereign, who then believed himself to be endowed with a certain sacred, semi-sacerdotal, power (by which he claimed the actually divine prerogative of healing the sick by his "touch") to the prime minister of the day, who, in his turn, is the nominee of a creedless Parliament. This is tying "a fixed Tudor Supremacy to a shifting Brunswick Constitution!"

This is the line of argument taken by "an Anglican Layman."

"You are beginning at the wrong end [in asking for a Church Tribunal in lieu of the Judicial Committee of Privy Council]; so long as there is a binding compact between the Church and the State, that the Church shall confine her teaching within certain specified limits, a demand for distinct Church Courts, which shall have the power to interpret the terms of the compact independently of the State, is, on the face of it, unreasonable; you must, as a preliminary step, petition to be freed from the compact which enslaves and controls you, and from the Supremacy which, even if reasonable when the Monarch was Monarch, ceased to be so when other authorities were associated with the Monarchy, if not substituted for it. Petition against the 'Act of Submission' and the Royal Supremacy, or else repudiate it, and then you may talk of independent Church Courts."—(p. 14.)

It is a remarkable coincidence that even laymen are beginning to object to the Oath of Supremacy. We allude to the petitions of Lords Clancarty and Bradford, presented to the House of Peers by Lord Brougham, and, we believe, supported by him.

Mr. Mayow's very sensible pamphlet, we may here just mention, and Mr. Irons (of whom we shall have to say more hereafter) both advise an immediate demand for Convocation.

The other alternative is to proceed to an immediate vindication of the doctrine assailed. And the arguments of those who adhere to this view are both many and weighty. First they will dwell upon the fundamental and essential character of the doctrine in question, which lies at the very root of the spiritual life. Next, forecasting that this attack upon the Catholic Faith will not stand alone, they urge that the present Article is one which admits peculiarly well of defence. Mr. Neale has some very forcible observations* bearing upon this point.

"Is it not a mark (he asks) of God's care over her, that the point for which the English Church is now called to fight, is one on which her Catholicity is so palpable, so undeniable? Supposing for a moment that the other great Sacrament had been called in question. At what disadvantage should we then have contended! How much more plausible would have been the Zuinglian explanation! How much less of absolute downright proof could we have produced on our own side! Of all possible battle-fields, Baptism is that, not even excepting Absolution, on which we fight to most advantage, and on which we shall conquer most triumphantly."

* Mr. Neale's Tract contains several very valuable passages—but his main argument, we cannot but feel, admits of being turned directly against the Church. His "hope" is chiefly grounded on the several successive revivals that have taken place within her since the Reformation, as under Laud, by the "Evangelical" movement of the last century, and chiefly that which we are now witnessing. But might not an opponent rejoin, that Laud was murdered, Wesley forced into schism, and the most learned, pious, and devoted sons and daughters of the English Church at the present day barely tolerated?

And again—

“It will be granted by them, I imagine, that the formularies of the Prayer Book not only assert the doctrine of Baptismal Regeneration, but do so expressly, definitely, dogmatically; that they do so in the most solemn manner, by assuming the gift, and, on that assumption, thanking God for having bestowed it. Nor will it be denied that they could hardly assert any doctrine more definitely and more dogmatically: and that, if we were summoned to alter the office of Baptism, so as to preclude the possibility of the truth ever being called into question, we should find it extremely difficult to fence it with any additional bulwarks.

“But I will go further than this: and will say that neither among the Eastern offices of Baptism,—all of which I know well,—Constantinopolitan, Copto-Jacobite, Armenian, Syro-Jacobite, Ethiopic, Nestorian—nor, to the best of my belief and research, among those of the West, is there one which so unequivocally asserts the unconditional Regeneration of an infant as our own office. In other words, of no other Church under the sun could it be affirmed with such plenitude of certainty, that it asserts the doctrine of Baptismal Regeneration, as of our own. It really seems to be almost providential that the opening of the Roman office was abrogated in our own books. It begins, as every one knows, by the Priest’s inquiring of the Godfather—‘What seekest thou from the Church of God? Faith. What doth faith procure for thee? Eternal life.’—Now, if this were so in our office, what ingenious reasons, what recondite arguments, would have been produced to prove that the faith of the parent, or of the sponsor, or of the congregation, or the hypothetical future faith of the child,—was asserted by the Church to be a pre-requisite to regeneration. Now, not a subterfuge,—not a loophole,—not the shadow of a doubt can be discovered, or can be made, in the service, *except one*.

“That one, I need not say, is the ‘charitable hypothesis.’”

The clearing of the Church from the charge of duplicity and double dealing which is involved in this “hypothesis,” does really seem indispensable to the interests of morality and truthfulness. For surely, as the Bishop of Exeter argues, such an authoritative tampering with plain words must lead to infidelity and indifference. It must loosen the very roots of faith in the land. If the expressions of the Prayer Book in this instance are to go for nothing, then surely Creeds and Canons must also go along with them. It is not only that they will be henceforth so much waste paper: they will be a snare upon the conscience; a solemn religious equivocation; a continual corrupting of that virtue which may still yet happily be called national—the virtue of truthfulness.

Further it will be an argument that comes home to the minds of many quiet Christians, that this is a contest to which God is manifestly calling them. The religious temper shrinks instinctively from strife and agitation. But here the aggression is publicly made, and on so critical a matter that there is positively no room for scruple.

Once more, a question of mere doctrine, some will think, may be maintained with less risk of exciting the jealousy of the State, than if we go to demand a surrender of a power deliberately conferred by the Church, and ever since practically recognized and obeyed. Against this argument, however, may be set the probability that on the question of the revival of Convocation, a greater unanimity might be found to exist among the Clergy. At least the opposition would not follow the old hereditary channels of party spirit. The Archbishop of Dublin, would be found on the same side as Archdeacon Manning; and high and low Church Clergy are alike anxious for a spiritual legislature.

On the whole then we should say that the arguments in behalf of the two different courses are very nearly balanced. And it may reasonably be hoped that if the Church ever again in any form regain her voice, she will not be easily reduced to silence, till many of her existing sores are healed.

For ourselves then we are ready to follow either course which those who possess the confidence of the Church prescribe. The Bishop of Exeter, (than whom we agree with Mr. Mayow in thinking, "the English Church has had none since Laud of greater heart to do or suffer all that may be needful in her cause") calls on the Archbishop of Canterbury to "summon his com-provincial Bishops; and invite them to declare what is the faith of the Church on the article impugned in this judgment." The "Resolutions" prefixed to our article suggest indifferently the addressing the Primate with the same view, *or* the asking licence for Convocation *to declare the doctrine*. In either course, we say, we are prepared to acquiesce; only we would say that when Convocation meets, there are many other subjects which must perforce engage her attention, besides the doctrine of Baptismal Regeneration. Begin then if you please with that, but deceive not yourself with imagining that there can be an end of the Church's legislative functions. Parliament is busy now in reviewing all the relations of the State; and seems daily more and more disposed to revise and modify her relations with the Church. How then shall the Church have nothing to say in the matter? Who is to represent her interests? How is her voice to be expressed? How is it possible to make a compact when one party only is consulted?

Mr. Irons' Pamphlet, of which we have reserved all notice to the end, has been written with the best intentions: but this is all that can justly be alleged in its favour. We should have expected from its author abler arguments, clearer reasoning, and a more accurate acquaintance with the law than he appears to possess. Mr. Irons endeavours to prove that the Royal Supremacy before and after the Reformation, was, in all essential points, the same power. The instances he adduces to show how Ecclesiastical Supremacy was exercised prior to the Reformation are not to the point; being, for

the most part, cases of attempted usurpation on the part of the Crown, strenuously resisted by the Church. In those ages, the Church was solemnly declared to be *free*, and its freedom was guaranteed, again and again, by Sovereigns, and by parliaments. Undoubtedly, the English kings attempted to gain undue influence over the ecclesiastical power; but was not the whole feeling of the country enlisted against them? Did not Archbishops go into exile, rather than submit? and were they not accompanied to the shores of England, by a sympathizing populace, applauding their firmness, and beseeching their blessing? These are circumstances which Mr. Irons ought not to have overlooked.

In alluding to the Reformation Laws of Supremacy, this writer has fallen into more than one error. For example, referring to the Commissioners appointed 1 Eliz. Cap. 1, for the exercise of ecclesiastical jurisdiction, he adds—"it is true that they were forbidden to judge anything for heresy, without the convocation." If Mr. Irons means by this assertion, that trials for heresy were to be brought before these Commissioners and the Convocation, as one joint court of appeal, he is wrong, and has plainly mistaken the meaning of the eighteenth clause of 1 Eliz. Cap. 1,—to which, we presume, he is alluding. That clause enacts that nothing shall be considered as heresy, except what has been already determined to be heresy by the general councils, or what may hereafter, (i.e., after the passing of that act,) be declared to be such, by the King with the advice of his Parliament, with the consent of Convocation. This is a restraint upon the Church's power of defining heresy; but it does not forbid the King's Commissioners, "to judge anything for heresy, without the convocation."

Again, there is an inaccuracy in the saying that "the title of supreme head was distinctly repudiated as of doubtful import." The plain truth is—(would that men's fears and prejudices did not unconsciously blind their eyes)—that Queen Elizabeth, entertaining a conscientious objection to this title, silently dropt it, and for the word "Head," substituted that of "Governor"; but it has never been distinctly repudiated by the State, and has been lately claimed for Queen Victoria, by Lord John Russell, in the House of Commons, as well as by recent writers in the *Times* Newspaper. We do most earnestly wish that it could, with truth, be alleged, that this objectionable title had indeed been distinctly repudiated.

We must also object to the tone adopted in this pamphlet towards those whose views on the Supremacy of the Crown happen to differ from the view advocated in its pages. Why impute motives and write angrily—especially in these times of acknowledged doubt and perplexity? Mr. Maskell may wish to save the Church of England, and may think that she can be saved only by acknowledging an error, and at all risks, retracting it: Mr. Irons, on the other hand, may be of opinion, that she has not committed the

error alleged against her, and that, consequently, she has nothing to retract. May not both these opinions be put forward by men equally honest, equally conscientious, equally solicitous to uphold the truth? Why, then, impute unworthy motives?

Once more, we would ask Mr. Irons what he means by asserting, that "Mr. Lewis' able and intelligible pamphlet has furnished all the materials for those who, with faint acknowledgments, are following him in this controversy?" Is not this an implied charge of plagiarism against Mr. Maskell, and against "all" who may happen to take a similar view of the Supremacy of the Crown? How could Mr. Irons substantiate his charge—especially as there are some who differ from him on this subject, and who, nevertheless, have never so much as seen Mr. Lewis' pamphlet? What is gained by such sweeping and ill-grounded charges? Do they not tend to irritate men who may really agree more than they seem to agree; and thus throw greater obstacles in the way of discovering the truth, than exist already?

The latter pages of Mr. Irons' pamphlet afford a proof, that there is no essential difference between him and the writers he is opposing, in their practical estimate of the evils of the existing system. We quote the concluding paragraph, the last sentence of which deserves from all the most thoughtful attention:—

"Wise Statesmen had better recollect, then, that they have to do with a religious nation, and a democratical age; and aim so to settle our system in Church and State, that it may have the deeper sympathies of our nature engaged in its defence and not enlisted against it. Let them look forward a little, beyond the patchwork legislation of the present hour—if they have any high ambition to construct what will last—what will bear looking into. Their present system of suspicion, irritation, and (I say again and again) defiance of conscience, persevered in much longer towards the Church, will, if successful, destroy its self-respect, and then its respectability: [Query, what is meant by the *respectability* of the Church?] And statesmen will find that though enlarging and perhaps outwardly adorning, and cleansing our ecclesiastical constitution, they have destroyed its moral power, its inward life, and produced a vast inert machine, which will be wholly powerless to deal with a spiritually paralyzed nation."

The Bishop of Exeter's Letter to the Archbishop, which reached us as this article was passing through the press, being a review of Dr. Sumner's Preface to the new edition of his "Apostolical Preaching," which unhappily formed the basis of the judgment of the Privy Council, scarcely falls within the scope of this article. We must, however, put on record the noble and dignified resolution which his Lordship has formed, and which in his hands is not likely to be a mere empty threat.

"Meanwhile, I have one most painful duty to perform. I have to protest not only against the judgment pronounced in the recent cause, but also against the regular consequences of that judgment. I have to protest against your Grace's doing what you will be speedily called to do, either in person, or by some other exercising your authority. I have to protest, and I do hereby solemnly protest, before the Church of England, before the Holy Catholic Church, before Him who is its Divine Head, against your giving mission to exercise cure of souls, within my diocese, to a Clergyman who proclaims himself to hold the heresies which Mr. Gorham holds. I protest that any one who gives mission to him till he retracts, is a favourer and supporter of those heresies. I protest, in conclusion, that I cannot, without sin—and, by God's grace, I will not—hold communion with him, be he who he may, who shall so abuse the high commission which he bears."

Mr. Neale reminds us that it has been permitted to "simple Bishops," and even "laymen," in the Church's best days to raise the cry of heresy against Archbishops and Patriarchs. We take courage indeed from the firm attitude which the Bishop here assumes, and trust that in this most critical day of the Church's existence, he will be supported by the great majority of his Episcopal brethren.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES.

The Cross and the Serpent. By the REV. WILLIAM HASLAM. Oxford and London: Parker. 18mo. pp. 273.

THE author of this interesting Essay is already known to the public by his book on the "Antiquities of the Church of S. Piran, in Cornwall." From one who has evinced such careful and at the same time reverent antiquarian research as that book displays, we may be prepared to expect much when he handles, as he has done in the work now before us, the subject of what may be properly called *mystical symbolism*. He has proposed to trace the symbol of Redemption as it existed in the religious forms and mythes of heathenism, as well as in the inspired prophecies of the Jews. In this he has, we think, been far from unsuccessful. The Introduction contains a sketch of the history of the early race of mankind from the Fall to the dispersion, *interpreted*, if the term may be used, from the scanty records which Divine wisdom has allowed us in the opening of the Pentateuch. This task—a dangerous one, it must be confessed, with German Rationalism at our side,—may safely be intrusted to one whose sentiments are so modest and cautious as those expressed by Mr. Haslam in his Preface. He next proceeds, perhaps owing to the limits of the Essay, and the vastness of the subject, less at length than we could wish, to show how in the primary alphabets, the Cross was adopted as the radical symbol—how in the

rites and mythes of every kind of Ophite worship. Egyptian, classical, Buddhist, Mexican, Druidical, Scandinavian, the Cross, the Tree, and above all, the *Divine REDEEMER*, are mystically shadowed forth as destined to prevail over the Dragon, and how in all these the symbol of salvation appears to maintain its ground over the serpent form of the Enemy of mankind. And not only in these but in Jewish Prophecy also, the Cross is mystically revealed to us as the instrument of our life.

One of these instances out of many is alluded to in the Catholic Epistle of S. Barnabas, which Mr. Haslam properly quotes, showing that at all events he does not stand alone in his interpretations. And lastly, from the subsequent history of the triumph of the Catholic Church over heresy and Paganism, he gives us a clear view of the fulfilment of all these types. In conclusion, Mr. Haslam calls attention to what we believe to be the true mode, albeit one which needs much caution, of combating the relics of heathenism, by showing the sacramental nature of the mythes and typical forms still retained in them. The subject is one of great interest; and though the mystical be perilous ground, still it is true that in it lies buried much of wonderful and valuable truth. It is needful only that it be approached not in a mere antiquarian or still worse, a wild imaginative spirit, but in caution, reverence, and modesty. This the author of the work before us has given clear proof of possessing; and we recommend him to the perusal of those who are wont to deride the very name of symbolism, and to ignore the all-pervading power of the blessed Cross.

Thoughts on Rationalism, Revelation, and the Divine authority of the Old Testament. By the REV. A. MC CAUL, D.D. To which is added *The State of Christianity in Germany*, by PROFESSOR QUINET, Translated from the French. London: Seeleys. 18mo. pp. 160.

AMONGST all the perils to which the faith of CHRIST is and has been exposed, "perils by sea and land, perils of robbers, perils among false brethren," there is perhaps none so startling as that worship of intellect, which in some form or other has been the ultimate tending-point of every device of the evil one against Christianity, and which has in these latter days been reproduced in Germany under the name of rationalism. It is therefore a matter of sincere gratification when we find the pen of one so able as Professor Mc Caul, not idle in the duty of defending the "faith once delivered to the Saints." The first efforts of the German critical school seem to have been directed against the Old Testament. It is variously regarded as a semi-inspired, incomplete, and garbled production, a sacred mythe, a tissue of anti-Christian falsehood. The Professor's well known acquaintance with the Sacred Tongue has led him to take up the defence of this portion of the Divine Revelation. And this he has done not so much by a direct establishment of the Divine authority of the Old Testament, as by proving that with it the New is so inseparably connected that both must stand or fall together.

Taking Wegscheider and Schleiermacher as representatives of the school he is combating, he quotes from them some really awful passages, in which is embodied the *principle* on which they reject the law, the his-

tories, and the prophecies: pretended incompatibility of the earlier with the Christian Revelation. This principle, he shows, if consistently carried out, must involve the rejection of both alike.

While we express our gratitude to Dr. Mc Caul for taking the matter in hand, and moreover are shocked to find that the spirit of error he is endeavouring to oppose, was as he proves, an exportation from England, we cannot but caution him that a weak, or one-sided, or inaccurate defence of truth is in fact worse than none at all. It is with great regret we find him concluding his "Thoughts" in this strain:—

"Rationalism is in all countries the offspring of the natural enmity of the carnal mind to God. When driven out from the darkness of superstition, unregenerate man cannot bear the presence and interposition of the ALMIGHTY. Popery interposed CHRIST's vicar, and the Virgin Mary, and Saints, and Angels, and Martyrs. Rationalism interposes the works of God, nature, reason, and philosophy, to escape direct communication with their CREATOR. The life of the former is the subjugation of the world under CHRIST's representative, and therefore the Advent of CHRIST indefinitely postponed to leave room for the Church. Of the latter, the continuance of the world for ever as it is at present."

Dr. Mc Caul will, we are sure, acquit us of all desire to uphold or defend error of any kind, whether it should chance to be in our own or any other Communion, if we remind him that, pure or impure, the Roman Catholic Church is humanly speaking, the only power which, under God, seems able to Christianize the infidel masses of philosophizing Germany. We would not call upon him to wound his Protestant feelings by defending her, but would simply assure him that it is perilous,—more perilous perhaps than he can conceive—to undermine.

Meditations on the Suffering Life on Earth of our LORD and only SAVIOUR, from the French of Pinart. Masters. pp. 352.

THIS is not a mere translation, but an adaptation skilfully and carefully executed, of a very excellent French work for the use of English readers. Such a task is by no means an easy one, nor yet of light importance in the present day, when the fire which God hath willed to kindle seems passing from heart to heart among us, stirring up many to rise and seek an aliment more powerful for their devotional yearnings than would have sufficed them in times less earnest and momentous: yet this very longing, this restlessness of soul, which seems spreading far and near, renders the preparation of suitable food for anxious minds a matter of no small peril; there are subtle elements abroad just now; and a word, an allusion, falling on a ready soil, may work such effects as could never have been anticipated. We have seen the weighty influence which these adapted works have exercised of late years, though chiefly designed to meet only the wants of those highly-wrought spirits endued with intensity of feeling, who dwell as it were in a rarified atmosphere, where the air is keen and difficult to breathe, as on the mountain tops. The great risk in ministering to the necessity of such seems to be the too frequent evaporation of real religious fervour in mere excitement: but the work before us is addressed to a far more general class of readers, and though high-toned and earnest, is not likely to produce any

dangerous result; it is eminently practical, each chapter concluding with a series of plain maxims for daily life, which speedily draws down the feelings to the test of practice; these are written with an extreme simplicity of style, and the editor, as we gather from the notes, has been peculiarly careful in omitting whatever seemed in the slightest degree hazardous. It has struck us that the author seems at times to endeavour to render the way of eternal life more simple and easy than we conceive the *Via Crucis* can ever be to any; and that there is an occasional discrepancy between the high tone of doctrine maintained throughout the reflections, and the lower rate of practice presented for our rule at the close; but this is happily counteracted by the deep and searching wisdom with which he insists on an entire purity and rectitude in *small things*, rightly judging that we shall best guard the issues of life by watching over the first seemingly unimportant steps which lead to great and serious evils. We are therefore decidedly of opinion that this work will be highly useful, not to the few but to the many, and if we mistake not, it will commend itself to all who seek a sound and practical aid to their spiritual advancement. We cannot conclude without mentioning the singular beauty of the last chapter, on the loveliness of Paradise; it is highly poetical, and differs greatly from the rest of the book, coming in at the close like a ray of light to brighten the tedium of the way, where in the previous pages each weary step has been traced out. Ostensibly the theme of the work is the suffering of our Blessed Lord, but in actual fact, it is rather that inward and eternal love, of which, in the great Sacrament of His holy life, His anguish was the outward and visible sign.

The Apostles' School of Prophetic Interpretation, with its history down to the present time. By CHARLES MAITLAND, author of the *Church in the Catacombs*. London: Longmans.

MR. MAITLAND is a spirited and agreeable writer; and our thanks are certainly due to him for this collection of testimony to the manner of interpreting prophecy by the early Christian writers. Moreover he is a vigorous assailant of a certain school, which on several occasions we have done our best to expose.

But here our praise of Mr. Maitland must cease. The conclusion at which we arrive after duly weighing what he has alleged, is, as we once before stated, that the interpretation of prophecy is a subject on which no law whatever prevailed in the early Church. In attempting to establish such a law the present writer has certainly outstepped the bounds of that impartiality which should characterize the historian: his premises do not warrant his conclusions.

Comparing him with Dr. Wordsworth, the last writer we have had occasion to notice on this subject, we may say that he differs from him, in advocating the millennial theory—on grounds, we must say, the most slender and unsatisfactory; and agrees with him in identifying Rome with Babylon, and in all which that principle of interpretation involves.

We have pleasure in announcing a new edition of MR. NEAL'S *Hymns for the Sick*. We have seen their excellence proved by experience.

Sermons touching upon the very critical position of the Church have been published by Messrs. Dodsworth, Sewell, Claughton, (of Kidderminster,) Watson, Oldknow, Kemper, and Dr. Biber. Their number prevents more than this general notice. Forms of Prayer and Intercession also, we are glad to see, are not forgotten. One such may be obtained at our Publisher's; and one of greater length has been published by Spottiswoodes and Shaw.

LORD JOHN MANNERS has published a welcome volume of *Ballads and other Poems*. (Rivingtons.) The metres appear to us occasionally rather awkwardly chosen; but they give indications of real poetic feeling, and abound in sound Christian principle.

The Doctrine of Holy Baptism briefly explained in its practical uses, by the Rev. C. E. DOUGLASS, B.A., Curate of Brighton, (King,) falls considerably short of being an accurate statement. It is not right to predicate universally "two great spiritual changes" in men, viz: Regeneration and Conversion; nor should the writer venture to say that the former is not a change of nature, but only of state. Intentionally Mr. Douglass is sound; but he needs a deeper study of theology.

The Child's New Lesson Book, (Masters,) is done by one who clearly understands the natures, capacities, and tastes of children. We can very strongly recommend it.

"A Church without dogmatic theology," writes Mr. Maskell, "is a fiction and a shadow."* It is to this shadowy and visionary state of being that the present bondage and persecution of the English Church is threatening to reduce her, and we therefore always hail with gratification any of those outward manifestations, which tend to evince the strength of that inward spirit, which rises up against the inherent danger and falsehood involved in all such tendencies. Such a protest now lies before us from the pen of a Cambridge Tutor, Mr. WILLIAM BONNER HOPKINS, of S. Catharine's Hall. It is entitled, *Some Points of Christian Doctrine Considered, with reference to certain Theories recently put forth by the Right Hon. Sir J. Stephen, K.C.B., L.L.D., Professor of Modern History in the University of Cambridge*. The writer is almost exclusively concerned with the Epilogue to Sir J. Stephen's Essays, and has set himself to examine and refute the very lamentable and grievous errors of the new Professor on the solemn doctrines of the Incarnation and of Eternal Punishment. This task he has performed with candour, ability, and much good feeling. Such aberrations as those of Sir James Stephen, are, of course, less alarming in a layman, than they would be in one entrusted with the cure of souls; still, as Mr. Hopkins justly observes, "the Philosophy of Modern History cannot be disengaged from Theology, because the history of the world has always in Christian times been necessarily interwoven with the history of the Church." Therefore, as he proceeds to argue, "the Lectures of the Professor of Modern History, must in a very considerable measure take their tone from his theological opinions. Hence the public announcement of his belief demands the notice of some who would not otherwise feel themselves called upon to notice it at all."—(Preface.) Having not very long since reviewed Sir James' volumes,

* On Absolution, p. 240.

we will not now stop to enter into detailed argument upon errors, which we then noticed as the most prominent among the *Essayist's* faults and deficiencies—all arising in the main from one copious fountain-head of mischief, namely, a gross ignorance and consequent contempt of the study of dogmatic truth. But we do cordially recommend Mr. Hopkins's Pamphlet, and especially to two classes of thinkers; 1. Younger theological students, who may be easily led away from sober research and sound learning by the *ignis-fatuus* of this Professor's well-meant, but most unhappy, speculations; and 2. To those among our readers, should we chance to have any such, who may have been trained in the atmosphere of the *soi disant* Evangelical School. Let them ponder well the phenomenon placed before them in this religious and thoughtful pamphlet. Here is a man of brilliant abilities and large heart, of deep and earnest feeling, brought up amid the influences of the real and unquestioned piety, which distinguished the leading members of the last generation's society on Clapham Common. And this man, despite good intentions, is *proved* to be heretical, (in all but will) on fundamental truths concerning the REDEEMER of mankind, and to have scattered the seeds of doubt broad-cast among his fellow-Christians on an awful doctrine uttered by that REDEEMER, which but too many wish to disbelieve, which once disbelieved opens the door to all other infidelity whatsoever. The Un-Catholic, though earnest and in many ways most beneficial, movement styled Evangelicalism, could not possibly retain within its feeble grasp, minds gifted with any remarkable powers of learning, thought, and observation. Whither then shall such spirits now betake themselves? Will they listen to the alluring voice of German Neology, which does certainly find food of some kind for their intellectual nature? Or if shrinking, like Sir James Stephen, with dread from such treatment of their Bibles, will they join him in a futile attempt to separate the Sacred Scriptures from the Church of Him Who gave both blessings to the race of men? Or will they listen to the warning of a son of one the most eminent and distinguished in that very *coterie* just referred to? "It is time that the *subjective* revival of the last age, should assume also an *objective* character. If this be neglected, it will gradually die out, like so many other religious revivals; and the real earnestness which dictated its growth, will evaporate in a system of empty phrases and party watchwords."* Will they in short follow the example of so many of the most valued of their *quondam* co-religionists and turn to aid that Catholic movement, which can alone find food, alike for the unlearned and the gifted, the imaginative and the practical; for all the component portions of man's complex nature, for heart and intellect, for body, soul, and spirit? Another connection in which this Pamphlet is noticeable is as indicative of the dangers to which State patronage is everywhere bringing us.

NOTICE TO CORRESPONDENTS.

"Clericus Hibernicus," in reply to the Reviewer of Stephens' Irish Prayer Book has been received. Will the writer give his name and address? We ask it of course in confidence.

* Archdeacon R. I. Wilberforce on the Incarnation, p. 6.

PAROCHIAL WORK, OFFICE, AND MEANS.

1. *Parochial Work.* By the REV. E. MONRO, M.A., Incumbent of Harrow-weald, Middlesex. Oxford and London: John Henry Parker. 1850.
2. *CHRIST'S Ministry the Model of Ours. A Sermon preached at the General Ordination of the Lord Bishop of Ripon, on Sunday, February 24th, 1850, in the Cathedral Church of Ripon.* By the REV. WILLIAM TAIT, Incumbent of Holy Trinity Church, Wakefield. Published by request. London: Longman, Brown, Green, and Longmans; and John Stanfield, Wakefield.
3. *Observations on Village School Education, with suggestions for its improvement.* By the REV. R. A. GORDON, Rector of Avington, Berks; Inspector of the Deaneries of Ilsley and Newbury. Published by desire of the Lord Bishop, and the Diocesan Board of Education of Oxford. Oxford: Printed by W. Baxter, for the Diocesan Board. To be had at the Christian Knowledge Society's Office, High Street, Oxford: and J. H. Parker, 377, Strand, London.
4. *Daily, or Sunday, Service for Church Schools of Poor Children.* London: Rivingtons, S. Paul's Churchyard and Waterloo Place.

WE confess to have entered on the perusal of Mr. Monro's new work with a misgiving as to being quite at one with him in his ideal of an English Parish Priest. We recollected that, in a single sermon not long since published by him on the same subject, he took, we then considered, a somewhat exaggerated view of the active, missionary, evangelistic element of the pastoral office, compared with its strictly sacerdotal and sacramental, or again its exemplary, or intercessional capacity. The thought occurred that, if one then present in our mind's eye, to whose long-tried judgment and wisdom most of us would confidently look for guidance in this matter,—if he could be induced to favour us with his notion of a well ordered parish in ecclesiastical respects, there would be a more prominent exhibition of the calm, the passive, the studious, the contemplative character,—the unobtrusive influence, telling in the long run, of official routine duties punctually performed,—the avoidance of slovenliness in all things relating to religion, and yet of singularity or overstrained effort, or of stir and excitement,—exactness in catechism, suggestiveness in preaching, effecting a lodgement and a gradual building up into all truth,—sermons aiming rather at the perfection of advanced penitents, than at conversion and startling effect,—multiplied services and sacrifice, in the

sanctuary and at the altar,—the invisible miracle-working virtue going out of holy Orders in sacraments, absolutions, benedictions, prayers, and other ministrations,—all this to the apparent disparagement of the more directly aggressive method of “parochial work,” contemplated in Mr. Monro’s pattern.

Our anticipation, thus grounded, of a slight divergence at this point is not wholly dissipated by an examination of his larger volume. Slight indeed it is, when qualified by our hearty appreciation and most grateful acknowledgment of the many invaluable services rendered by the excellent author in his actual ministry to the Church, and of the admirable lessons of truth and duty which he has brought us to learn in this his latest essay. Still though practically slight, it is not immaterial. And we are desirous, at the outset, to illustrate and fortify our exception by three or four pertinent considerations. We are desirous, in so doing, at once to encourage, if we may humbly undertake the office, some earnest-minded yoke-fellows in the priesthood, who, serving God faithfully in their generation, have to our knowledge, been disheartened by an exaggerated estimate of ministerial labours; and, on the other hand, to correct, if so be, a tendency, which we seem to detect, not in Mr. Monro himself, but in individuals of a school (would it were larger!) more or less moulded after his ideal, to undervalue, perhaps condemn, a less ambitious, or in any respect differently fashioned model.

Primarily and chiefly, we must bear in mind how, through loss of the primitive distribution of the ministries, many various and heterogeneous offices and degrees of holy Order, are now practically centred in the presbyterate. The Apostles, from the very unreasonableness (Acts vi. 2) of leaving the Word of God to serve tables, saw the *necessity* of a separate order, which should be “set over this business,” while they gave *themselves* “continually to prayer, and the ministry of the Word.” We still acknowledge the necessity, and retain the title, while the reality of the Deaconship has for us no distinct perfunctorial existence. Whatever actual duties are involved in the category of serving-tables, prayer, and the ministry of the Word, however discrepant, and in practice incompatible, and dependent upon separate gifts, are now by a sort of mutual concession and curtailment of their just proportions, cut down and dovetailed to fit the single and necessarily inadequate capacity of the Parish Priest. “It is not reason,” any the more now, but it has unhappily come to be matter of fact, that the Services of the Sanctuary, for example, the canonical hours, must be “left,” for the Clothing Club, the Missionary Society, epistolary correspondence. Nor are these the only “differences of administration” even traceable in holy Scripture. “He gave some Apostles; and some prophets; and some, evangelists: and some, pastors and teachers.” (Ephes. iv. 11; and 1 Cor. xii. 28.) It is notorious, that a respect-

able body of theologians among us hold the Divine institution of the fourfold ministry contemplated in this passage, and its necessity (*necessitate precepti*, not, under present circumstances, *necessitate medii*) to a complete ministerial organization in *all* ages of the Church,—“for the perfecting of the Saints, for the work of the Ministry, for the edifying of the Body of CHRIST, *till* we all come in the unity of the Faith, &c.” We are not now concerned with the solution of this question. Whether essentially necessary or not, it is a matter of simple historical truth, that in the early Church, a distinction did exist, for instance, between “the work of an Evangelist,” and the work of a Pastor;* and that in our day and communion, the two offices are blended. Further, we need no more than allude to the manifold degrees and functions, and provinces of spiritual jurisdiction, exhibited under a still more developed system, suited to increasing exigencies, in the hierarchy and minor orders of Foreign Churches, Western and Oriental. It is evident, that we stand out somewhat conspicuous in the Catholic Church, for our fusion of the several ministries. And symptoms are not wanting that we are beginning to recognize the very serious practical evils of our shorn and crippled condition in this respect. Such a feeling is manifest, for instance, in measures recently devised for exalting the office of the Parish sacristan to the dignity of an order, by the inverted expedient of *bringing down* an ecclesiastic of higher degree to the level of that function, and calling him a Clerk in Orders. It is manifest in the miserable caricature of the ancient *lector* (whose duty was not merely to *enunciate*, but to *expound*), attempted in the Scripture Reader,—as though the efficacy of God’s written Word consisted in its stereotype, and there were no warning given about the *letter killing*, and things hard to be understood in the Epistles, which, without learning and stability, are not safe from dangerous perversion! It is manifest in the revived functions of the *ruditeoanal* office,—a species of *Chorepiscopi*, only *without* the order and *with* a sufficient amount of parochial duties in addition. Beyond all, and under a most favourable aspect, the same feeling is manifested in the “Lenten Mission,” recorded in our March Number; for here again the proper Ministers had surely been Evangelists, not Pastors, who have their *own* distinct employments, their *own* “sheep in the wilderness,” to attend to, which nothing short of “present distress” should seem to justify their “leaving.”

Our case is by no means yet exhausted. Add to the above, their strictly ministerial functions, all the personal and semi-official oc-

* See an admirable Sermon on the Pastoral Office, by the late G. J. Majendie, preached by him at the Ordination in Salisbury Cathedral, Sept. 25, 1842, and published, with two others, by Messrs. Rivington. The author quotes Euseb. Hist. iii. 37, “where it clearly appears that the *Εὐαγγελισται* and the *ποιμένες* had distinct duties; the labours of the former being preparatory to those of the latter.”

cupations of the Clergy; their domestic duties, as husbands and fathers, their scholastic duties as tutors, their social duties as country gentlemen, their political duties as magistrates, their intellectual duties as literary and scientific men; their supernumerary duties, chaplaincies, secretaryships, treasurerships, trusteeships, patronships, chairmanships, editorships, rural-deanships, surrogateships, with all the incalculable amount of *business* involved in these relations, in the shape of correspondence, committee meetings, and account keeping. Out of this maze and medley of clerical *agenda* we have to unravel and eliminate the proper and most legitimate subject-matter of "parochial work." This really is the main question under discussion in such treatises as Mr. Monro's, in the *Country Parson*, the *Pastoral Care*, the *Christian Ministry*, the *Bishopric of Souls*, the *Clergyman's Instructor*. Now, what is the principle which should guide us in determining the issue? Surely it is set forth in the Parable of the "Man taking a far journey, who left His house, and gave authority to His servants, and to *every man his work*,"—his own proper duties, an office with certain functions to discharge, as, for example, "the porter to watch." What then, are the *proper* functions of the Parish Priest, which belong to him by virtue of that capacity, which it is his peculiar commission as such to fulfil? For surely preference must be given to these in prescribing his right conduct. What is his peculiar vocation? For what special purpose is he "set in the Church?" What work was the gift of holy Orders given to enable him to perform? Let us turn to the terms of his commission. The awful words are, "Receive the HOLY GHOST for the Office and Work of a Priest in the Church of God, now committed unto thee by the imposition of our hands. *Whose sins thou dost forgive they are forgiven; and whose sins thou dost retain, they are retained. And be thou a faithful dispenser of the Word of God and of His holy Sacraments, in the Name,*" &c. The power of the keys, ministration of the Word and Sacraments—these undoubtedly are his proper functions; the "Office and Work" for which he received the HOLY GHOST. Accordingly, it is the practice on the Continent, to place in the hands of the newly ordained presbyter, a paten with bread upon it, and a chalice filled with wine. To this, his supreme Office, that which distinguishes him from his fellowmen, every other species of parochial work must be subordinate and without comparison, of a wholly different kind. So much so that, to put an extreme case for the purpose of exemplifying the principle, we hold, that the Priest who should confine his ministrations to pure sacerdotal acts, would far more worthily discharge his function, than one who should postpone them in any degree to an intentional expediency, or to activity in any other ministerial work. What, then? are we implying that the long list of *agenda* above specified should altogether be set aside as infringing upon and hindering the Priestly Office? Our theory

is by no means so impractical and little "suited to these times." There is an immense work remaining which the Church requires to be done, which somebody *must* do, for which there *ought to be* special ministries, ordained to the several departments,—but for which none in particular *are* in fact provided,—which therefore the all-centralizing Parish Priest must do his best to get through with single-handed. It is next to impossible, that he can get through *all* the personal and official duties which devolve upon him within the sphere of his parochial labours. And since there is a large margin beyond his immediate and proper functions, a fair latitude of discretion must be left to him in the choice of his particular work. This choice will be directed by the circumstances of his parish, its needs and opportunities, and by his own resources, ability, and taste. One man will give the largest portion of his time, thoughts, and money, to one class of institution; one to another. One will pay most attention to schools; another to pastoral visits; another to corporal charities; another to recovering dissenters; another to preaching; another to missionary associations; another to penitentiaries; another to religious brotherhoods and sisterhoods; another to ritual and ecclesiological matters; another to choral singing, and other appliances of public worship; another to strictness in the discharge of all perfunctory and routine duties; others, entering on a wider range, will take an active or literary part in the great theologico-political questions pending between Church and State. We are not at all prepared to affirm that any one of these, more than another, is doing or not doing what he ought to do. We are of opinion that *cæteris paribus*, each one, after his manner, and in his measure, is equally with the others doing his *duty*.

What is one man's plain duty, in the choice of work, is by no means necessarily another's. Each case separately must be taken on its own merits; and of these, perhaps, no other is so competent and fair a judge as the individual agent. The effect of moulding on one ideal and definite theory of parochial labour the whole body of the working Clergy would restrict the independent energies now distributed in action, one after this manner, another after that, all converging to the grand total result of progress in Church matters; by which, under grace, (so reverently to apply the parable,) "the whole Body, fitly joined together, and compacted by that which every joint supplieth, according to the effectual working in the measure of every part, maketh increase of the Body unto the edifying of itself in love."

There is a fallacy on this subject, suggested by the title (not particularly by the matter, which is earnest and orthodox, but somewhat common place generalization) of a sermon now before us, (that which stands second on the list prefixed,) which should be noticed, as really leading to the same conclusion, though seeming to make against it; namely, that our Blessed Lord's Ministry is a type of

ours. It is true, of course, that in Him was consummated the germ of all the ministries of the Church. He was the Apostle and High Priest of our profession (Heb. iii. 1); a Prophet raised up among His brethren; a Preacher of the gospel to the poor; the Good Pastor who laid down His life for the sheep; the Teacher sent from God. But these several offices, centralized in Him, were afterwards distributed into "differences of administration," "according to the grace given," when "He ascended up on high, and received gifts for men; and He gave *some*, (*τοὺς μὲν*, not *τοῖς*) Apostles; and *some*, prophets; and *some*, evangelists; and *some*, pastors and teachers." It is inconclusive, therefore, to take His ministry in general, as the type of any *single* ministerial office. Besides, the field of His gracious labours was essentially different from that of the parish priest. "He went throughout every city and village, preaching and showing the glad tidings of the kingdom of God." The pastor is geographically limited to a certain space, and he has to minister to those, who are *already* members of the kingdom—to *feed* (*ποιμαίνειν*, shepherdize, Acts xx. 28; also 1 S. Pet. v. 2) the Church of God. "To purify to Himself a peculiar people," was the object of our Blessed LORD's ministry; "the perfection of the saints," is that of the parish priest. We think therefore that they, who in the choice of pastoral duties, prefer the busy, toilsome, and aggressive method to the sacramental, devotional, and exemplary, are not at any rate justified by the plea of such a precedent. Especially, when we further consider, that our LORD's miracles of mercy, the chief subjects of His ministry, upon the sick, the famished, and the dead, were types realized among us in a far higher class of miracles, still flowing from His blessed Presence, the priest's consecrating and absolving powers.

It need scarcely be added, that what has been here said of our Blessed LORD's, will apply equally to the Apostles' ministry, regarded as a type of ours, to the extent of its occupying a totally different ground of labour to that of the ordinary parish priest. In short, the elders (*τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους*) of the Church at Ephesus, to whom the words above quoted ("feed the Church of God") were addressed by S. Paul, come nearest of scripture precedents to the office in our day. And of their particular mode of ministry nothing definite is told us. We may *guess* indeed, from the glimpses which are occasionally given us in the Acts of the Apostles of the daily life of Christians in those days, brought together in the same neighbourhood. Thus, "these all continued with one accord in prayer and supplication, with the women, and Mary the Mother of Jesus, and with His brethren."—"They continued steadfastly in the Apostles' doctrine, and fellowship, and in breaking of bread, and in prayers.—And they continuing daily with one accord in the temple, and breaking bread from house to house, did eat their meat with gladness and singleness of heart, praising God, and having favour

with all the people." A like inference, too, may be drawn from S. Paul's directions in his Epistle to Timothy, about the *Bishops*,—i. e. parish priests.

There remain three or four further qualifications, already in part implied, which shall be rather suggested than considered. The work of the pastoral office, it has been shown, is, not so much to make converts, as to perfect the advanced. Acting on this principle, many of our wisest parish priests have devoted their chief, nay, almost entire ministrations to the few faithful and well-disposed ones found in every congregation. Their sermons have been directed primarily to the consciences of these; they have sought to preach them into a still "closer walk with God," and to infuse a higher life into them by a warmer and more beautiful exterior of religion. And this, not simply with a view to the salvation of the individual souls,—but to raise the religious tone and character of the *whole* parish. A little leaven leaveneth the whole lump, for good as well as evil. Saints run to and fro, speak often to one another, and multiply; like sparks in stubble, until, behold, how great a matter a little fire kindleth. To advance the tone and standard of religion in the most perfected class of Church-people in a parish, will advance the tone and standard of the class immediately below it, and so downwards through the several gradations of the mass. A contrary course of procedure, we are persuaded has a contrary effect,—reduces the whole social substance to the lowest level. When, then, Mr. Monro repeatedly casts what in a less charitable person we should call a *sneer* at the attention which has been paid of late years by the parochial clergy to ecclesiological and other secondary matters, he is simply *begging the question*, as though the point at issue between him and them were not, that "the salvation of souls" (his favourite phrase in describing the end of the ministry) depends, to an immense extent, upon a higher order of devotional forms and external worship than has hitherto prevailed among us. For our own part, we are satisfied, that the unquestionable revival of *personal* religion on all sides, is in a very large measure attributable to the instrumentality of those who, to the disparagement possibly of other parts of the ministry, have paid particular attention to Church architecture and ceremonial. "The want of religion in the generality of the common people," says Bishop Butler in a charge delivered at his primary visitation, "does not appear owing to a speculative disbelief or denial of it, but chiefly to thoughtlessness and the common temptations of life. Your *chief business*, therefore, is to endeavour to beget a practical sense of it upon their hearts, as what they acknowledge their belief of, and profess they ought to conform themselves to. *And this is to be done by keeping up, as we are able, the form and face of religion with decency and reverence, and in such a degree as to bring the thoughts of religion often to their minds; and then endeavouring to make this form more and more subservient to promote the reality and*

power of it. The form of religion may indeed be where there is little of the thing itself; but the thing itself cannot be preserved amongst mankind without the form. *And this form frequently occurring in some instance or other of it will be a frequent admonition to bad men to repent, and to good men to grow better, and also be the means of their doing so.**

Next, when we spoke of certain extra-official *duties* devolving upon the clergy, we used the word "duties," with intention. We meant, such as they were under an obligation to perform. Of these, some fall *within*, and some *beyond* their proper office; but still, as being duties, which will more or less regulate their other functions, they must be taken into the estimate of "parochial work."

1. In the first class, stand foremost the *domestic* duties. So long as celibacy is not made, in this part of the Church, a condition of holy Orders, it may plainly be a *duty*, in the case of individual presbyters, to marry. Out of marriage will probably arise a multitude of other *duties*,—involved in the maintenance and education of a family. We remember calling on one of our most notoriously active and self-denying priests in a large town parish, and finding him in his study among his books; when a cry of infantile joy or sorrow from the neighbouring apartment elicited the witticism, "You see, I have other *patristics* to attend to." To one so situated, surely, if to any one, will apply the direction of the Apostle, (1 Tim. iii. 4,) about "One that ruleth well his own house, having his children in subjection with all gravity; for if a man know not how to rule his own house, how shall he take care of the Church of God?" And the same holy Apostle's confession, that his hands, at the trade of tent maker, ministered to his own necessities, may possibly afford consolation to the poor curate, who, by tutorage, or literature, ekes out a bare maintenance for wife and family. Again, the *duties* arising out of the relation of stipendiary curate and his Rector, or other superior, may be reckoned under this head; a relationship, as at present recognized, exceedingly unsatisfactory, and which, to our mind, is practically not the least effectual hindrance to "parochial work." We, however, are not prepared just now to suggest any remedy. 2. By duties supervening on, but beyond the pastoral functions, we mean those belonging to such offices as Archdeacon, Surrogate, or Rural Dean; or to those of a more voluntary character, secretaryships, editorships, committeeships, and the like. We should be extremely sorry to see these latter put aside, waiting for their fulfilment by the laity. Mr. Monro's experience must have taught him, how extremely *slowly* the laity of a neighbourhood are found to come forward on such matters, until the clergy first set them the example. It is, most times, an alternative, that they be discharged

* The whole charge should be read as bearing on this subject. Also Bishop Taylor's Sermon X, "Ministers' Duty in Hope and Doctrine;" and South's Sermon, Vol. 1, on Psalm lxxxvii. 2.

by the Clergy, or not at all. Besides, we hold that every presbyter owes a duty to the Church at large, as well as to his own immediate flock: and it would be a sad thing indeed, if a fastidious and overstrained absorption in his own parochial engagements should keep his back from taking an active part in the *public* questions of the day.*

We have marked numerous passages from the beginning to the end of Mr. Monro's work, which appear to us, not so much to run counter to the above remarks,† as to need some such qualifications in perusal. It will be sufficient to quote one of these, which occurring towards the end of the volume, as a sort of summing up, touches upon many subjects more fully treated of in other places, and is a fair specimen of the spirit characteristic of the whole work.

"Let us keep it vividly before us through every day that the salvation of never-dying souls is our vocation; the guidance, protection, instruction, and comfort of those souls are our work; those acts and words which will conduce to that end are the one absorbing object of our life; before them all other employments, however clerical or sacred in the estimation of society, in truth, pale as the morning star before the rising sun; however necessary and important may be the management of large societies, the membership of committees, political agitation, and vigorous protests; however beautiful and true æsthetic services and dress, elaborate architecture and refinement of manner may appear; however valuable writings, the result of much experience and thought, may be to the world around, these are not the primary work of the parochial clergy; winning souls to CHRIST whom He has given to their charge, is their first point of life; before this, all must give way, alike the ease of domestic life, or if need be, in some cases domestic life at all, the calls of society, and the refinements of taste.

"Building churches and restoring windows is not the work of the priest, and political agitation and the platform of the committee often will thrive better in the hands of a layman, while the very cause they have in view will be better done by the clergyman in staying at home and working on the souls committed to his individual care. If his object is freedom of teaching and power to instruct souls, he will be furthering his own object better by working his own school, and being present daily in his own church." pp. 260, 261.

* This was written before the publication of Mr. Monro's pamphlet *On the spirit with which Churchmen should meet the present crisis*; to which, however, in common with many other remarks in this review, it would still more forcibly reply.

† The only point, perhaps, on which the writer of this review finds himself in direct antagonism with the author of "Parochial Work," is in regard to the preference assigned by the latter, to an impassioned and rhetorical style of preaching over the calm, thoughtful, simple, sober statement of religious truths and duties, such as is exhibited for instance, in "Plain Sermons," Vol. VI., and in the mode of delivery adopted by their author. Seldom, however, finding any one to agree with him in this view, he has thought it better not to press it in the body of the article, notwithstanding his own conviction on the subject, tending to an exactly opposite conclusion to that arrived at by Mr. Monro, is grounded upon thought and observation, and has been much strengthened by experience and years.

In spite of this, the characteristic exaggeration of an earnest mind, which runs throughout the volume, we do not hesitate to express our hearty, though qualified agreement, with Mr. Monro's whole theory of "Parochial Work,"—especially in the *details*. There are some exceedingly interesting remarks, more particularly on the "Private Prayers" of the poor; on Confirmation and first Communion; on Collegiate Life for the agricultural labourer; on Religious Fraternities in aid of the parochial system. We mention a very few only, out of many kindred topics, as being perhaps of a more novel character than the rest. The suggestion of an earlier age for Confirmation is one which has long been pressed by us, as of first importance, and which we should be glad to see all our clerical brethren in a body urging upon the Bishops. Mr. Monro says truly: "There is far more harm in the dissolution of the religious tie between the minister and the youth, by the long delay of Confirmation, till fifteen or sixteen, than there is in the chance of a youth receiving holy Communion before he is of that age when the character is developed. In fact, the absence of the religious discipline of school, after the age of twelve or thirteen, throws a boy into a more unfit condition for the holy rite, than can be repaired by age, or development of character." Not the least interesting and instructive portion of the Essay is that which minutely enters into the delicate subject of *the sin of unchastity*, but we regret that it was not reserved for some distinct treatise on spiritual direction. We doubt not, that its appearance here, will to a great extent prohibit the circulation of the volume with advantage among certain classes of the laity, auxiliaries in parochial work, especially of females. We think that it should be suppressed in future editions of the work, and published in a separate form. Parochial schools and catechizing, as every one would expect, supply the subject matter of by far the most successful and valuable passages of the volume. With many of the remarks on these topics our readers will be familiar, as being mainly repetitions of Mr. Monro's letter to Mr. Gladstone, and of an able article, the authorship of which is now acknowledged, in a late number of our quarterly contemporary, the "Christian Remembrancer," on the subject.

Simultaneously with "Parochial Work," Mr. Gordon's little tractate on "Village-school Education," has issued from the press, under the auspices of the Diocesan Board of Oxford. We regret the need of space for a lengthened exhibition of its merits. It is short, plain, of a very practical character, and accompanied with some useful time-tables, suited to schools of different calibre. We think Mr. Gordon, like most inspectors, (for he has gained his experience in that capacity,) *exaggerates* the evil of using the Bible as a class book. Children are much more likely so to use it without irreverence than grown up people. Besides, do we not find that the *reverence* of school boys for Herodotus or Virgil, *increases* with a

growing, and, as it were, confidential familiarity with their language, though acquired by the drudgery of dictionary and cane? Are we not too readily taking up the outcry of the *government* inspectors on this subject, whose patrons would be glad, on any plea, to banish the Bible from the school-room. From the same source, we believe Mr. Gordon, and many others, have derived their commendation of the "Irish Books" of Education. We not long since examined every volume of the series; and we really cannot see in what one respect they are preferable to the Reading Books of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge; and they contain at least some objectionable matter. The government of course is fain to puff them off, having so limited a sale for them in Ireland.

Mr. Gordon agrees with Mr. Monro and ourselves in thinking that the children of our villages should be brought to Confirmation "before the period when they ordinarily go out to service, and are thus removed from the pastoral care of the Clergyman, under whose charge they have been brought up." As his letter is published by desire of his Bishop, we trust that his Lordship begins to acquiesce in this opinion. We must quote Mr. Gordon's unanswerable argument on the subject: "We cannot tell how great might be the strength given through the grace of Confirmation. We cannot know how many of those who go forth into an evil world, instructed it may be in CHRIST's doctrine, and perhaps also trained in Christian practice, but only half armed, half endowed with CHRIST's gifts of grace, and fall into sinful, or at least careless God-forgetting habits, might have been preserved in the way of holy living, had they been first Confirmed, before they were so greatly tried and tempted." P. 28.

There are also some admirable remarks upon the prayers of children, both private, and those to be used at school. We are glad to find that he recommends the *responsorial* method: "It is much to be desired that the school service should also include some responses for children." The "Daily, or Sunday, Service for Church Schools of Poor Children," which stands last upon our list, is drawn up with this intention. It contains the LORD's Prayer, a Hymn suited to the different seasons, a select psalm, versicles and responses, a short lesson, and *preces*, properly so called. These latter commemorate the different mysteries of our Blessed LORD's Childhood, which are applied to the circumstances of the spiritual life of poor children; and so suggest ideas suitable for mental prayer. They are printed in a compendious and cheap form for the use of schools.

SCOTT ON THE RESTORATION OF CHURCHES.

A Plea for the faithful Restoration of our Ancient Churches—a Paper read before the Architectural and Archæological Society for the County of Bucks, at their first Annual Meeting in 1848, and repeated at a joint Meeting of the Architectural Societies for the Archdeaconry of Northampton and the County of Bedford, in 1849. To which are added some miscellaneous remarks on other subjects connected with the Restoration of Churches, and the revival of Pointed Architecture. By GEORGE GILBERT SCOTT, Architect. J. H. Parker, London and Oxford. Pp. 155.

UPON the whole we regard this little book with great satisfaction. Some abatements to so favourable a judgment will have hereafter to be made: but the general tone of the Essay, we rejoice to acknowledge, is far above what we should have expected from Mr. Scott—better far than his works,* as an architect, entitled us to expect. Nothing that we had seen of Mr. Scott's impressed us with the idea that he had mastered the religious character of his profession. Externally perhaps there may be a good deal to admire, as at S. Matthew's, City Road, London: but all the greater is our disappointment on entering one of his Churches, to find a general absence of religious effect. We are far indeed from wishing to point out Mr. Scott's works as singular in this defect. It is *the* fault with modern Churches. And we are glad now to be able to qualify this unfavourable criticism of his works by acknowledging that theoretically, he is not a stranger to the very highest views of Christian art, as regards both the structure and arrangement of Churches. Remembering the minute directions given under the earlier dispensation that every thing for the service of the Tabernacle should be according to the "pattern showed in the Mount," Mr. Scott considers it "not presumptuous to imagine that the same influence *may* have been, though indirectly, exercised over the rise and developments of the Architecture of the Christian Church."

This is certainly to claim the very highest place for Christian Architecture: but how, we must ask, is such a statement consistent with representing individuals, who "may prefer the historical, the antiquarian, the purely æsthetic, or the ritual branch of the subject" as all *equally* pursuing the same great end? The truth is that if ecclesiastical architecture be entitled to claim any such

* The Restoration of Ely Cathedral, we consider to be Mr. Scott's great work—but among the infinite number of Pariah Churches erected or restored by this architect, we know but one on which the mind can rest with any feeling of satisfaction—and then we believe it was rather the Incumbent than the Architect, who designed. We allude to the Church of S. Andrew, Bradfield.

lofty origin (as we quite believe it is,) there can be but one method of adequately studying it—and that is the religious or “ritual” method.

There are, we believe, architects, and architectural societies, who are not only ignorant of, but profess to ignore this whole range of study, as foreign to the province of architecture. But this is in effect to rob architecture of the very ἀρχή which gives it its name; and to lower the Professor of it below the mere builder, who at least recognizes a definite τέλος in all that he does. Can any one imagine it possible that the mighty Minster, or the tiny Church of yonder hamlet so complete in all its parts, was built by one unmindful of the faith which should be symbolized thereby, or of the worship to be expressed? And how will it be now? An architect or a society is requested to furnish plans for a new Church. Immediately the question arises, what sort of Chancel shall there be? And herein is involved another question, what is a Chancel wanted for? If it is to be occupied like the Nave, by the seats of the worshippers, why distinguish it from the rest of the fabric? If it is merely to be a receptacle to hold the Altar, it can scarcely be too shallow. But if on the other hand it is understood to be the place for the celebration of the Divine Offices, a plea is at once established both for its separation from the rest of the Church, and for its extension to some thirty or forty feet in depth. And here we gladly quote a passage from Mr. Scott, which, as far as it goes,* is quite satisfactory; and which we presume accounts for the many chancels which we have seen designed by him, only to be occupied by the Squire’s or Parson’s family.

“I need hardly say that the first step towards restoring the Chancel, in any case, to its legitimate uses, is to reform, and indeed reconstruct, these representatives of the ancient choir, and to place them under proper regulations, so that they might return to their right position in the chancel, so soon as its present holders see the propriety of restoring it to its proper uses. Till this is done it is useless for an architect to protest against the appropriation to ordinary uses of the choir seats; his arguments will appear frivolous pedantry to those who see that there is nobody to occupy and make proper use of these seats, if relinquished by their present holders.

“Whether appropriated or not, the chancel seats will in most cases inevitably continue to be held as ‘pews’ till a choir be formed to occupy

* We are obliged to use this qualification, for in a note we have this most inconsistent remark, “I will not enter into the question of whether the Prayers ought to be read [said] from the chancel or not, as it is one on which the highest authorities differ.” Does Mr. Scott mean that he would be satisfied to place the Lay Clerks in chancel and exclude the Clerks who are in Holy Orders? and this, in the face of the passage quoted from Sparrow, distinguishing the “Chorus Cantorum, where was a high seat for the Bishop, and other stalls or seats for the rest of the quire, and the Sanctuary whither none but sacred persons entered.”

them; and, when this is done, I see no more reason to despair of the restoration of those which are impropriated, than of those which from long custom have been made over to merely congregational occupants. At any rate, it seems to me to be the place of the architect to provide such arrangements as may, without much alteration, be used when the chancel shall be restored to its rightful holders—that is, to the Clergy of the parish—to be used under their direction for objects connected exclusively with the performance of the services of the Church.”*

Mr. Scott, it appears, builds in faith. May we suggest that it appears to us to be the duty of an architect, who has really grasped the dignity of his profession positively to resist such stultification of himself as is implied in a chancel occupied by laity, while the Priest is relegated to a kind of pulpit in the nave, and the rest of the quire, (we thank Mr. Scott for recalling the phrase to our recollection) to a “beastly loft” at the west end.

There is only one other suggestion that we would make to Mr. Scott,—he had better not have attempted to reconcile mediæval architecture with Protestant prejudices. The fallacy of such reasoning must, to every candid mind, be absolutely transparent; and though it may possibly succeed in not being detected by a certain class of readers who are predisposed to believe what they wish to have true, it can only be employed at the expense of a writer’s honesty or intelligence. It is of course an awkward fact with those who imagine the Church’s purity not to have outlived the third or fourth century, that they should be required to defend an architecture which according to their view was expressive of a corrupt religion. The phenomenon could scarcely avoid notice in Mr. Scott’s Tract; but he has not dealt with it in the right way. The Church of the first ages adopted buildings already made to hand, rather than originated a style of her own. Hence the Basilican type of structure very generally prevailed. It is scarcely true, however, that the “heathen temples were abandoned:” in some instances (as at Rome) we know that they were appropriated by the Christians for their public services; and the following direction given by Pope Gregory to Mellitus, seems to show that they were generally turned into Churches. “When ALMIGHTY God shall bring you to the Most Reverend Bishop Augustine, our brother, tell him what I have, upon mature deliberation, on the affair of the English determined upon, viz., that the temples of the idols in that nation ought not to be destroyed; but let the idols that are in them be destroyed; let holy water be made and sprinkled in the said temples, let altars be erected and relics placed.” The style, however, we know, did not receive much development. Let us see how our author deals with this fact.

* We trust that upon the same principle Mr. Scott will always provide Sedilia, Prothesis, and Piscina.

“That neither in its eastern nor its western type did the architecture of the Church continue long to progress towards its perfection, may, I think, be fairly attributed to *internal* rather than to *external* causes, to the corruptions which chilled the life of Christianity rather than more directly to the barbarians who invaded her dominions. In the Western Church, at least, it is certain that this progression met with an early check, and that from the fifth to the eleventh century, art, like the nations which practised it, sank into a mere incongruous union of the Roman iron with the Gothic clay, and showed but feebler traces of that nobler spirit, which was destined subsequently to quicken it into new life ; and it appears to me that the extraordinary revival of art which commenced with the second millennium of Christianity, and which originated *pointed architecture*, was in fact nothing else than the Christian element, so long repressed, at length bursting forth, and giving itself expression at a time certainly of revived zeal and devotion, and not as a consequence of, but in spite of, the errors which still clouded the Church.”

Was ever assumption more gratuitous than this ? One (confessedly an inferior) style of architecture perished in the Church because of the existence of a heresy which she speedily put from her. A better style takes its beginning at a time when the whole Church was just adopting an entire system of belief and practice which the Protestant denounces as corrupt and heretical. Can any one really suppose it possible to escape from the inconsistency of such a mode of argument by saying that the one change was produced by the errors of the Church, the other arose “in spite of them ?” For ourselves we are at a loss to understand that any one who has ingenuity to use such an argument (for it certainly is not a very obvious one) can himself be its victim.

It is of course a very fair taunt for Mr. Pugin or other members of his communion to fling in the face of insulting Protestants, that they must necessarily fail in reproducing a character of architecture, which not only had its rise in an age of the Church for which they have no sympathy, but is actually expressive of a form of faith and worship which they denounce as heretical. And we are persuaded there is but one way of meeting these taunts consistent with philosophical and historical truth. It is to cease to hug the notion either of our own or of the primitive ages of the Church being free from the taint of error and abuse. Each successive period since the descent of the HOLY GHOST upon the day of Pentecost has had its own peculiar imperfections and liabilities to depart from the truth, sometimes of course in one direction and sometimes in another. Each must bear its own burden ; and if we would claim the privilege of descent from the Apostolic Church, we must be content to recognize all alike in the long chain of ancestry to be our spiritual progenitors. We may

not pick and choose, claim one century and disclaim another. There are blots in the best escutcheons ; there are names of evil fame in the purest genealogies. But men do not attempt to deny their relationship to the individual or individuals whose memories are thus tainted. Nor can it be so with the Church of these later days. We are not bound certainly to defend every doctrine or practice that may at any time have prevailed. But these exceptions to the wisdom and integrity of our spiritual ancestors should ever be taken in a feeling of intense humility and distrust, remembering our own (perhaps greater,) failings. If we are in any respect wiser than our forefathers, it is only by aid of an experience which they did not possess ; whereas perhaps after all they took the course most suitable for the condition of things under which they lived ; and the one which though afterwards developed into evil, it was the will of God they should at that time adopt. A short time since it was the fashion to brand all ages as "dark" from the fourth to the sixteenth. We have more lately learnt to acknowledge that there were all along men wise and learned in their several generations. We have yet, it appears, to discover that this truth is of much wider application than as regards mere intellectual accomplishments. There were good men as well as wise in the very worst times ; men worthy of all our sympathies ; men who were doing God's work in God's own way. Yea, we must surely say of the whole Church, that it has ever been under the guidance of the HOLY SPIRIT ; and though evil was in times past mingled with the good, so is it now, and so will it ever be. Nevertheless the contest has always been maintained. The Church, from the beginning even until now, has fought against the world.

The portion of Mr. Scott's book of which we can speak with most unqualified praise, is an Essay upon the merits of the several *styles* of architecture. Dismissing Romanesque as not in its origin Christian, but merely an adaptation of the prevailing heathen style, he admits to the full the great beauties of the Early English, but considers that as a style it was never fully developed, and that it is hampered by the want of variety in the construction of the window. The flowing Middle-Pointed, though perhaps the most beautiful of all, he considers to be expressive of an enervated state of art ; and the Perpendicular, which on its first origin under William of Wykeham he very candidly allows to have resulted from a desire to return to a severer taste, he condemns as essentially wanting in religiousness of feeling : [it is really too hard and well-defined, and consequently fails in being suggestive and reverent.] There remains only the early or Geometrical Middle-Pointed, to which he gives the decided preference, not so rigidly however as to refuse the occasional introduction of the softer features of its later development. The same conclusion he also arrives at by another and independent process of reasoning, which we will give in his own words.

"It is by no means self-evident, nor do I know of any argument to prove it, that this coincidence of principles and details at one particular epoch is a proof of its being the culminating point in the style: it happens, however, to be the very point which, perhaps, the majority of those who have thought on the subject, judging only from æsthetic evidence, have selected as about the period of perfection; and if we must select a style other than a local one, an era of general rather than of national perfection, this period of coincidence, to say the least, comes in very conveniently, as the only one which can be shown to be applicable to *all* the principal countries where the Pointed style prevailed.

"If, for instance, as one valued friend of my own would urge, we seek perfection in the proud severity of our earliest pointed, such as Byland, or Glastonbury, we shall be making but a local choice; for, though more or less prevalent in France and Flanders, it is hardly to be found in Germany, where the national taste still lingered in perfecting Romanesque forms. If we assume our own most fully developed 'lancet' style to be the most perfect, and select the nave of Lincoln, or the magnificent choirs of Whitby or of Rievaulx, as our types, we shall find ourselves still more at a loss in choosing for our neighbours, as the favoured variety is, in its full development, nearly unknown among them; for while we were lingering on, and perfecting this insular phase of art, the French had rejected its simple elements with disdain, and were engaged in mighty strivings after more advanced developments; while the Germans, awakening from their Romanesque entrancement, had left the first stage of pointed architecture unused, and nimbly slipped at once into the precocious attainments of the French. If, again, as is now the fashion amongst us, we choose our flowing tracery as the great element of beauty, we shall again find ourselves at fault with our neighbours, for here we had made, in our turn, a stride in advance of them all; while, if we choose with Mr. Freeman our Perpendicular style, we shall fail to find a vestige of it in any country but our own. If, then, our choice must be one fitted for European adoption, we must be content to rest at the point in which the courses of the several nations intersect and coincide, which is the era of our 'Geometrical,' or 'early Middle-Pointed style.'"

That it is destined for the present century, and specifically for the English Church, to perfect a yet higher development of this style than has yet been witnessed, is a belief which we scarce dare venture to share with Mr. Scott. However, it will be a glorious rivalry for our architects to attempt; and we quite think that Mr. Scott has fixed the right point for them to start from: it is a point up to which, in the opinion of all, the science of architecture had been ascending.

MONTGOMERY'S CHRISTIAN LIFE.

The Christian Life, a Manual of Sacred Verse. By ROBERT MONTGOMERY, M.A. Author of "The Omnipresence of the Deity," "Luther," "The Gospel in advance of the age," &c. &c. London : Rivingtons.

ONE of the leading features which characterized the commencement of the present century was the powerful influence exercised on the public mind by the poetry of the day—an influence still at work in our own times, and which it is a task of the first importance to counteract.

Very remarkable was the accumulation of talent which rendered that period so intellectually brilliant; but it is a striking and melancholy fact that of all those master spirits who led men captive with their melody, scarce one seems to have recognized the sacredness and responsibility of the poet's mission. They saw not to what a solemn and holy office they had been appointed when power was given them to establish an empire in the mind of their fellow-creatures, and by the strong fascination of their eloquence to draw after them the hearts of many; they feared not to light up the flame of their poetic genius for the worship of strange gods—even for the idol Self, whom they made the god of their devotions; they shrunk not from causing the Divine gift within them to minister to their own base passions or unchastened wishes, and like to the false lights on the morass which are so brilliant and so dangerous, they allured men to follow them through perilous and desert places, till themselves expiring there in the darkness they left their followers to grope bewildered among the dreary shadows. Nor was it only the Byrons and Shelleys of that day who appeared to have ignored so completely their high calling: these boldly and treacherously made use of the power bestowed upon them, to be far otherwise expended, in giving a fearful fascination to evil; but even in productions apparently harmless and of negative influence, such as the *Curse of Kehama*, *Christabell*, or *Marmion*, we find not a trace of any effort to accomplish the great work for which the children of genius are marked out and set apart from other men. It is not enough that they have wrought no evil, or that with melodious words they have beguiled some hours of idleness. It requires the entire devotion and energy of a life; the full resolute purpose of an obedient soul, rightly to perform the poet's divinely appointed mission; and at this time more than ever, as we shall shortly prove, it is essential that we should inquire how best this work may be performed.

Truly their office is weighty and responsible, their gift at once glorious and fearful ; a fire from heaven itself has been kindled within their souls, in order that with steady light it may for ever burn before the altar of their God, shedding its radiance bright and glowing on the holy truths that too often seem so dim and stern to many wayward eyes ; and they are given the lofty intellect, the ardent soaring spirit, that they may be goaded upward into steep and distant paths, where they can meet and hold high converse with the seraphim rich in love, and the cherubim in wisdom ; and whence with their own tuneful voices they can echo back to men the strains of living music they have heard above, and win them from this earth's rude noise to hearken to the songs from Paradise that whisper of eternal life. For this is the one work to which Christian poets are appointed, even to make God's own Truth lovely in the eyes of men ; to overcome the world and all its deep seduction by the burning eloquence with which they can set forth the unseen beauty of that which is to come. Syren-like, by the spell of their sweet melody, it is designed that they should draw souls out from the sunny paths of earth to follow after them upon that way of suffering, where One wearing a crown of thorns hath gone before ; and ever it is ordained that they should proclaim in every word the *Post crucem corona*, so that their voice of alluring sweetness may fling around that cross a fascination deeper than all the enchantment of this world's dearest joys.

But we said well that the office was not more glorious than awful, since in order to fit them for it they are exiled as it were out of the common humanity, and endued with so highly wrought a temperament, so great an intensity of feeling, that they can find no sympathy among their fellow men, and are driven up to seek it only in the communion of the unseen, where they must learn the mysteries they are appointed to repeat below. But meanwhile here they dwell, it may be, in loneliness of spirit, misunderstood and unappreciated ; so mournfully sensitive, a word or look can wound, a thought can torture them, and suffering ever from that longing of their unfathomable affections, which deepening only when repulsed or slighted, most vainly asks an aliment from sterner natures. Thus to their mortal hearts the gift of genius fails not to bring with it the seal of inward martyrdom, it is the necessary condition of their high mission that they should find no rest or fellowship with men, for that very spirituality which fits them to speak in alluring accents of the hidden and eternal life debars them from all capacity for a lower and more earthly intercourse.

They are like unto those of old, who were required to make melody in their heaviness, for this world is truly as a Babylonish captivity to them, and they are very exiles sent out from the home of promise, into whose hand the seraph's harp is placed that they may sing the songs of Zion in a strange land.

For this cause is it that of all the talents entrusted to men, there

is none which it is so hard to return with usury, none so frequently debased from its high use and purpose, as the gift of genius. Duly to perform his task the poet must not stop short of a total abnegation of self; he must crush in his heart that yearning for human sympathy which the peculiarities of his temperament will only render the more intense; he must not yield to the dangerous temptation of using his powers merely to convey to others his own thoughts and feelings; he must not be allured to utter such words only as shall win the praise of men; or ever be led by the fascination of human love to seek with his sweet power of song to gain it. But setting before himself as the one object for which his voice of music has been given him that he should therewith win men to the love of God, he must labour to that end while life endures with most entire surrender of intellect and will.

In the present day, more perhaps than ever previously, it is of deep importance that this the great work and responsibility of genius should be recognized by all to whom its powers are entrusted. It were not possible even in thought to compass the yet working evil which has been produced by the prostitution of talent at the earlier period of this age, to which we have already alluded; and now in these earnest times, when the new life stirring in many souls constrains them to listen eagerly to words of power from whatsoever source they come, and to grasp them all the more readily if they treat of holy and hidden mysteries, it is indeed essential that the trumpet should give no uncertain sound, but that the poet's voice should enunciate truth, and truth alone, with all the force of an indomitable resolution, and all the charm of his peculiar eloquence.

We have some bright and living examples in our day of men who have recognized and solemnly undertaken the mission allotted to them, and the extraordinary influence which has been exercised by that one single volume, the "Christian Year," shows sufficiently how weighty and important is the task they have to accomplish. In the book before us, we have ample proof that its author has both the will and the power rightly to fulfil the poet's responsible office, and we are therefore the more anxious to point out to him such minor deficiencies as might detract from the happy effects of the work he is well qualified to perform. "The Christian Life" has passed through several editions since we gave a brief notice of it in a former number; and has evidently been progressing with sufficient rapidity in the public estimation, to have acquired an extensive influence. We are glad to see that the present copy contains various alterations and corrections, which greatly improve it; but we think that these might be yet further extended, and we will now proceed to note such changes as we conceive would materially benefit a future edition.

Mr. Montgomery is the author of various previous works, and we

are convinced that we shall be all the better able to form an impartial estimate of the present volume, that we are totally unacquainted with any of them, for it is plain to us in many passages of the "Christian Life," that his mind has been, and yet is, to a certain degree, in a state of transition; he has been advancing by rapid strides towards the fulness of that Catholic truth, of which, if we mistake not, he had some years since a most distorted perception; already, in these poems, which truly are very beautiful, he claims, and justly so, to speak with the voice of the Church; and we see good reason to hope that his deepening Catholicity will soon carry him beyond the light mists which early impressions may yet leave around his path, into the very highest regions of that pure uncompromising faith which was once delivered to the saints. Ere long, we doubt not, we shall no longer find him at times halting on the very threshold of dogmatic truth, and failing to give utterance with sufficient strength and clearness to the deep searching doctrines which he plainly holds, and which, because men too long have stumbled at them, must now be proclaimed openly and aloud, with no faint or wavering tone; and in like manner we confidently expect that, in a future edition of this work, we shall be no more startled by expressions, which seem to imply that he has not fully recognized the awful sanctity of the subjects of which he treats. We gather from the titles of his former works, that there is no lack of boldness in the eagle spirit of this poet; he fears not to face the Sun itself; and there is something almost startling in the uncompromising openness with which he assails the most awful themes; he must, however, be fully aware, that in choosing such subjects, and professing such lofty aims, he lays himself open to a severity of criticism, which it would be unfitting to apply to any but these towering flights.

Not less rigid than the examination to which, of old, the Priest was subjected, ere he was permitted to minister in the sanctuary, must be the scrutiny with which we look on those who handle the holy mysteries of the faith; slight blemishes and errors that in themes less momentous, would be forgiven or overlooked, must all be dragged up to the light when they appear in such a position as to obscure, even in the faintest degree, the glory of the Truth.

We give in the author's own words, his aim in this present work, in order that it may be seen what high ground he has chosen, so that in judging him by his own standard, we must estimate his success in proportion to the loftiness of his avowed purpose.

"It is a sincere, but inadequate effort, to portray in a poetical form, somewhat of the creed and character, the duties and dangers, the hopes and fears, the faults and privileges, and final destinies of a believer in the religion of CHRIST. Moreover, the Divinity, Personality, and ope-

ration of the Spirit, the sacramental privileges of the Church, the due subordination of the lower and sensuous understanding to the higher and holier law of a spiritualized conscience, are not the least of those sacred themes the author would ever desire to propound and revere.

* * * * *

"As to the theological character which these pages develope, the writer firmly believes them to be in doctrinal accordance with all which a loyal churchman should believe and profess, being that which is sanctioned by Divine Scripture, canonized by the teaching of our own Apostolical Communion, and maintained by the Catholic Fathers of the Christian Church in every age."

It must be admitted that Mr. Montgomery gives here a most comprehensive and really startling summary of the various objects he designs to accomplish in this work ; and we should be disposed to say that any book in which so high an aim were fully and ably executed would be about the most important that could be written. It remains for us therefore to see how far the author has succeeded in his great design. Were we to judge of this volume without reference to any previous declaration on his part, and simply according to the impression it might produce on our unbiassed judgment, we should pronounce it to be a work full of poetic beauty and of genuine religious fervour, well fitted to exercise a most salutary and happy influence on the mind, by leading it out from this false world and all the lusts thereof to the calm pure regions of holy hope, and placing before it, in words not more sweet than truthful, the searching requirements of that faith which demands for its holocaust the living heart. Content with the pleasure we should have derived from the able manner in which certain doctrines are enunciated, we should not have thought of demanding whether it contained a full exposition of Catholic truth in all its details ; whether, in short, it were really a faithful and perfect mirror of the mind of the Church. Yet inasmuch as the author assumes no less a mission for his work, his readers will naturally be drawn to look upon it in this light, and such minds as are disposed to be led by him may be induced to believe that the doctrines he overlooks are no part of the Church's teaching, or the truths he too feebly and partially sets forth of no higher import than that he attributes to them.

We confess that on reading that portion of the author's preface recorded above, we anticipated most surely that we should have to notice the failure to a certain extent of his bold design, and that simply because we saw no traces of the one element we conceive to be most essential to the worthy handling of God's own Holy Truths—even a deep and awe-stricken humility. Forasmuch as a most Divine thanksgiving once went up to heaven because the FATHER had hidden these things from the wise and prudent, and

revealed them unto babes, we may rest assured that except we approach them with the mind of a little child in all lowly helplessness and deep mistrust of self, we can in no wise either receive them rightly, or teach them unto others.

And now, in examining the pretensions of this work, we will take first "the sacramental privileges of the Church," "one of the sacred themes the author would desire to propound." These privileges then he designs fully to set forth and explain in all their details, in all their bearings, in the uttermost depth of their riches; and therefore it will not be sufficient that he teach us no error, he must give us *all* the truth. We extract some stanzas from the poem on the Holy Eucharist.

" Though bread look bread, and water water seem
To carnal vision dull and cold,
Yet sacraments out-soar the dream
Of those who nought but sense behold.
Faith is the eye by which believers view
CHRIST in the tokens of His Presence true."

* * * * *

" Incorporate with Emmanuel's Body all
By sacramental union grow,
Who CHRIST their resurrection call,
Though sinful dust they seem below.
Though accidents of flesh form all men see,
Something beyond *may* living temples be."

* * * * *

" Refreshment, pardon, and renewing grace,
God's Eucharist to each imparts,
That prints a reverential trace
Of JESUS on their sainted hearts.
And who are they who need no heavenly gift,
High o'er the world their sinking hearts to lift ?

" Humility and hope this feast inspires,
Chastens the mind and calms our fears,
And cools the uncontrolled fires
Of those who fancy heaven is near," &c.

Who shall deny that these lines give a most vague, feeble, and bounded idea of the tremendous mystery conveyed in the words "THIS IS MY BODY?" What! is "a *reverential trace* of JESUS on the heart" all that we obtain in that most awful rite, of which He said, "He that eateth My Flesh and drinketh My Blood dwelleth in Me and I in him :—" "he that eateth Me, even he shall live by Me :—" and of which the Church says, "for then we are one with CHRIST and CHRIST with us ?" Is it enough to say that we are given refreshment, pardon, grace, humility, and hope, when it is the Very and Living LORD Himself Whom we receive into our

souls ? and what mean the confused, unsatisfactory lines we meet with later, where the simple but awful union of our LORD with the recipients of His Sacred Body is painfully obscured ?

“ CHRIST and the creatures, matter, grace, *and mind*,
In these pure symbols meet to bless mankind.”

What is the meaning of “ mind ” meeting with the matter and grace of the Sacrament ? Again, how are persons incorporated into the Body of CHRIST, by “ calling Him their resurrection ? ” And wherefore so feebly imply that although

“ Accidents of flesh form all men see
Something beyond *may* living temples be ? ”

The “ *may*, ” specially marked, supposes a doubt which exists not. We *are* made temples of the HOLY GHOST from the moment of our baptismal regeneration, and however much in later years we may ruin or defile them, that first Sacrament does truly constitute us “ something ” awfully beyond “ mere accidents of flesh ” by the indwelling of the Blessed Spirit. Singularly enough, the very texts which Mr. Montgomery quotes in reference to this stanza, proclaim in plainest terms that over which he throws a doubt ; we are very certain that it is not a point on which he *has* any doubt himself, but this carelessness of expression may be injurious, and should be rectified.

Again, in the first stanza we have given, we are struck by a peculiarity which throughout the book is continually marring the beauty of the poetry : it is that in many passages which are often strikingly excellent, we are startled by the abrupt change to what is not only bad versification, but to a mode of treating the sublimest subjects which is miserably puerile and undignified. The want of grace, not to say of reverence, in such words as

“ Though bread look bread, and water water seem,”

speaks for itself, and we could give many instances where we have been disagreeably recalled from the pleasure we were enjoying in the perusal of this work by similar incongruities. We shall have occasion however to revert to these later, and we must now continue to scrutinize a little further the weightier matters of doctrine. We are fully aware that some of the stanzas in this poem on the Holy Eucharist would seem to approach more nearly to the depth and awfulness of its truths, but if they are counteracted by the low view taken in those we have quoted and others, we must count them as of none effect.

This is not the only instance where the author displays a degree

of inconsistency, which causes his words to neutralize each other, and which we believe may fairly be attributed to the state of transition through which as we have said he seems to be passing. One very glaring example of this we much regret, concerning those "sacramental privileges" which he desires to propound.

He gives a poem on Holy Baptism, which is not only perhaps one of the most beautiful in the book, but thoroughly sound in principle, and wherein the mind of the Church respecting the full power of this momentous Sacrament is plainly set forth. But why then in another part of the volume does he give us an account in a poem entitled "Conviction and Confession" of a species of post-baptismal regeneration which he had experienced himself, a sort of "special call," as it would be termed in certain phraseology, in which he appears to ignore completely his ever having received any grace in Baptism whatever, or that so much as the germ of regenerate life had been planted within his soul. Really comparing those two poems together, it seems hardly unfair to say that the only natural inference to be drawn from them is, that while Mr. Montgomery holds very sound and orthodox views respecting Baptism, himself was unfortunately never baptized.

Again, in his lines on the "Visitation of the Sick" we find that despite his resolution to "pourtray in a poetical form" the teaching and privileges of our Apostolical Communion, and the duties, &c., of a believer, he is mysteriously silent on one of the most important points of our Church's discipline. He gives a detailed account of all the priest must do and say in the sick room, and yet omits entirely the slightest allusion to the solemn and special confession which he is required to move the dying man to make to him before administering the last communion, and to the blessed absolution which except there be sin unrepented of the Church in her love and mercy enjoins him to bestow. We have no doubt this is a mere omission, but in a work professing to teach *all* that a Christian ought to be, it is unfortunate that we should find no mention whatever of the last great duty which it is permitted him to perform in this world.

Amongst other claims which the author sets forth in his preface, he proposes to set before us all the views "maintained by the Catholic Fathers of the Christian Church in all ages." How does it happen then that in a poem called the "Believer's* destined work" we have a violent condemnation of that consecrated life of the cloister which the "Catholic Fathers" were wont to look upon as the highest order of sanctity? The whole poem is to us very objectionable, as the writer labours to show that it is *impossible* to serve GOD otherwise than in the active strife and turmoil of the world, and that those who offer themselves to CHRIST with the entire devotion of

* This is a cant word which should be avoided.

an existence dedicated to contemplation, prayer, and almsdeeds, are but men who with

" craven hearts
And love of selfish ease
Shrink from the conflict or the crowd,
And in dull cloisters bent and bowed
Enjoy a bad release.
Alas, for their religious mock,
Whose creed is SELF disguised," &c.

We really trust that in a future edition Mr. Montgomery will rectify these mistaken views, which must necessarily tend to tarnish the glory of so many saints now at rest with CHRIST, and which show a great misconception of God's mercy in giving to Christendom in former times those monastic institutions to which, under Him, we owe the preservation of the Creeds and the Canon of Scripture. We would hope that the blessed effects of similar establishments which God of His lovingkindness is restoring to our Church in the present day, may prove to our author how much he is mistaken in this matter. But meanwhile there is a vast leaven of Protestant fallacy in such lines as these—

" Mistaken victims of themselves,
Who violate their creed,
And fly with recreant heart and will,
Instead of facing stern and still
The front of battle's need.

* * * *

" A cloister's gloom, a cowl, a cell,
May oft a mind conceal,
Where rancour, pride, and envy reign,
While passion gnaws a viler chain
Than fettered world slaves feel."

We would only further notice among the blemishes to this really valuable work on which we have so freely remarked, a certain occasional irreverence and likewise ambiguity of style, both of which are errors that might easily be remedied: the first of these is a danger into which the writer of sacred poetry is most liable to fall; he is so very apt, in enlarging on holy themes, to *assume* more than revelation warrants. Our author gives us one or two instances of this: and we would attribute to the associations of an earlier stage of his career the use of expressions which sometimes pain us from their apparent want of reverence. These may be so easily altered, that we briefly mention a few:

" The universe would flee
And leave Thee, *Godhead, as Thou art!*"

These last words are overbold—the next is a specimen of a style we greatly dislike—

“Tokens of *tender Deity*.”

Again, it is not for us to qualify the forgiven offence of a most holy Apostle in terms such as these—

“Yes, Adam, Cain, and *Peter's lie*.”

“*Rapt JESU*” savours of a phraseology, whose painful peculiarity is an unpardonable familiarity with the sacred name—

“*Rapt JESU* sought the quiet shore.”

The attempt at originality in the next line has resulted in simple obscurity—

“There is no heaven but in bad self denied.”

The manner in which our Divine LORD's Humanity is here qualified grates painfully on the ear—

“Intensely human CHRIST replies.”

And now although we have unsparingly commented on the deficiencies which detract from the merits of this very beautiful book, in the firm belief that they may be effectually and completely corrected by the author in his next edition, we assure our readers that the work as it stands is one whose beauty of language and great poetic talent will afford them the highest pleasure, and from which likewise they may derive very great spiritual benefit.

We regret that our space does not allow us to give, as we had intended, passages illustrative of our author's characteristic merits.

ILLUSTRATIONS OF THE STATE OF THE CHURCH DURING THE GREAT REBELLION.

EPISCOPACY.

(Continued from p. 125.)

THE defeat at Worcester, whilst it consolidated the political power of the governing body, had also an important bearing on the state of religion. It is difficult to understand the confused state of ecclesiastical affairs at this period. Nominally there were still three parties who divided the establishment between them, for though the Bishops had been deprived, and with them most of the clergy who supported episcopacy, had been driven from their posts, yet a few still remained, having been overlooked, either as persons of less consequence, or as having friends who interceded for them with the government. Besides these there must have been a large number of persons but little acquainted with controversy, who in better days would have ranked themselves with the orthodox party, but who did not consider episcopacy a point of vital importance, and whose views met with sympathy even from some of the deprived Bishops. How far men, such as Archbishop Ussher and Brownrigg, Bishop of Exeter, would have gone in the line of toleration, in their concessions for the sake of peace, it would not be easy to say. It was fortunate for the Church of England that matters had gone too far for concessions on the part of the Episcopalians to be of any use. They had no longer any part in the struggle that was going on, the two contending parties in which were the Presbyterians and the Independents—and the fight during the first attempts to restore Charles II. was in reality a battle between these two parties, represented respectively by the Scotch Kirk and the English government. But though these two parties were sufficiently distinct and marked—politically speaking—yet it would have been difficult to fix their boundaries, in point of religious belief and practice; and probably the Clergy of the country held all shades of opinion, between the two extremes of Presbyterianism and Independency, advocated with equal violence by the ministers of the Kirk on the one side, and the Parliamentary leaders on the other. Besides this, it cannot be doubted that the Establishment at this, as well as at all other times, contained a large number of Clergy—possessing sufficient indifference to doctrinal statements, and to forms of Church discipline and government, to be willing to keep their preferments under whatever amount of pressure from without. It was not that such men were consciously dishonest. Their indifference to doctrine was merely the result of

a general indifference to religion ; and questions that came before them did not really affect their minds, because they never gave themselves the trouble of understanding them. However, the Establishment still possessed men of piety, and some degree of learning and acuteness—men whom the episcopal divines thought it quite worth their while to reply to, as is evidenced by the continual issue of theological volumes and pamphlets from the press during this period. Amongst the most important of these, (strange as it may seem, to say so now that the book has been entirely forgotten,) was Hammond's *Dissertationes Quatuor*, alluded to in a previous paper.* It came out early in June, 1651, and if we may judge from an expression in one of his letters to the Bishop of Ely,† was designed to be followed by another tract in English, on Episcopacy, which seems to have been altogether suppressed. It is to these dissertations that allusion is made in the following letters. They were provoked by the then recent controversy about the genuineness of the epistles of S. Ignatius, and their author may not improbably have thought it reasonable to bring them out at a time, when Presbyterianism seemed to have a chance of becoming the established form of Church government in England ; or it is possible, he may have entertained hopes of episcopacy again rising up from the ruins of the other two forms of belief, which were now brought into such direct antagonism. The book seems to have had considerable weight, because we incidentally learn from the biographers of Bull and Patrick, that the former had his doubts on the subject of episcopacy satisfied by reading it, and the other was actually induced by it to apply to Hall, Bishop of Norwich, for ordination, having previously received Presbyterian orders from a class of presbyters.

Hammond was, as we may judge from the following letters, busily employing his time in reading and writing. Besides the *Dissertations*, he appears to have been engaged upon the *Annotations*, which did not come out till nearly two years after, also with some short tracts alluded to in the second letter, which came out in 1653, with the title of "A letter of resolution to Six Quæres of present use in the Church of England." The subjects of five are those mentioned by him in his letter to the Bishop of Ely ; the sixth was perhaps an after-thought, written in continuation of the second, and may have been intended as an antidote to Milton's treatise on the same subject, which had been published some years before.

To render these letters intelligible, we must remind the reader that Hammond's correspondent, who writes under the fictitious name of A. Cl[eveland] is Dr. Matthew Wrenn, Bishop of Ely, who had been now for some years imprisoned in the tower, being

* See Vol. VII., p. 292.

† Ib. p. 293.

considered too powerful an enemy to the present established form of government, both in Church and State, to be allowed his liberty. We have before referred to his great learning, and have had occasion to speak of his uncompromising behaviour. He was now without his books, as he says, and it is to be regretted therefore that he should have adopted such interpretations of Scripture, as if he had been in possession of his library, he would hardly have assented to, as not having the sanction of antiquity.

[Wrenn, 4.]

“Sir,—His reply now is that although he cannot but ascribe it to a singular modesty in you, yet he is sorry you would take hold of that title which he said last, with his thanks touching the book, by the wrong ear of it. For by what he had said to you when he first perused it in writing, your right apprehension of what he said now so briefly, should have been to assure yourself of a high value he makes of the work, as being extraordinarily pleased, and abundantly satisfied on the whole carriage of the argument against your adversaries. By that which he told you he would reserve till God gave opportunity of conference, was only meant, that by the way, as you go, here and there he chopt upon some places of Scripture (beyond which he meddles not as being still bereft of all books and notes,) which he does not apprehend altogether so as you do, or as they are commonly accepted. And this to no impairing of your Discourse, that, though it should prove to be as he conceives, then your argument would have the less force in any point, but rather the more in some. As for example in this enclosed paper.

“In your first dissertation, about Antichrist, the mystery of iniquity and Diotrephes, he cannot persuade himself that in *ὁ ἀντικείμενος*, 2 Thess. ii. 4, S. Paul had any thought of such an Antichrist as they commonly make of it. And also that the rise which the Apostle there takes for his discourse about that mystery, *ὡς ὅτι ἐνίστηεν ἡ ἡμέρα τοῦ Χριστοῦ*, ver. 2, is wholly mistaken in rendering it *Quasi instet dies Domini*. And that the mistake is grammatical, for though *ἐνίστημι* signifies *instare*, as in Latin *instare* hath a transitive sense for *urgere opus*, yet as it is intransitively meant for *appropinquare* or *prope adesse* it hath no such sense in Greek, nor ever is *instare* so; how much less in the præterperfect tense *ἐνίστηναι*! which signifies not but *præteritum esse*, and so makes S. Paul’s meaning in that place the very same with what he says, *τὴν ἀνάστασιν ἤδη γαρονέαι*, 2 Tim. ii. 18. Much he hath to say about this, as having a dissertation (among his papers) made about three years since upon it. And for Diotrephes to be *φιλοπρωτεύων*, he reckons it but a trick from Geneva to render *φιλοπρωτεύειν αὐτῶν* *Primatum eorum ambire*. For he looks upon Diotrephes as

ὁ πρῶτος; in that particular church, what church soever it was, and as the Bishop there. One therefore that did not *ambire tñn πρωτίαν quam non habebat*, but only *quam habebat* did *nimis cupide et arroganter gerere*. Taking it therefore in foul scorn that the Apostle, for I repute that Epistle his, should send any assistants thither, as though Diotrophes were not able enough, and sufficient for his own diocese, and therefore fell into those high misdemeanours against S. John. In the Greek, φίλος; compounded with any verb bears to that sense. And S. John therefore writes to Gaius, as to another neighbouring Bishop in the same province, to prevent any schism that Diotrophes might make in drawing parties to him. Commends him therefore for receiving such preachers as S. John sent out, ver. 5 and 6, and advises him not to be seduced by Diotrophes, μὴ μιμοῦ, ver. 11, but to sort with Bishop Demetrius, ver. 12.

“Another example out of the fourth dissertation; though the word διάκονος, when the first Epistle was written to Timothy, was then begun, and that but newly, to be used in the Church for the particular order of deacons subservient to the Bishop; the first mention whereof so is there 1 Tim. iii. 8, yet that phrase of οἱ καλῶς διακονήσαντες, ver. 13, he takes not to be spoken of that order only, but of all in sacred and ecclesiastical function, of Bishops, as well as Deacons, in the same sense as διακονία is 1 Tim. i. 12, and 2 Tim. iv. 5, and so to be a privy encouragement to Timothy himself in his place. And therefore, that βαθμὴν ταυτοῖς καλὸν περιποιῶνται, though he thinks it begat the common phrase long used among us *de gradibus ministrorum*, is but wrested to that sense in which there is no meaning, to distinguish degrees in the Church; much less to make us so nice when we treat of the orders of the Church, then but two, afterward by a new distribution of sacred power made three, as if they were but degrees only. And his reason why he says διάκονος was but then lately applied to that particular signification, he takes out of the other Epistle, written by the Apostle on the same argument to Titus, which was a year or perhaps two before that to Timothy, wherein it seems that acceptance of it was not so common then as for him to use it, and therefore he calls them πρεσβύτεας there; Tit. ii. 2.

“As for πρεσβύτειδες, ver. 3, he holds you are in the right to take them as women in ecclesiastical employment. But he cannot admit them for other than the Deacons’ wives, bearing the name of their husbands’ title, therefore called γυνῆαι; in the midst of his instructions for Deacons, 1 Tim. iii. 12; yea, and more than so, called by him πρεσβυτέραις also, 1 Tim. v. 2, and so opposed to νεωτέρας the laic women. And the reason of that is because the word πρεσβύτερος is used by himself in a new πολυσημασία, ver. 1, where it comprehends every one that is in sacred function, both Bishop and Deacon, πρεσβυτέρῳ μὴ ἐπιπλήξῃς; and so again

κατὰ πρεσβυτέρου, ver. 19. In analogy therefore hereunto he terms their wives *πρεσβυτέρας*.

"And that it can mean none but their wives, he grounds his reasons upon *ἵνα σαφρονίζωσι τὰς νέας*, Tit. ii. 4, for they by their husbands might be instructed in those *profunda Satanae*, introduced by the Simonians, and the Nicolaites, which no Christian woman might incline to hear or come to know *salvâ pudicitia et illæso pudore* from any man but from their own husbands, and so they were enabled to deal with the laity of their own sex so plainly as Bishop or Deacon or any man might not, to teach them what was then most necessary to be urged, particularly to be *φιλόανδρους* and *φιλοτέκνους*, the meaning whereof is, not to love those husbands and children they had, which nature alone taught, but to love to have them, which the Gnostics opposed. And this he believes was the primary use of all those women used then in the Church, even of those commended by the Apostle for their labouring with him, (Rom. xvi. and Phil. iv.) As for widows, the Church of Ephesus indeed was rich, and able to maintain such, but they were not for any ecclesiastical employment; and perhaps not yet in any other Church. In after ages indeed other women, and for other services, came to be used in churches, but we cannot rightly interpret Scripture by things after done, the use whereof appears not in Scripture.

"Which he hastily wrote over to give you a taste, as he said, of his right meaning. Had his own papers been by him he would have sent you some of them, wherein many such things as these are largely discoursed out of the Scriptures. But they were grown to such a bulk (of nine or ten quires of paper) that a friend would not let them remain here about, but hath carried them far away into the country.

"By this letter he hopes you will fully understand his mind, that he rejoiceth much in your book and blesseth God for you and it. Always mindful of you in his devotions, as he also hopes you are of him. This Sir, being said, I am, to present myself,

"Your humble servant,

"July 19, 1651.

A. Cl[eveland]."

In the interval of three months, which elapsed between this and the following letter, there must have passed some correspondence between the two divines, but whatever letters were written have been lost; there must have been at least one from each of them, and if we may judge from the unsettled state of affairs, as well as from the internal evidence afforded by the second letter; there were no more written.

The allusion to the "truly excellent person whose motion near this place was so unfortunate," of course refers to the battle of

Worcester. Hammond had had an interview with the King, and of him he is speaking. It is singular that the king's adherents all speak of him at this time in the same high terms of eulogy. That the character given of him was not altogether true, our readers will easily believe. It is sufficient to say here that the stern uncompromising character of the prelate addressed, forbids the supposition that any one knowing the history of Charles' private life, could have given him such an account of the king—whilst the purity of the writer's life indicates that he too was in entire ignorance of the king's delinquencies.

The other subject alluded to in the following letter, is one of great interest, viz., the scheme for preserving the succession of Bishops in the English Church. History has preserved no record of any such scheme, but the letter sufficiently indicates that the notion was entertained, and little incidental notices show that the king, during his perilous wanderings after the battle of Worcester, had communications on the subject with the English divines. It seems a probable conjecture that the interview of an hour with Dr. Henchman was occupied with this subject. Of the present attempt, nothing more is known, than that it issued in nothing; as likewise did another much more secretly conducted scheme for the same purpose, which was set on foot three or four years later.

[H. to W. 9.]

"Sir,—I received the signification of your great care and solicitude for my safety, to which kindness I am able to make a very full return, if it were seasonable by this way to tell you how truly an excellent person he is, whose motion near this place was so unfortunate. But this must be reserved till God give me a time to wait on you. I also received your *Strictura*, for the great pains and diligence in which, and for the benefit I received by them, and for the kindness which alone could dispose you for such a work, all the acknowledgments that I can make are to be as much the better for them as I can. I have made my margin the witness of that, and if a new impression prove needful, that will be a time of bringing forth what I have received. But I think by what I heard from Royst[on] lately, that the impression is so far vented that it will not be *tanti* to make a new table of errata; I hear no noise of any reply, or of any censure passed on it by any of the opposite party, unless I should tell you what was this week written to me, by one that hath inquired of it, that they pretend not any failings in the discourse, but being willing to find fault, allow it not a seasonable action to defend an opinion persecuted by so strong a power. But from a friend, your successor in the Cl[oset] I had these words: 'I doubt of your opinion about $\pi\epsilon\sigma\beta[\acute{\upsilon}\tau\alpha\pi\omicron\iota]$ in the New Testament, and though you may seem to join with Petavius and

others in it, yet perhaps it is but little for our advantage, and undoubtedly new. But of all other objections I conceived you would make answer to his sixteen or seventeen instances, that simple Priests have ordained. I will never let you be at quiet till you have done it.'

"This latter part I am resolved to think unreasonable, and I confess I wonder the former should be so new. For though till you cozened me out of the fear, I apprehended it unsafe to say it, yet I have a long time thought it, yet learnt it not from Petavius. I do not concur with you in wishing myself an obligation to the trouble of a reply; there were dregs enough in the last draught, to take off my appetite from sucking out more. I am this week put in mind by G[ilbert] Sh[eldon] to be a remembrancer to some of those who are concerned, to think of doing somewhat to preserve a Church among us, lest it perish with their order, which is now reduced to a small number, and those literally *πρεσβύτεροι*. If you have had any thoughts on *πρόσῳπον τῆς γενέσεως*, Jam. i. 23, I should be glad to know how you render it. I have lately formed some few discourses,—1. Of the way of deciding controversies, not decided in Scripture. 2. Of marrying the wife's sister, propinquities, and divorce. 3. Of pædo-baptism, answering Dr. Taylor's plea for the Anabaptists, in his Lib[erty] of Proph[esying]. 4. Of ordination. 5. Of Christmas-day, which I wish were improved by you without giving you too much trouble; but now the approach of winter days discourages me from sending them. Have you seen Mr. Hobbes' Leviathan, a farrago of Christian Atheism? With my daily prayers for you, I am, most humbly and heartily your servant."

"Oct. 14, [16]51.

[Henry Hammond.]"

[H. to W. 10.]

"Sir,—Some things I perceive to have been so hastily thrown down in my last, that they have caused some mistake. As when you conceive Petavius hath seventeen instances, that Priests have ordained. For it is Blondell hath so, and then that will be no news to you. Which yet to reply to will not be fit for the discourse of ordination in my last mentioned to you; 1. because it is in English; 2. because that being designed to these times, which quite cast off all ministerial or ecclesiastical function, is only to prove ordination and succession in the Church, not descending to the Presbyterians' pretensions. The book wherein Petavius joins with, and is of mine opinion, is first that to which Walo Messal[inus] is an answer, and 2, a great volume *de Ordine Ecclesiastico* in answer to which Salmasius de Primatu was designed as preparatory. The first I read twelve years since; the second I never saw. G[ilbert] Sh[eldon] which you cannot interpret, is your grandchild in the

Cl[oset.] And having mentioned his proposal to you, which I acknowledge will want conference and advice, I leave it to you as you see occasion. Mr. Hobbes is the author of the book *De Cive*, in which he entitles himself *a studiis* to the king; but having in France been angered by some Divines, and having now a mind to return hither, hath chosen to make his way by this book, which some tell me takes infinitely among the looser sons of the Church, and the king's party, being indeed a farrago of all the maddest divinity that ever was read, and having destroyed Trinity, Heaven, Hell, may be allowed to compare ecclesiastical authority to the kingdom of faeries.

"Oct. 21, [16]51.

Sir, I am assuredly yours,
 "[Henry Hammond.]"

[Wrenn, 5.]

"Sir,—You have now rectified him in the affirmative part, that Blondell it is who hath these instances of Presbyterian ordinations. And you have satisfied him in the negative part so far, as why you cannot fitly meddle therewith in your English discourse. But yet, this is not why you should not meddle at all. He rests not therefore to thrust you still upon it, as far as his advice may, upon this reason, that he hath been told by a discreet friend or two since your book came out, that that paralogism doth still sway too much with many abroad. For they think they are safe against *Nil dat quod non habet*, because though they be but Presbyters that do ordain, they have the order; and as for the other rule of *Nemo assumit, nisi qui vocatus*, they do not hold it so well applied against them; for they which are ordained by them, make account they are well enough called, and so *non assumunt sibi*, much less are they that do ordain thought guilty of assuming, when they had the order before. Never considering that they have not the power, but misapplying CHRIST's phrase, *ὁ εἰχεν αὐτῇ ἐκλογῆς*, and so going on to give what they have, and to do what they can, become what will of *Id possumus quod jure possumus*; though they would surely condemn a knight or a lord that should take upon themselves to make knights or lords. What weight is in Blondell's instances he remembers not, reading him but once very cursorily, and now hath not the book. But if there be aught in any of them he could weigh it down. And for an opportunity, what think you of telling (in a word) that friend beyond the seas, that wrote to you to challenge it of you, that you would not have done it more now than at first, but upon his instance. Nor that neither, but that at the same time your printer sends to you to crave leave and order for a new impression. So may you well make it an additional to your brief *Præmonitio ad lectorem*, and (if you so think fit), remove it to the

end of your book, and make an admonition of it with a touch thereof in the title page. So have you his opinion and all his best wishes. Do as you think best. For the having mentioned the proposal of G[ilbert] Sh[eldon] to him, and there leaving it, he says might be repented as much as no mention, he being only *ἀναχωρησάς*, and never having opportunity of advice or discourse, with any whom that matter may concern.

"To God's blessing he recommends you, as himself, and desires you if you write to G[ilbert] Sh[eldon] to say no less to him from the Anchorite.

"October 25th, [16]51.

"For the title page, to that motto *Qui sequitur me non ambulat in tenebris*, why is not the speaker expressed, or the citation added? For fear of envy's misconstruction?"

[Wrenn, 6.]

"Sir,—I am bid to tell you that he hath done as you bade him; but that he did it no sooner, is because he was bidden no sooner. For though your note to him bore date January 12, yet it came not to his hand till February 21, towards evening. Then Mr. Barrow brought it, and a loose moiety of your papers, your three first queries, which he hath now sealed up and sent back to him. But those few animadversions which he made in perusing them, come here to you by your stationer, as you desired they should: yet referring to the paragraph as they do, he supposes they will be of small use to you without your papers; but the loss is small, because with your papers you would not find much in them. However, if the rest of the papers be sent to him as Mr. Barrow said they should be, he intends to show you what he conceives of them also. All happiness he wishes you, and so commends you to the blessings of the ALMIGHTY.

"In Sti Matthias, 1651."

[Wrenn, 7.]

"Sir,—On St. Matthias' Day, the first half of your papers were delivered in Chancery Lane, and somewhat written for yourself, was then left with your stationer, if yet you have it. On Shrove Tuesday Mr. Bar[row] brought the other half of your papers to him. But they found him so engaged in another business, that he had no leisure till the Friday. But then he fell upon them. And Mr. Bar[row] coming again to him yesterday, (upon another occasion,) he had then just ended and delivered your papers again to him. His strictures upon them he now sends you, such as they are, by your stationer. He says he could advise it should be so contrived that the three last queries, (if not the rest,) when they come forth may be to be had severally,

every one alohe by itself, by any that desire it so. They will vend much the more, and so be the more profitable to the Church. Many a one that hath no mind or occasion to peruse all, or not leisure to read them all, or not money to buy them all, yet would gladly have one of them, (some this one, some that one,) as his present interest or affection leads him. This is all I have now in command to write, but his desire to hear sometimes how you do, and his daily desires of all blessings upon you.

“March 9th, 1651[—2].”

[Wrenn, 8.]

“Sir,—He said he made account that his notes, till you had the papers of them would be of no use to you; yet he presumed they will then be of thus much use, as to let you see he deals freely with you, desiring to prefer truth, as far as he wots, above all things. Touching the two advertisements, he may guess, he says, somewhat concerning the second. But fully apprehend you he does not in it, much less in that greater liberty which you say might now be useful. But for the former advertisement of yours, it is no stranger to him, there having been three or four addresses to him from abroad about it, whereof two very lately. But the business being of so great weight and length, he also committing nothing to that uncertain bearer, pen and ink, and the parties that came to him not being capable of carrying it in their breasts, all the answer that he returned was, that till he were fitted with a living conveyance, he could send nothing but the tender of his duties there. And this is all that he hath now to send to you, more than the continuance of his prayers for you.

“March 18, 1651[—2].

By your servant,
“A. Cl[eveland].”

We promised our readers that it would appear from internal evidence, (and we possess no other,) who the writer of these letters to Hammond was. The expression, “your successor in the cl[oset]” in the first, and “your grandchild in the cl[oset]” in the second, is alone nearly proof enough that Wrenn was the writer, as he was Clerk of the Closet till 1635, in which office he was succeeded by Dr. Richard Steward, and he by Dr. Gilbert Sheldon about 1638; so that the latter could be spoken of by Hammond as the grandson of the former in that capacity. It is a little remarkable that Wrenn should not have had the sagacity to guess at the initials of G. Sh. The bearer of these letters was the celebrated Dr. Isaac Barrow, at that time a young man about twenty-one. He had been admitted at Peter-house in 1643, but was removed from the college to Trinity, after his uncle had been ejected from his fellowship. Though so young, he stedfastly refused to take the covenant, but afterwards took the oath of the engagement. Of

this he presently repented, and went back to the commissioners to declare his change of mind, when his name was erased from the list of subscribers. He took his degree in 1649, and was elected Fellow of Trinity the same year, and for some time studied physic; but afterwards, upon the advice of his uncle, Dr. Isaac Barrow, Bishop of S. Asaph, changed his profession. Why it was that he was not ejected from Cambridge, together with the other Royalists and Episcopalians, does not appear. It seems probable that he was not in residence, but the account of his life has no mention of his mode of living between the years 1649 and 1654. He had been educated at Cambridge by Hammond's liberality, and the above letters show that he was at this time employed in his benefactor's service; but he was not ordained till the year 1659, by Brownrigg, Bishop of Exeter.

(To be continued.)

JOHN CALVIN.

The Life of John Calvin, compiled from authentic sources, and particularly from his correspondence. By THOMAS H. DYER.
London: Murray, 1850.

It is a curious fact that the opinions of Calvin, who was later in the field and had fewer personal qualifications than any of the foreign reformers, should have obtained a firmer hold and acquired a more lasting influence with posterity than the opinions of Zuingli or Luther have gained. Yet so it is. While mere naked Zuinglianism has disappeared even from the soil which gave it birth, and exists only with Mr. Gorham and his clique, and while Lutheranism scarcely even lingers in Germany, Calvinism has at times impressed itself upon every portion of western Christendom. Not indeed that the western Church has ever as a body acknowledged the heresy of Calvin, nor can that heresy ever combine with Catholic truth, otherwise than as oil mingles with water and clay with gold; still the churches both under the Roman and Anglican rule have felt its influence. In our own country indeed from the time that Calvin sought to convert the Marian exiles at Frankfort to his opinions, has the virus of his heresy been eating as a canker into the vitals of the English Church. It was the poison which jeopardised the existence almost of the Church in Elizabeth's time. It was the evil genius which the Hampton Court conference had to exorcise. The crosier of Laud was scarcely able to crush it, and at the Savoy Conference the hopes of its entire annihilation were, it seems, a little premature. For recent events have shown that "the

snake was scotched, but not killed." At any rate, the fostering and genial influence of the Judicial Committee has warmed the reptile into life again—and that too with all the experience of the bitter controversies which these opinions have in former ages of our Church occasioned, and notwithstanding the admonitory symptoms which were given of what would be the consequence of reanimating the palsied and almost lifeless frame of Calvinism.

"Close the serpent sly,
Insinuating, wove with Gordian twine
His braided train, and of his fatal guile
Gave proof unheeded."

So that it would seem as if this were again to become the vexed question of Theological strategy in England, the result of which internecine warfare, what seer amongst us can foretell? If consequences and not strict law were to be regarded by the Judges, they might well have trembled to open this controversy afresh.

That Calvinism should have had a posthumous reputation so general is the more surprising when we consider how little of the personal history of its inventor is known. What has been revealed has come to us in a foreign garb. No life of Calvin of any importance has appeared in our vernacular tongue until this of Mr. Dyer's, if we except a translation of Dr. Henry's Life, by Dr. Stebbing, which of course is only a translation of a foreign biography. There may have been sound policy in thus keeping out of sight the personal history and daily life of a religious innovator. *Omne ignotum pro magnifico.* The priestess at Delphi was hidden from the gaze of her devotees. The Indian idolaters worship outside their temples, and seldom, if ever, see their gods. Often do we find that distance lends enchantment to men of eminent distinction, while closer inspection and daily intercourse discover the failings of ordinary mortals, and prove that there is no exception to the ethical canon, *humanum est errare*. If no man is a hero to his valet, few are saints to their familiar friends. It was not therefore for nothing that the Calvinizers have kept the inner life of their idol veiled, and out of sight. And certain are we that if the vanity, egotism, repulsiveness and cruelty of his character, as they are portrayed by the impartial pen of Mr. Dyer, had been generally known, Calvin would have had fewer votaries. "By their fruits ye shall know them," would have suggested a test which this Genevese apostle could not have stood; and it is in hope that serious-minded men will yet pause ere they commit themselves to a system of religious opinions, the author of which was so unlike a disciple of the Wisdom which cometh from above, that we are induced to transfer a miniature of the full-sized portrait of John Calvin, as he is drawn to the life in the pages of Mr. Dyer's biography.

Calvin was born at Noyon, in Picardy, in 1509, and was the second of four sons. His parents were, doubtless, religious persons, otherwise they would scarcely have educated three of their sons to holy orders; at the early age of twelve years, the future reformer was the boy chaplain of the Cathedral of his native town. After he had received the rudiments of learning in the Cathedral school, he was transplanted at the age of fourteen to the High School of Paris. Here he studied Latin under the well known Corderius. It is a coincidence not to be unobserved, that during the time that the future reformer was studying at the High School in Paris, the youthful S. Francis Xavier was a student at the College of S. Barbara, in the same city. Probably, at this period, both were equally zealous for the truth, and dutiful to the Church of their baptism. How different the subsequent career of these young students.

At the age of eighteen, Calvin, though not admitted to holy orders, received the tonsure, and his father, chiefly through the influence of a noble family, the younger branches of which were his fellow students, obtained for him the living of Marteville. But for some reason, not exactly known, Calvin at this time seems to have renounced the intention of becoming an ecclesiastic, and proceeded to the University of Orleans to study jurisprudence. Doubtless the reform movement in Paris had not penetrated the walls of the High School, and Calvin was not an indifferent listener to the narration of events which would pass from form to form in that distinguished seminary. A schoolmaster at Orleans seems to have infected him still further with the new opinions, which acquired a yet stronger hold upon him at Bourges, through the influence of a German professor of Greek in that University.

It was at Bourges that he was converted, and commenced his career as an itinerant preacher, in which, according to his own account he was eminently successful. At the death of his father he returned to Paris, where he preached before the evangelical congregations for some time, and we may conclude with great effect, as he was able to persuade the newly-elected Rector of the Sorbonne to preach a sermon written by Calvin himself. The effect upon the assembled doctors may be imagined. They were naturally astounded to hear Lutheranism from a Catholic pulpit, and the head of their own order. Both the rector and his accomplice only just escaped their fury; the former fled to Basle, and Calvin in disguise made his way to his native Noyon. Although no longer a member of the Church, he scrupled not to retain the emoluments of preferment which he must have honestly considered the wages of Antichrist. He sold his chaplaincy and resigned his benefices to a cousin, a man of very questionable morality. Noyon could not now be expected to be a safe or a creditable residence. He seems to have

found his way to Nérac, the residence of Margaret of Navarre, then a fast friend of the reformers. At length however, in 1583 he ventured to return to Paris, and here he might probably have remained unmolested had not the fanatical zeal of the reformers exceeded all the bounds of toleration. Insulting placards were placed upon the Louvre, and were affixed to the royal chamber. No wonder that an insult like this should bring the vengeance of insulted majesty upon the authors of it.

Francis was so indignant that he declared that if he suspected one of his own members to be infected with these heresies, he would not scruple to cut it off, nor to offer up with his own hands, as a sacrifice to divine justice, any of his children who might have imbibed them. Indifferent persons could not expect a punishment less severe. Six of the leading fanatical insurgents were condemned by parliament to be burnt. Several others were punished more summarily, and not a few evaded all punishment by flight. Of these Calvin, who always acted as if he considered discretion to be the better part of valour, was one. He set out in company with Du Tillet for Basle, where he became personally acquainted with the leading German reformers. After enjoying a year of undisturbed intercourse with minds congenial to his own, and laying the foundation at least of those "Institutes" with which of all his writings his name is most associated, he left Basle for Italy, where he passed some time at the court of Ferrara. He was still obliged to travel under a feigned name, but this disguise was soon penetrated by the keen-eyed officers of the Inquisition, who quickly tracked his retreat. Again he was obliged to fly, and for the last time revisited his native town.

On leaving Noyon it was his intention to have proceeded to Basle or Strasburgh, but the Emperor, Charles V. having penetrated with his army into France, the way through Lorraine was closed, and he was obliged to take a circuitous route through Savoy and Geneva. At this latter place he intended to have remained a single night only. It had however, for purposes inscrutable to man, been ordained otherwise by "Him who doth hearts as streams command." Geneva was to be the scene of Calvin's future life and labours, and so identified was it to become with his very name, that Geneva and Calvinism are almost convertible terms. As might have been expected, the fame of his arrival quickly spread. The renegade priest Farel, a hot-headed innovator, had already done something in rousing the Genevese against the Church of their fathers. He quickly sought Calvin's abode, and adjured him under a curse to remain and aid him in his godly work. Calvin was overawed or affected to be overawed by this solemn denunciation and appeal. The casual sojourner for a night, then in his twenty-fifth year, with a short interval, lived every day of his future life in this same Geneva, and became the most distinguished of her adopted sons.

Soon after his arrival he was elected teacher of theology, and after some persuasion accepted the office of minister. His first sermon gained for him an influence which he never permanently lost. He threw all his energies and enthusiasm into the cause in which he was engaged. He lectured, he preached, he drew up confessions, he denounced the Anabaptists, though they were the legitimate spawn of the foreign reformation, he confronted heretics, and disputed with Roman Catholics. His zeal however got the better of his orthodoxy, and his denunciation of the words, Trinity and Person, brought upon him the just reprehension of the Genevan council. But this would probably have been overlooked had not his harsh discipline interfered with the enjoyments and indulgences of private life. Excommunications were thundered forth with a violence unknown even to the Vatican. Every thing like festivity and social enjoyment were prosecuted. Dancing, marriage fetes, bell-ringing, and even religious festivals, with the exception of Sunday, now looked upon almost as a fast, were denounced as the notes of Antichrist, and a sour puritanism was beginning to leaven the whole mass of society. Human nature rebelled against these restraints, and unaffected piety felt them to be excessive and unnecessary. The Genevese would not endure them, and so general was the indignation that it could be appeased only by Calvin and Farel's formal expulsion from Geneva. Both proceeded to Basle, where they were of course received with honour due to reforming confessors. Farel was invited to become minister at Neufchâtel, and Calvin accepted the same office at Strasburgh. This left him leisure to pursue his usual literary avocations, and several of his works were the result of this comparative leisure. He found time also to make love, by deputy at least, to several ladies, with a view to matrimony. As his taste was somewhat fastidious, and his conditions not a little arbitrary, he was not at first successful in his proposals. "I am not," says Calvin, writing to Farel at the unromantic age of thirty, "I am not one of your mad kind of lovers who doat even upon faults when once they are taken by beauty of person. The only beauty that entices me is that she be chaste, obedient, humble, economical, patient, and there be hopes she will be solicitous about my health." Notwithstanding the latter test of beauty there was perhaps nothing which a prudent lover might not seek for in these requirements, but when Calvin demanded of a young German lady, rich, and of noble birth, that she should learn French before she became his bride, it certainly looked as if he were seeking an amanuensis or a reader, as well as a nurse, rather than a wife. The hold was broken off and another met with the same fate. However, he at last succeeded in marrying the widow of an Anabaptist, whom he had converted. One cannot suppose that so calculating a lover would make a very affectionate husband; and when some years afterwards his wife died, we find

him boasting that her death had not caused a single day's interruption to his usual pursuits. Surely it is insensibility rather than resignation which seals the sacred fount of tears at a bereavement such as this.

During his exile, it was (1539) that the diet of Frankfort was summoned by the German princes for the purpose of considering the state of religion and the expediency of making peace with the Emperor. Calvin was present at the diet, and made the personal acquaintance of Melancthon. He also attended the celebrated diet at Ratisbon, which had been adjourned from Hyenau and Worms, with a view of settling the differences between the Church and the reformers. It should indeed never be forgotten that amidst all the intemperance and vituperation of the foreign reformers, the Church was most anxious to bring back her wayward children to her fold, and was willing to make any sacrifice for peace which was not inconsistent with what was considered to be the Truth of God. And at this diet she was willing to make several important concessions, but the reformers were not satisfied and the diet broke up, leaving each party further estranged from the other than before.

While Calvin was thus engaged, events at Geneva were preparing the way for his return. The ministers who had been appointed in his stead were very inefficient, the Roman Catholics were regaining lost ground, the licentiousness of the times, now unrestrained by the fear of excommunication, disgusted the Genevese themselves. The council addressed a letter to the Bernese urging them to use their influence in promoting the return of Calvin. After no little coquetting on the subject he acceded to the request. He set out with an escort and was provided with a carriage and three horses; after remaining some time at Neuchâtel with his friend Farel, he arrived at Geneva on the 13th of September, 1541, after an absence of about three years. He was received with every mark of esteem and honour. The council entreated him to remain for ever. A suit of broad-cloth was presented to him, an usual mark of esteem in those days, a house, rent free, was provided for his residence, and what were considered "handsome wages" assigned to him.

Having regained his influence with the Genevese, he began to turn it to good account. He was most laborious in the discharge of his public ministrations. He preached, we are told, every day during each alternate week; thrice a week he gave lectures on Theology; presided in the consistory every Thursday; and every Friday at the meetings for Scriptural discussions, held in S. Peter's Church, delivered almost a complete lecture. When it was not his week to preach he had his books brought to him in bed, at five or six o'clock in the morning, and dictated to an amanuensis. When it was his turn to mount the pulpit he was always ready at the appointed hour; and when he returned home, either went to bed again, or threw himself upon it in his clothes to pursue his literary

avocations. It need not be said that an addition to those labours, that of conducting the correspondence of such a man must have been very considerable.

Allusion to the Consistory reminds us of the ecclesiastical discipline which after his return to Geneva, it was Calvin's first labour to establish, the foundation of which is found in his celebrated Institutes. So satisfactory was it that the citizens requested him to draw up a civil code for the rule of the republic, a work for which his former studies in jurisprudence was an excellent preparation. It is beyond our limits to enter into detail respecting either of these constitutions. The most striking feature in them is, that they were so framed as to place the highest powers, in religious and civil matters, in Calvin himself. These powers he proceeded to exercise with a rigour unknown to the high commission courts of England, and almost to the Inquisition itself. Dissent from the reformed opinions was punished with fines, imprisonment and even death. To impugn Calvin's doctrine was to endanger life, and the registers of Geneva abound with instances of severity towards such persons which put to shame the rigour of Gardiner or Bonner. In the course of two years, more than four hundred instances of such cruelty are recorded. We read of one man being excommunicated by the consistory because he had ventured to assert that he was as good a man as Calvin. Three others who had laughed during one of his sermons were imprisoned three days, and were compelled to ask pardon of the consistory. A system of espionage was established which watched the words and almost the looks of the Genevese. No books except those which bore the imprimatur of the Consistory, or rather Calvin himself, for he ruled supreme—*pro ratione stat voluntas*—were allowed to be read. Severities were again enforced against dancing, and several women were imprisoned for indulging in this harmless recreation. The barbarous custom of torture was retained by him. Hard as these restrictions and penalties were, Calvin's influence was too great to be effectually resisted, and if one should venture to remonstrate the reformer flew into a rage and browbeat the delinquent with abusive names, and severe threatenings. Even one of his modern apologists is obliged to admit, that throughout great presumption prevails in his manner, mixed with a supercilious raillery which one cannot term Christian, and still less compare with the holy anger of our Lord—"by whose example with awful profaneness Calvin had dared to justify his own cruelties." Of course, laws of unjust severity usually defeat their own ends, or rather encourage the crimes they seek to prevent. It was so here, and we are not surprised at the remark of a recent Genevese writer.—"To those who think Calvin did nothing but good, I could produce our registers, covered with records of illegitimate children, which were exposed in all parts of the town and country; hideous trials for obscenity; wills, in which fathers and mothers

accuse their children not only of errors but of crimes ; agreements before notaries between young women and their lovers, in which the latter even in the presence of the parents of their paramours, make them an allowance for the education of their illegitimate offspring ; I could instance multitudes of forced marriages, in which the delinquents were delivered from the prison to the Church ; mothers who abandoned their children to the hospital, whilst they themselves lived in abundance with a second husband ; men and women burnt for witchcraft ; sentences of death in frightful numbers, and all these among the generation nourished by the mystic manna of Calvin."

But he "wielded the sword of disputation," as well as of discipline and justice ; and most energetically did he set himself to defend the opinions he so fearlessly enunciated. Against Pighius, who ventured to maintain the scriptural doctrine of the freedom of man's will ; against the Libertines, a detestable horde of heretics which found their way to England, and one of whose perversions are still maintained by the Professor of Modern History at Cambridge ; against the pestilent blasphemies of the Nicodemites, who revived some of the ancient heresies, and accounted immorality a virtue ; against the Anabaptists, and above all, against Pope Paul III., who had denounced certain concessions made to the Protestants by the Emperor at the Diet of Spires ; against all these Calvin defended his own dogmas. But neither Libertine or Nicodemite excited so much of his indignation as did the Pope, to whose letter to Charles V. he replies paragraph by paragraph *seriatim*. A good deal of the animus of Calvin's proceedings may be seen in the language which he used towards the sovereign Pontiff ; and as the May meetings are at hand, a few flowers of his rhetoric may be useful for any of those Christian gentlemen whose office it may be to abuse the Pope in Exeter Hall. "Thou wicked apostate and leader of all apostacy ! Thou who spendest thy days with thy most lewd councillors, in hatching treason, in planning frauds, in fanning the flames of war, in inventing new methods of rapine, in compassing the destruction of the innocent, in destroying the Church, and in dissipating religion ; during the rest of thy time delighting thyself pleasantly with epicureans, or wallowing like a swine with thy herd of harlots, speaking and hearing nothing but what breathes the most execrable impiety, or what may excite by its obscenity thy worn out lusts, which have not yet ceased to itch. We behold the high priest of all impiety, the standard-bearer of Satan, a ferocious tyrant of souls, a cruel executioner : with regard to his way of life, a monster of all sorts of wickedness ; in a word, that son of perdition whom the apostle pourtrays ; and shall we hold him to be CHRIST's vicar ? We behold, I say, a wolf by whom CHRIST's sheep are devoured, a robber by whom they are driven off, a marauder by whom they are slain."

No wonder that the Epistle of S. James was amongst the *index*

expurgatorius of the foreign Reformers. The deadly poison of an unruly tongue, and the sin of speaking evil one of another, were no doubt distasteful truths.

Calvin's future career at Geneva was not greatly varied. Each day doubtless brought forth matters of deep concernment to himself and to his followers, but to posterity they have little of any interest. He still continued to teach and preach assiduously, to confront heretics such as Bolsec, and Lælius ; and to maintain the authority of the Consistory over the Council against the patriots who joining themselves to the Libertines, were anxious to break the shackles of a spiritual rule that was most galling to them. Immersed as he was day by day in business and squabbles at home, his sympathies for the suffering Waldenses induced him to visit France in order to intercede personally for them with Francis I. In the endeavour to undermine Lutheranism, he proceeded to Zurich, to effect a concordat between Bullinger and his brother ministers on the doctrine of the Sacraments, not only with a view of opposing the Roman doctrine, but the impanation of Luther.

Nothing occurred of general interest in Calvin's proceedings after his return from Zurich, till we come to the part which he performed as chief actor in the dreadful tragedy of Servetus. This notorious heretic was born in the same year as Calvin, in Arragon. Becoming dissatisfied with the established theology, he began to study the works of the foreign reformers, from which he soon imbibed the heresy which has so generally been grafted on it since—the heresy of Socinus. Being in doubt as to the correctness of his views, and greatly unsettled in his theological opinions generally, he submitted his MSS. to several of the leading reformers, and amongst others to Calvin. Finding them generally censured, he prudently left the study of theology, and betook himself to the science of medicine, in which he conjectured the discovery which our own Harvey afterwards demonstrated. He was a most skilful physician, but being a dabbler in judicial astrology, he brought upon him the censure of some of his medical brethren. Disgusted at their censure, he returned to his theological studies, pursued them with his accustomed ardour and perverseness, and eventually published a work, or part of a work, which from its heretical tendency, brought upon him the notice of the Inquisition. He was summoned to appear at Vienne, but the court not being able to confront him with the pages of the work on which his accusation was grounded, he would probably have been acquitted, had not Calvin forwarded letters which had been confidentially addressed to him by Servetus, and which proved the heresy beyond all doubt. He was condemned to be burnt alive, the usual punishment of heresy in those days. In the interval however, between the sentence and the execution of it, he managed to escape in disguise from confinement, and for some time to elude the search of his

pursuers. With an imprudence however, bordering upon infatuation, he ventured to set foot in Germany, and even to enter the building where Calvin was preaching. Here he was soon detected, and notice of his apprehension was immediately given to the authorities of the Inquisition. Calvin some years before had told Farel, that if ever Servetus came to him, as he was then anxious to do for the sake of his advice and counsel, he should not leave him alive. The time had now arrived for carrying the threat into execution. Calvin denounced him from the pulpit, and became his accuser before the Council. He was not allowed an advocate, and his doom was quickly sealed. "We condemn you," so runs the Genevan sentence, "to be bound and led to Champel, where you are to be fastened to a stake and burnt alive, together with your book, as well the printed as manuscript, till your body be reduced to ashes." The unhappy convict begged an interview with Calvin in his dungeon, which was granted. Knowing that it was on his evidence, and through his influence that he had been convicted, he craved his mercy. Calvin was inexorable, and early in the morning of the 27th of October, 1553, he was led to the stake, attended by Farel, as a chaplain. His last words were, "JESUS, Thou SON of the Eternal God, have mercy upon me," thus maintaining his heresy and his firmness to the last. How far Servetus deserved the particular punishment which befell him we are not about to decide, but one thing is quite certain, Calvin should not have been his accuser. His own position should have made him charitable. The same exercise of private judgment which had led Calvin to deny the authority of the Church, had led Servetus to deny the eternal generation of the SON of GOD. Both were heretics. The heretic Calvin should not have accused the heretic Servetus. This was the conviction of his cotemporaries, and posterity has not reversed the judgment, for the indignation which at first burst forth against Calvin, still echoes around his memory to this very hour.

It was not to be expected that Calvin would be an indifferent spectator of the work of reformation which was at this time being carried on in England. He was too much alive to the cause in which he was embarked, not to watch the proceedings of Henry and Cranmer with deep interest. He would doubtless learn from Hooper who visited Zurich, how the tide of affairs was setting, and he appears to have addressed a letter of advice to Protector Somerset soon after the death of Henry VIII. He also dedicated to Edward VI. his Commentary on Isaiah and the Canonical Epistles. Cranmer, it is well known, wrote to him, and received advice from him on many matters of importance.

It is to Calvin probably that we are indebted for our Articles, not as to their matter, but their origin. It was probably to his opinion given to the Protector Somerset, that heresy should be punished by the sword, that the execution of Joan of Kent may be attributed.

Calvin was urgent for a further reformation. He strongly denounced, however, as an intolerable evil, the sacrilege which had followed upon the suppression of the monasteries, by the impropriation of tithes. Cranmer's efforts to effect a union with the reformed communions were happily abortive—and thus all our formularies are not less a witness against the heresies of Calvin than the then current *doctrina Romanensium*. This fact, we have before endeavoured to establish in our review of the primary charge of the Archbishop of York, who assigned to them a Calvinian interpretation.

But while unable to Calvinize the Anglican reformation in its commencement, he did what he could to foment divisions and encouraged a spirit of innovation amongst English Churchmen. Unhappily the progress of events afforded him an opportunity of stirring up strife which he was not slow to avail himself of. It is well known that in what is called the Marian persecution, (though Queen Mary herself seems to have had little to do with it,) several hundred Englishmen took refuge in southern Germany and in Switzerland. That portion of them which settled at Basle, was thoroughly devoted to the English Church, and scrupulously conformed to her offices in conducting their public devotions. Sadly different was the spirit of those of the refugees, who settled at Frankfort. Under the thin disguise of not giving offence to the inhabitants of that city, they mutilated the Prayer Book to suit their own ultra-Protestant notions. The surplice was disused, private Baptism, the sign of the Cross and Confirmation disallowed, kneeling at Communion discontinued, and Saints' days unobserved. These innovations very naturally offended the orthodox brethren both in Basle and in England. The contention becoming sharp between them, it was agreed by both parties that Calvin should be consulted, and a Latin copy of the second reformed Prayer Book was forwarded to him. His reply was a signal triumph to the disaffected of Frankfort. He described the Prayer Book as containing many fooleries which might be borne with for a season, but that it was plainly a duty to seek something better and more filed from rust. Now seemed to be the time for doing so, and he commiserates the ignorance of those who from custom or regard to their country can oppose the progress of further reformation. The mendacious Fox, and "the ruffian of the reformation," John Knox, needed nothing more to confirm them in their innovations. They with others were commissioned to draw up a new service book for the use of those who agreed with Calvin's criticism of the English Prayer Book. A division took place between the refugees, the spirit of which at the accession of Elizabeth was carried to England and Scotland, and has been the prolific source of dissension and latitudinarianism from that time to the present. Such are our obligations to Calvin. Surely those English Churchmen must be strangely ignorant of his-

torical facts, who eulogize Calvin as the foster parent of our Church. We owe him nothing but our miserable divisions and consequently our weaknesses. Divines of that day had no sympathy for Calvin, they never forgave him for his ridicule and abuse of their Liturgy, or the part which he took in the "Troubles of Frankfort," and yet some of us are bold enough to maintain that Calvin not only approved our services, but so influenced the compilers of them that they modelled them according to his peculiar heresies.

The very general disapprobation of Calvin's conduct in the burning of Servetus, gave courage to the patriots, who prosecuted their hatred of him with increased fury. Nothing dismayed however, he opposed them till he obtained the execution of some and the banishment of others. At this time indeed his position seems to have been more than usually unenviable and perplexing. Hated and opposed by a strong party in his own city, suspected and almost disowned by the English reformers on account of his interference at Frankfort; assailed by the Lutherans in the person of Joachim Westphal, in respect of the doctrine of the Eucharist as maintained in the Zurich Consensus, a man of less nerve and earnestness would have been overpowered by such an accumulated opposition. But Calvin was not to be dismayed. Woe to him who attacked "the prince and bishop of Geneva," as his enemies designated him. He was prepared for any and all of them, and eventually triumphed over all. And if in the course of his polemical warfare he so often transgressed the limits of Christian courtesy or rather indulged in vituperations and personal acrimony which his own friends Farel and Bullinger could not but condemn, some palliation may be found in the perplexing and arduous circumstances in which he was placed. But physical strength has a limit, and the time arrived when excitement and incessant labour and a life spent in the maintenance and propagation of what were considered great principles, and the consciousness of the responsibility of such a position, told upon the energies even of Calvin. Never robust in health, and not unfrequently disabled by indisposition in the course of his career, he was attacked at the age of about fifty with an intermittent fever, which greatly reduced him, and was accompanied by other diseases, which disabled him from the more active affairs in which he had been so long engaged. Still he was not idle: and during the few last years of his life it was that he wrote several of his Commentaries on the Scriptures, one of which was dedicated to Queen Elizabeth, besides addressing many letters of importance to the leaders of reformation in different countries. When he perceived his end to be not far distant, he called both the consistory and the council of Geneva into his presence and addressed them in terms which, uttered under such circumstances and by such a man, could not but have been deeply impressive. He seems to have died under a full conviction

of the truth of his mission, and without any of those compunctions of conscience which a disturber of the peace of the Church and the perverter of the truth of CHRIST might have been expected to experience. This fact excites reflections too mysterious for men to pry into—only we know that Saul when persecuting the Church, thought that he was doing God service, and that there is a way which seemeth right unto a man, the end whereof is death. To his own Master he standeth or falleth.

In the preceding sketch we have said nothing about those peculiar heresies of Calvin which are so generally associated with his name, and which against all other heresies, and the truth itself, he laboured so energetically to establish. The fact is "the five points" are too well known to need repetition here, nor shall we say anything of them formally, except to put our readers on their guard against a vulgar error as regards Calvin's predestinarian views, into which Mr. Dyer with many others has fallen. It is said that those views of Calvin accorded with, or rather were founded upon those held by the illustrious Father S. Augustine. This is an unworthy slander upon the Bishop of Hippo. He held no views which S. Paul had not taught and the Church in all ages maintained. It is unnecessary for us to enter into the question, as it has been so recently and so ably discussed by Archdeacon Wilberforce in his treatise on "Holy Baptism."

Generally speaking Calvin's own position is the best explanation of his views, for here as elsewhere heresy seems to have adapted itself a good deal to the circumstances in which the author of it was placed. In order to reconcile to himself his secession from the visible Church of CHRIST, it was natural that he should endeavour to believe that outward Communion is not necessary to salvation, and that there is an invisible Church in earth composed of the elect of God, which may be entered through another portal than that of the Church visible. To reconcile to himself the want of holy Sacraments administered in the Church by those who had authority so to do, he maintained that divine grace is not tied to such Sacraments, and that without prevenient grace which renders Sacraments unnecessary they are useless. Not that he denied the necessity of Sacraments, in the sense at least that he understood them; and he maintained that Baptism if administered even by the devil would be valid. The certainty of his own salvation, and of his election by Divine grace which was indefectible was essential to bear him on in the difficult path in which he was engaged: and we can only satisfactorily account for the bitterness, rancour, and blood-thirstiness with which he assailed all who opposed him, to the supposition, that he conceived himself to be warring against God's enemies as well as his own, that they were reprobate, and doomed by God Himself, before the foundation of the world, to eternal and irrevocable destruction—for that

there are such persons, is one of the distinctive doctrines of Calvinism.

If therefore we would account for the existence of Calvinism and thoroughly understand its bearing, we must study the position in which the author placed himself, and mark the efforts of his mind to reconcile that position to his conscience. This, we are persuaded, is the light in which we may best understand the rise and progress of Calvinism—which is nothing more than the conviction excited by an earnest mind in the struggle to justify an anomalous position, and reconcile it to an uneasy conscience.

In speaking of Calvin's position, the exigencies of which required such distortion of the truth, for as Bossuet remarks, "every error is a truth abused," to make it tolerable even to himself, it might be inferred that his position was anomalous and unjustifiable. And so it was. He had plainly no mission to be a reformer of the Church in any way, and least of all in the way in which he presumed to undertake that office. In saying this it is necessary to guard ourselves from misapprehension.

Do we deny that the Church of the sixteenth century needed to be reformed? Certainly not. This fact was admitted no less by the Church itself, than by Luther and Calvin. The council of Constance, the diet of Ratisbon, and the Council of Trent, are not only admissions of the need of reformation, but proofs of the Church's willingness to effect it to some extent. The error of Calvin and the foreign Reformers, (for here be it remembered, we are not speaking of our English reformers,) then was this—not that they were anxious for the reformation of abuses, but that they refused to work with and in the Church for that end, and thereby frustrated rather than accomplished that great object. That a more effectual reformation of the western Church was frustrated by their violent and schismatical proceedings is plain from history. The sober-minded were naturally so shocked at the excesses and spiritual wickedness of those who took upon themselves to reform others, that they concluded that any existing corruptions were better than the detestable heresies which were grafted upon the foreign reformation movement, or rather which seemed to grow out of it as the natural branches. And as regards France, in particular, where Calvin commenced his career, the great Gerson had a generation before his time prepared the way for that real reformation which there is little doubt that France would have perfected had not the profaneness of the French Protestants disgusted and alarmed men. And who will say that S. Francis Xavier would not have co-operated in the good work?

But if Calvin's position, as a reformer, was unjustifiable in France, what shall we think of him, a mere stranger and intruder at Geneva, overthrowing, or endeavouring to overthrow, the faith of centuries, to erect a system of his own devising, of which he

himself was the head and front, or as his opponents declared with undeniable truth, both pope and prince. Nothing except a miraculous call, and an unmistakable divine mission, with the gift of miracles to confirm it, could justify such a course. And yet the only call pretended to was from an intemperate fanatic, Farel, of whom little else is known, than that at the age of seventy he was obliged to marry a young woman who had lived with him as a housekeeper, under circumstances, which though generally condemned, found a ready apologist in Calvin. Can any impartial inquirer doubt that the work of reformation would not have been in better hands, had it been taken up by the glorious S. Francis de Sales, who, about forty years after Calvin's death, became Bishop of Geneva, where he was enabled to root out some of the tares which the latter had so assiduously sown, and replace them by vigorous shoots of evangelical truth?

If any further confirmation of the unjustifiableness of Calvin's position were needed, it would be found in the miserable results of Calvinism itself. In his own Geneva, it has been succeeded by the God-denying heresy, and wherever it yet exists, it is the prolific source of strife and envying, and therefore, according to the Apostle, of every evil work. If tokens of the Divine displeasure are visible anywhere, they are most patent in the system of Calvin, every thing connected with it declares that it is not of God. And while Calvin's own position is the best key to his heresies, it not less surely explains the defects of his moral constitution. Being a reformer out of the Church, he was the inventor of a system of his own, rather than the restorer of Catholic truth. Hence, instead of proceeding with the humility and reverence of a man who knows himself to be concerned with venerable institutions redolent of holiness, and therefore their decayed portions even are to be removed carefully and not without awe; he worked haughtily and daringly, as a man who is building an edifice of his own designing, and is anxious for effect and for superiority over rival structures. This is the true explanation of Calvin's haughtiness, imperiousness, vanity, egotism, impatience of opposition, rage even to blood against all opponents.

Under such circumstances we shall in vain look for any of the tender sympathies of our nature. Twice when the plague raged at Geneva, he shrank from ministering to the sick and dying, though earnestly called upon to do so. All the charities of life were frozen into a cold subjectiveness, and he is the most intensely uninteresting of all the characters in history. His very countenance, as it has come down to us, is repulsive—a type not of mortified subdued asceticism, but of morose querulous puritanism. With a mind of inferior power, and of general attainments scarcely above mediocrity, his heart was dry, hard, sour, and unimpressible. Posterity neither fears nor loves the man, however some may uphold

his system. And that he has succeeded with all these defects to impress his opinions upon others, and to obtain for them a lasting celebrity, can only be accounted for, on the principle so eloquently enunciated by one who has done more than most to represent Calvinism in its true deformity, and to defend "ecclesiastical polity" against all innovators, past, present, or to come. "He that goeth about to persuade a multitude that they are not so well governed as they ought to be, shall never want attentive and favourable hearers; because they know the manifold defects whereunto every kind of regiment is subject, but the cruel lets and difficulties, which in public proceedings are innumerable and inevitable, they have not ordinarily the judgment to consider. And because such as openly reprove disorders of state, [a fortiori of the Church,] are taken for principal friends to the common benefit of all, and for men that carry singular freedom of mind; under this fair and plausible colour, whatsoever they utter passeth for good and current. That which wanteth in weight of their speech, is supplied by the acuteness of men's minds to accept and believe it."

NOTES ON RECENT PAMPHLETS.

THE multitude of pamphlets and sermons which have issued from the press during the last month, relating to the Judgment of the Committee of Privy Council, has been so great as quite to excuse us from attempting even to give a catalogue of their titles. In the brief space which remains to us, we can only glance at a few. One important remark may nevertheless be made, arising out of a general review of all that has been published; that among the conflicting varieties of opinions hazarded, no one as yet has had a word to say for Mr. Gorham: no one dares to vindicate the Judgment on any other ground than that of a supposed expediency, a desire to keep things (as they say,) quiet; and at meetings of the Clergy, whenever the low Church party have ventured to propose an amendment to the protest or petition that has been laid before them, they do not go beyond such a general truism* (which however we believe to be false,) as that it "will conduce more to peace and unity to avoid expressing an opinion." Apparently, we say, this statement is true; it has so much of truth in it as to succeed in gaining the assent of that easy-going class who do not look beyond their "own day." But it is essentially and fatally false; for it is laying up a fruitful store of disension for generations yet to come, at the very moment, when for the first time in the history of the Reformed English Church, it

* The pamphlet of their universal champion, Mr. Goode, though our copy is called "the third edition," (we mention this because we perceive he makes a charge against the Bishop of Exeter on the very same ground,) could only be obtained by our publisher late on Thursday. We have only had time to see that its tone is most insolent.

seems actually within our power to lay the foundation of future unity on this most elemental doctrine. We say of future unity; because though we do not believe that one of Mr. Gorham's friends, ("non-seceding Dissenters," as the *Spectator* calls them,) would have left the Church had the Judgment of the Arches Court been confirmed; we do believe that Bishops would not in that case, any longer have tolerated—yes, that men's consciences, enlightened by the discussions which have taken place, would not have permitted them to continue the glaring inconsistency of contradicting from the pulpit what they proclaim from the font. Well might we be willing to purchase such a result by a great sacrifice. But to have it placed within our reach almost unasked, or at most by the foresight and energy of a single Bishop, and then to thrust it away, or let it slip through our fingers, surely the English Church, if she so acts, will incur only a just penalty in the perpetuation of a profitless and exhausting strife among her Priests and people to the end of time! The present opportunity is such an one as has never occurred before; and the very singularity of Mr. Gorham's theory, which probably he himself only invented as the best makeshift that occurred at the moment, and in which the Bishop of London supposes that "very few;" the Bishop of Exeter "probably not more than half a dozen" participate, seemed providentially to invite an affirmation and confirmation of the Catholic doctrine such as the Judge of the chief Ecclesiastical Court had already made to hand. Unhappily the Judges of her Majesty's Privy Council, laying aside the strict principles of legal interpretation, and yielding to fancied apprehensions of *consequences*, and trusting to authorities that had been fabricated* for the purpose, took the opposite course of attempting a compromise.

The writers who have as yet appeared may be divided into four classes. Those who though disagreeing with the judgment would have the Church be in no alarm as to the result. Among these are Mr. Monro, and Mr. Irons in a "Sequel" to his former pamphlet. Secondly, those who though themselves holding the doctrine of Baptismal Regeneration approve of the conciliatory and indecisive tone adopted by the Court of Appeal. This class is represented by Archdeacon Hare, and Mr. W. H. Hoare, and (we believe,) Dr. Hook. In the third class are Mr. Maskell and Mr. Allies, who find a growing previous mistrust of the English Church much intensified by the Judgment, and seem to feel it almost as the last straw that threatens to turn the balance of their failing faith. And lastly they, who, without yielding to despair, or distrusting the life and Catholic mind of the Church, do yet feel that a great effort must be made in order to free the Church from the danger that threatens her. Of this number are, Dr. Mill, Mr. Canon Trevor, Mr. Bazely, Mr. Case, and Mr. Alexander Watson.

The first of these writers on whom we shall make any comment is Mr. Maskell. We are not going to join in the unsparing charges which

* Of course we do not suppose that the Archbishop of Canterbury *dressed up* these references for the occasion: but there is far too much method perceptible in the operation, to allow of its being thought a blunder. The Church asks indignantly who it is that imposed upon His Grace? Surely an answer will be given from some quarter.

have been brought against him by Mr. Irons. We admit that it *may* be needful that all which he has said should be said; and if the present moment is inconveniently chosen for attacking the general "teaching" of the Church, we can scarcely conceive that any "season" would be found "convenient" to the tastes of the generality of Churchmen. Further we admit that the occasion may have very naturally suggested itself to Mr. Maskell (as well as to Mr. Allies). Not only are they both touching points in our position which are confessedly weak; it is through these weak points that the present crisis has arisen. The judgment of the court of Privy Council is based upon the assertion of our theology not being "dogmatic;" and the jurisdiction of that court grows directly out of the "Royal Supremacy." It is impossible to investigate the origin of the present crisis without being led to consider these two points. But there are two preliminary objections which we think may very fairly be taken to Mr. Maskell's pamphlet. First as regards *his own position*. Was he honestly and truly in the English Church at the time of publishing this letter or was he not? Is he with us or against us? Is he in a friendly spirit pointing out our dangers, and ready to co-operate with us in discovering and applying a remedy? Or is this a mere insulting fling which he casts at the English Church in leaving her? This is matter of grave consideration, we think, even more for his own conscience than for ourselves. Next as regards *the time of this publication*. The absence of dogmatic teaching is notoriously a peculiar and perplexing feature in the English Church. It is not now for the first time, we presume, that Mr. Maskell has felt it to be so. But are we now in a worse position than we were twelve months since? We maintain that our position is infinitely better. Before that time Mr. Maskell was of opinion that the English Church beyond all question taught the doctrine of Baptismal Regeneration. And so she does now—more plainly even than the Church of Rome. The Court of Appeal has not denied this. Only it maintains that other views have, as matter of fact, been held by individual priests. Did not Mr. Maskell know this? Of course he did. How then does the matter stand? The Services of the Church remain unaltered. The Supreme Ecclesiastical Court has ably vindicated the doctrine; the Court of Appeal allows it; the matter has been so ably treated both by the original Judge and since by the Bishop of Exeter, and in a shape that has penetrated to the very farthest corner of the land, that we are persuaded a death blow has practically been given to the hypothetical and all other theories that would evade the plain teaching of the Church. Moreover, the Clergy are rising as it were en masse to repudiate the judgment of the Privy Council; and we are persuaded, that though not only one but many "months" may pass before any authoritative act shall vindicate the purity of the Church's teaching, matters are in train for such result.

Upon the main question—the necessity of explicit dogmatic teaching, we cannot but think that Mr. Maskell's views, from the peculiar constitution of his mind, are greatly exaggerated. The early Church confessedly was at least as undogmatic as ourselves; and if, as may be granted, a more positive tone of teaching would be at the present time desirable; it must also be born in mind, that our present

latitude has arisen out of an overstraining of authority in the age which preceded and led to our Reformation.

Again the weight which he attaches to two recent discoveries that have greatly influenced his opinion of the English Church is manifestly most undue. The first of these is the fact of the Irish Church adopting the Articles of 1615. But surely the gravamen of this charge has been well nigh if not altogether obliterated by the substitution of the English Articles into their place: an important step towards clearing herself has at least been made; and no doubt, if we required a further step in the same direction, it would be taken. Moreover we must say that it is scarcely fair in Mr. Maskell to slur over as a mere "technical" defence the indisputable fact, that the Church of England has never formally united herself with that of Ireland.

Again Mr. Maskell makes very much of the abandonment of the Articles of 1536. He does not and he cannot affirm that our present Articles in any way contradict them; but he would have us consider the change tantamount to a change in the Church's doctrine upon the two Sacraments. We will answer him by himself. In his treatises on Baptism and Absolution, he repeatedly lays it down as a rule, that whatever was held by the Church of old, and has not been formally and consciously disclaimed since, must be considered to be taught by her still. If the Irish Church is to bear the sin of the Articles of 1615, although she has since adopted our Articles; by parity of reasoning we may now claim the credit of those of 1536.

Upon Mr. Allies' main argument we should have only two observations to make. (1.) If he has succeeded in proving irregularities in our position, as concerns *jurisdiction*, there is no other community, save by the introduction of the extreme Papal Theory, which is at all more favourably circumstanced. And (2.) there is at least this excuse for Henry and Elizabeth, if they claimed (as we quite admit they did) more than their due; that when the usurped Supremacy of the Pope was removed, there was a gap found to exist which they knew not how to fill, save by a corresponding usurpation on their own parts. This is all that we should wish to say in reply to Mr. Allies, had he not inserted some remarks about Spiritual Jurisdiction in foro interno, (p. 53, and seq.) which do not appear to have anything to do with the present controversy, but which, we cannot but think, are intended to *tell* in other directions. Supposing the view there laid down to be correct, why is no allusion made to the rule given in our Prayer Book that the faithful *may* resort to other Priests besides him who has ordinary jurisdiction over them. Surely at least till any given Bishop recalls this power, he may be understood as directly delegating it.

Archdeacon Hare, according to that idiosyncrasy which characterises professed Eclectics, cannot distinguish between the dutiful firmness of contending for the creeds and traditions of the Church, and the proud intolerance of the advocate of private judgment. We quite admit with him the importance of not overstating the intention of the judgment. But he is himself overstating, when he says that we want to define the manner in which regeneration operates. We do not want any rationale of the doctrine at all. We plead for the positive

acknowledgment of the truth without any theory (hypothetical or other) to explain it. His attempt to find flaws in the "Resolutions" of Archdeacon Manning and others appears to us an utter failure.

Mr. Monro in his letter to Mr. Roundell Palmer appeals earnestly for the increase of Daily Services, and Eucharistic Celebrations, and more self-sacrifice in founding and conducting Schools; all things certainly much to be desired; but withal we are told to "*contend*" for the faith. Right glad shall we be to learn that those who take Mr. Monro's advice and remain quiet at the present crisis, do also adopt the other part of his recommendation and increase the number of their Services and Sacraments; but we very much fear that they will be found to be the very individuals who keep their Churches closed from Sunday to Sunday, have quarterly Communion, hold no spiritual intercourse either with the young or with the adults of their flock, and will continue to do so in spite of anything that he may write.

In conclusion, we would offer a practical suggestion which we think of some importance. In attempting to ascertain the sense of the clergy by means of protests or declarations, a considerable number will be found who will refuse to take any part. Some "*never sign declarations*," others think the course proposed not the best, others are afraid of offending their parishioners, their superiors in the ministry, or persons on whom they are more or less dependent. But of these many are sound in the faith, and would not hesitate to affirm the doctrine of Baptismal Regeneration. If then some one in each diocese or deanery would take the trouble of *accounting* for those who refuse to sign, by reducing them under heads, when names may not be given, the number of persons who remain as favourers of the latitudinarian view would, we believe, be found to be very small indeed.

CLERICUS HIBERNICUS ON THE IRISH ARTICLES.

To the Editor of the Ecclesiastic.

SIR,—As you have consented to open your Magazine for the discussion of the subject of the Irish Articles, permit me to make a few observations in reply to the reviewer of Mr. Stephens' Book on the Common Prayer.

I shall not enter on the consideration of the question whether the Irish Articles are heretical or not, that is, whether or not they are opposed to the teaching of the Catholic Church on any points on which she has expressed a distinct opinion: though I am by no means satisfied that such is the case. The only question which I now intend to discuss is this: Are the Articles of 1615 binding on the Irish Church? In other words: Were they superseded by the Act of the Convocation of 1634, which adopted the Thirty-nine Articles of the English Church?

Now, in the first place, arguing *a priori* it seems very improbable that the Irish Church should have adopted two bodies of Articles, each containing many of the very same statements expressed in precisely the same terms. If the second body of Articles were considered as supplemental to the first, why should so many of the first have been repeated? Would it not have been more natural to have added such only of the Thirty-nine Articles as the former body did not contain, but not to have repeated any of those which it did?

The case is different indeed with regard to creeds which have become venerable either from their antiquity or their origin, and which, on that account, would not be abandoned even though circumstances might render it necessary that the same truths should be expressed with some slight variation of expression.

But a still stronger argument against the supposition that the Thirty-nine Articles were intended merely as an addition to the one hundred and four, may be found in the fact, that some of the Thirty-nine Articles teach doctrine, which to say the least, does not harmonize with the doctrine of the Lambeth Articles, included in the one hundred and four; and strange as it would be to repeat in a supplemental body of Articles, statements previously made in the original body; it would be stranger still to add Articles containing statements at variance with the former.

Arguing then *a priori* we should, I think, infer, both from the similarity and the difference of the Thirty-nine and the one hundred and four Articles, that the Irish Convocation of 1634, which adopted the Thirty-nine Articles of the English Church did not intend them as an addition to the Articles of 1615, but as a substitute for them.

And this is strongly confirmed by comparison with the manner in which the same Convocation of 1634 acted as regards the English Canons. When the Convocation of 1634* had adopted the English Articles, it was proposed by Bishop Bramhall that the English Canons also should be adopted. This measure was strongly opposed by the then Primate Usher, who argued, that though the Churches had the same faith, yet a diversity of Canons might well be permitted, and it was finally resolved to adopt such of the English Canons as were thought suitable, and to add others of their own. We see then that the Convocation had no objection to make a selection from English formularies, and to unite those so selected with others of their own. Why did they not pursue the same course with the Articles?

But let us now turn to the history of the Convocation of 1634. There can be no doubt that it was the earnest desire of the Governments of both Countries that there should be a perfect agreement in all respects between the two Churches. This, the letters of the

* Both Mant and Stephens call this the Convocation of 1635, which is an evident mistake.

Earl of Strafford, then Lord Deputy, fully prove. Early in the sittings of the Convocation of 1634, the Lower House of Convocation appointed a select committee to consider the Canons of the Church of England "without conferring at all with their Bishops." (Strafford's letter to Archbishop of Cant., Dec. 16, 1634.)

The committee had gone through the book of Canons, marking for adoption such as they approved of, and had drawn up a Canon confirming the Articles of 1615, under pain of excommunication. As soon as the Lord Deputy was informed of their proceedings, he sent for the chairman of the committee, and having remonstrated with him most indignantly for what he had done, commanded him on his allegiance, that he should report nothing to the house from that committee till he heard from him.

It was immediately after this that the Convocation entered upon the question of the adoption of the Thirty-nine Articles. The only question discussed was, whether or not the Thirty-nine Articles should be received. Upon this there was some difference of opinion. Bramhall, the Bishop of Derry, "laboured in the Convocation, to have the correspondence between the two Churches more entire and accurate; and discoursed with great moderation and sobriety of the convenience of having the Articles of peace and communion in every National Church worded in that latitude, that dissenting persons, in those things that concerned not the Christian faith, might subscribe, and the Church not lose the benefit of their labours for an opinion, which, it may be, they could not help: that it were to be wished especially that the Protestant Churches under his Majesty's dominion might 'all speak the same language,' and particularly that those of England and Ireland being reformed by the same principle and rule of Scripture, expounded by universal tradition, councils, fathers, and other ways of conveyance might confess their faith in the same form. For if they were of the same opinion, why did they not express themselves in the same words." (Vesey's *Life of Bramhall*, quoted in *Mant's History*.)

That it was the object of Bishop Bramhall to substitute the English for the Irish Articles, there can be no doubt—though Usher's known attachment to the Articles of 1615, of which he was in fact the compiler, obliged him to act with extreme caution. He has been accused of acting disingenuously in the matter, and of using stratagem to effect his object, but with this charge I have now no concern. My object is not to vindicate the character of Bishop Bramhall, but merely to show what was the effect of the measure which was carried in the Convocation, principally by his influence. After some discussion the English Articles were received and approved with but one dissentient voice—that of a nonconformist minister, who "had looked deeper than the rest into the matter" (Collier); and the Convocation passed a Canon expressing

their adoption of them—a Canon which it is of importance to observe was, it is almost certain, drawn up by the Lord Deputy himself, and committed by him to Bishop Bramhall. (Strafford's Letters). The Canon ran as follows :—

“ For the manifestation of our agreement with the Church of England in the confession of the same Christian faith, and the doctrine of the Sacraments ; we do receive and approve the Book of Articles of Religion agreed upon by the Archbishops and Bishops, and the whole clergy, &c. . . . ”

What Bramhall's opinion was as to the effect of this measure, we learn from a passage in his “ Discourse of the Sabbath and Lord's Day.”*

“ There were no thoughts of two distinct standards at that time, (1634.) And if any Bishop had been known to have required any man to subscribe to the Irish Articles after the English were received and authorized under the great seal of Ireland, he would have been called to an account for it. I do not remember any more but two, that spake in favour of the Irish Articles at that time. If there were any, they were very few, and did it very faintly.”

It would seem from this that Bramhall was not aware, that for some years subsequent to 1634, Usher, and a few of the Irish Bishops, required subscription to both sets of Articles. But that they felt they were not fully justified in doing so, appears from the fact, that they petitioned Strafford through Usher, that the Articles of 1615 might be ratified—a request to which he gave an indignant refusal. (Heylin's Life of Laud.)

The proceedings of the Convocation of 1661, the year of Bramhall's translation to the Primacy, furnish evidence, that at that time the Articles of 1615 were not considered binding on the Irish Church. If such had been the case, there is little doubt that they would have been repealed by a Convocation, of which Bramhall was President, and the leading members of which were such men as Taylor and Leslie—a Convocation, moreover, which passed “ a public and solemn recognition,” of Archbishop Bramhall's services. That no such attempt was made, or apparently contemplated, although agreement with the Church of England was the very point under consideration, affords a very strong presumption at least, that the leading men of the Irish Church at that time did not consider themselves bound by the Irish Articles. At this Convocation the English Liturgy, with the changes recently made in it, was adopted, and an entry was made in the Journal, of which the following is a part.

* Bramhall's Works, Vol. V. p. 81. Library of Anglo-Catholic Theology.

“*Reverendissimi et reverendi patres, non solum fidelem hujus ecclesiæ populum ipsis commissum fidei et mutus charitatis nexu cum Ecclesia Anglicana in unitate Spiritus constrictum. . . . conformem reddere et in perpetuum continere desiderantes, &c.*”*

It was at the request of this Convocation of 1661—2, that the Act of Uniformity was passed, and it appears from the journals,† that the Primate was requested to induce the Duke of Ormond and the Privy Council to transmit to his Majesty a draught of an Act to that effect. Now, the Act of Uniformity prescribes subscription to the Thirty-nine Articles, and to none others. And it is not unreasonable to suppose that this enactment had the previous sanction of the Convocation.

I shall now quote a few authorities in proof of the Abolition of the Irish Articles by the adoption of those of England. The opinion of Bramhall has been already referred to, and to it I may add that of Bishop Taylor, contained in his sermon at the funeral of that Prelate, whom he praises for having been careful “to cause the Articles of the Church of England to be accepted as the rule of public confessions and persuasions here, that they and we might be ‘*populus unius labii*’ ‘of one heart and lip,’ building up our hopes of heaven on a most holy faith, and taking away the Shibboleth which made this Church lisp too undecently, or rather in some degree to speak the speech of Ashdod, and not the language of Canaan.”

Heylin, in his *Life of Laud*, comments thus on the Canon of 1634.

“Such was the Canon passed in this Convocation, for the approbation and reception of the Articles of the Church of England; which Canon was no sooner passed, confirmed and published, but the Primate and his party saw the danger which they had cast themselves into by their inadvertency, and found too late, *That by receiving and approving the English Articles, they had abrogated and repealed the Irish.*”

He then mentions the attempts of the Primate to obtain a ratification of the Irish Articles and proceeds :

“But all this would not serve the turn, or save those Articles from being brought under a repeal by the present Canon. For first it appeareth by the Canon, that they did not only *approve* but *receive* the Articles of the Church of England. Their *approbation* of them, had they gone no further, had been a sufficient manifestation of their agreement with the Church of England in the Confession of the same Protestant religion : but their *receiving* of the same doth intimate a super-

* “*Irish Ecclesiastical Journal*,” December, 1843.

† The Journals of this Convocation are in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin. They have never been published, but extracts from them may be found in the *Irish Ecclesiastical Journal* for Dec. 1843.

inducing of them upon the other, and is equivalent both in fact and law to the *Repealing* of the old. For otherwise S. Paul must needs be out in the rules of logic, when he proved the abrogating of the old Covenant by the superinduction of a new, for having affirmed that God, by speaking of a new Covenant, had antiquated, or made void the first, (or made the first old, as our English reads it,) he adds immediately, *That that which is old, decayeth, and is ready to vanish away. . . .* So then according to these grounds, the Articles of Ireland were *virtually*, though not formally, abrogated, or else it must be granted that there were two confessions in the same one Church, different both in form and matter, and contrary in some points unto one another, which would have been so far from creating an uniformity between the Churches in the concernments of religion, that it would have raised a greater disagreement within Ireland itself, than was before between the Churches of both kingdoms."

To this I shall only add the testimony of Fuller in his Church History.

"A Convocation, (concurrent with a parliament,) was called and kept at Dublin, in Ireland, wherein the Thirty-nine Articles of the Church of England were received in Ireland for all to subscribe unto. It was adjudged fit, seeing that kingdom complies with England in the civil government, it should also conform thereto in matters of religion. Meantime, the Irish Articles concluded formerly in a synod, 1616,* were utterly excluded."

I shall now briefly recapitulate the several points which I have endeavoured to establish.

(1.) That there is an *a priori* presumption against the supposition, that both the Irish and English Articles were intended to be at the same time binding on the Irish Church.

(2.) That it was the desire of the Convocation of 1634, to assimilate the Irish Church to the English, and that the Thirty-nine Articles were adopted with the expressed intention of effecting that object.

(3.) That Bramhall, at whose instigation the English Articles were adopted, was of opinion that they had superseded the Articles of 1615.

(4.) That Usher and others, who continued to maintain the authority of the Irish Articles, felt that their authority was at least doubtful, since they applied to have them ratified; which was not done.

(5.) That the Convocation of 1661 did not consider that the Articles of 1615 continued in force; since the leading members of that body were opposed to the doctrines contained in them, and yet no attempt was made to annul them, even though the Convocation recorded in their journals their desire to preserve a unity of faith

* This is a mistake for 1615.

between the two Churches; and since it was at the suggestion of this Convocation that the Act of Uniformity requiring subscription to the Thirty-nine Articles only was passed.

And (6.) That several contemporary writers, including Bishop Taylor, Heylin, and Fuller, maintain that the Irish Articles were superseded by the adoption of the English.

I have endeavoured to keep this communication within the limits which your Magazine admits of. If I have exceeded them, the importance of the subject must be my apology.

I am, Sir, your obedient servant,
CLERICUS HIBERNICUS.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES.

Twenty-five Village Sermons. By CHARLES KINGSLEY, JUN., Rector of Eversley, Hants, and Canon of Middleham, Yorkshire. London: J. W. Parker.

THESE Sermons, as far as we have read them, appear free from that tendency to doctrinal unsoundness, of which indications were given in Mr. Kingsley's earlier works. They are liable, however, to another very grave objection—a continual straining after effect. This result is sought by different persons in two opposite ways. Some aim to be effective by the use of high flown language; others by extreme simplicity; and of these two methods the latter is, in our judgment, by far the most dangerous. Mere flowery and inflated language passes over the mind, and leaves for the most part no effect behind. People open their eyes and exclaim that it is very fine, and think no more about it. The affectation of simplicity, on the other hand, produces irreverence. The hearers may be pleased, as in the other instance, but instead of that kind of admiration which is allied to awe, you see the involuntary smile stealing over the face, and the sacred subject is for ever after lowered in their minds by a debasing association. Such, we fear, must be the effect of hearing or reading Mr. Kingsley's Sermons: they abound in vulgarities which cannot be natural to the author, and which will *therefore* operate deleteriously on the hearer. The following are examples: In one place our Lord is called "a poor tradesman's son, living on charity;" in another, He is said to have "felt the heat and the cold and the *rough roads* as much as the people around Him." Again, "Can you make a load of hay (he asks), unless God has first grown it for you *and then dried it?*" And at other times he uses mere provincialisms, as that of the corn *tillering* in the ground, and employs them in illustration of sacred mysteries. Is not this (in addition to the result before referred to) to help the minds of men, whose daily task is in the fields, away from the Church to the associations of their worldly callings?

We have seen with very great pleasure a copy of the *Book of Common Prayer, &c., according to the use of the Church of Scotland*. It has just been published by Lendrum of Edinburgh, under the sanction of the Senior Bishop of the Scotch Church. The peculiarities of the book are the restoration to the calendar of certain saints; some, as S. Cyril, of Catholic, but mostly, as SS. Ninian, Serf, Adamnan, Patrick, of national interest; the insertion of the proper Scotch Communion Office; and the exclusion of the State-Services. We do not understand why the Thirty-nine Articles are admitted here (more than in our own Prayer Book.) They are not mentioned in the title page, and consequently have no right in the body of the book. They have no sort of connection with the devotions of the people.

Imaginative works are not always light works; and so we have had difficulty in getting through *The City of God, a Vision*. (J. W. Parker.) It is a kind of amalgam of prophecy, and history, and speculation; embracing in short the author's views, conveyed in rather a misty form, upon the most miscellaneous subjects; from the expurgation of the classics and their "reduction to the state of a compendium," to dissertations on the mysteries of the Faith. Where did the author learn that "Basilicæ, i.e., royal residences, is a term often used in the Romish Church in reference to churches, supposed to be palaces of the saints to whom they are dedicated?"

The promoters of Hymnody at the present day will be glad to find the high authority there is for this valuable branch of Ecclesiastical Music. In some "prefatory remarks" to the *Stabat Mater, with Latin and English words, set to eight Melodies, Ancient and Modern, for four voices, with organ accompaniment*, (Lonsdale,) DR. GAUNTLETT states that upwards of a thousand hymns existed at the commencement of the sixteenth century. But in the meantime, we must not forget that the English Church, as Dr. Gauntlett shows, has, with but little exception, lost the early Catholic metrical tunes; since the melodies now chiefly in vogue are productions of Englishmen. The present publication is an attempt to make known and further the unapproachably grand and devotional ecclesiastical style. It may be as well to mention that the translation, which is given in parallel with the original Latin Version, contains an adaptation of the address to the blessed Virgin, to be a prayer to our Lord.

The same author has also published some *Christmas Carols*, "old and new, grave and jolie;" an excellent contribution towards the promotion of a truer standard of sacred songs in this country, especially among the poorer classes.

We have also received Linley's sea-song, *When 'tis nigh and the Midwatch is come*," and *Dulce Domum*, as a solo, trio, quartett, and chorus, arranged by the same hand.

NOTICE TO CORRESPONDENTS.

A correspondent writes to vindicate Mr. Pugin from a reflection which he imagines that we intended to cast upon him in a foot-note at the end of the article on "Oratorian Hymns" in our last. We can assure our correspondent that nothing of the kind was intended.

MARRIAGES AND THE MARRIAGE SERVICE.

THERE are some events which men have by common consent come to regard as turning points in life—as operating, that is, inevitably either for good or evil, and influencing their eternal destinies. Some one or more of such events every one is conscious of having experienced ; such an one is the death of parents, such, too, recovery from hopeless sickness, and sometimes Confirmation. And such an one is marriage. Probably no act in which a man engages is fraught with such momentous consequences as those which follow on his undertaking the holy estate of matrimony. It is not with marriage as with other important events. Their influence, however powerful, is often unseen and unfelt ; it is so with Confirmation ; it is so with Baptism itself. But the moment a man enters upon marriage, he is conscious externally of an entire transformation : and even his inward being is so modified, that scarce anything of his former habits of thought, cares, and affections remains unaltered. He has crossed the boundary line between two foreign conditions, and has become the naturalized subject of a different system. And God has designed that this great change shall be for his good ; that whoso uses matrimony aright may find it a stepping stone to holiness and virtue. But yet it may be perverted from this good end ; and he who shall dare to desecrate it, shall find it, like all other of the gifts of God, a curse rather than a blessing. That which should have been for his good, will be unto him an occasion of falling. Therefore the parish priest, whose high prerogative it is to be in some measure the guardian of his people's happiness, is bound to teach them the conditions of such an union as God will bless ; and to strive by every means in his power to prevent the ill-judged marriages into which so many rash and thoughtless people are led. Nor let it be supposed improbable that he should be able to exercise any effectual influence in such matters ; the real power of an energetic parish priest is far greater than we are apt to imagine. True it is that the relation of pastor and flock is not regarded now as it ought and as it used to be. It is the exception if the people look up to the clergyman as their spiritual father, and even then it is more from their experience of the kindness of the individual, than from their reverence for his office ; true also that all persons, but especially the young, are jealous of interference, and sensitive to a degree of any intrusion into their private affairs ; but yet there is an English feeling still glowing in the minds of the people, which leads them to regard their own clergy-

man with respect and affection, and to listen to his admonitions, if only he be one who will condescend to associate with them, and take part in their domestic interests. Of course very much depends on the general good-will which they bear towards him, much on his known readiness to advise and assist in other matters; and still more on his own judgment and tact. But they will never readily take offence at a kind word, uttered delicately, privately, and with scrupulous regard to their feelings. The very fact that he is taking an interest in them, so long as there is no show of interference, or assumption of authority, will of itself recommend his words to their attention, and thus, by a word spoken in season, he may save the thoughtless from bitterness in this world, and perhaps misery in the next.

These remarks of course apply chiefly to the poor. Except under peculiar circumstances, those in the higher ranks of life would not need any advice; that peculiar counsel which the priest would have to give, would have relation generally to imprudent marriages; unless, indeed, the proposed union should involve some offence against God and His Church, and then it would be his part to *warn*, not advise, both rich and poor. And the middle classes, which every clergyman acknowledges to be the hardest to deal with of all his flock, would, it is to be feared, generally resent any, even the most delicate advice. But the poor are always willing to be counselled, and we write in reference to them.

With a view to the exertion of such influence, we should remember that it is well, generally speaking, to prepare persons for individual exhortation and private and particular instruction, by public and general teaching. Success is not likely to follow the one course till the other has preceded it. Persons are much more likely to be influenced by good advice, when you can apply to their case what has been previously advanced as a general truth. And therefore it is essential that they should be made acquainted with the principles on which you wish them to act, from sermons and catechising. Yet few clergymen ever preach about marriage—from some cause or other, it is considered “not of general moment,” or “too delicate a subject,” or “one likely to give offence,” with other equally inconclusive reasons. Undoubtedly a good plain sermon on the “excellent mystery which sets forth the union there is betwixt CHRIST and His Church,” could not fail to interest and instruct all. And others on the duties of husbands and wives, on the marriage vow, or the marriage service, or the Registration Act, would probably effect some reformation in disordered families, or cause some thoughtless persons to pause and reflect. In these discourses many opportunities would arise of addressing particularly those who entertained thoughts of marrying. Then when any case occurred requiring the intervention of the clergyman, he could fall back upon his sermons, and thus relieve his advice of the

odium of personality. So also of catechising. If few clergymen ever preach about marriage, fewer still perhaps ever dream of catechizing the children on that subject—and yet why not?—is it to be supposed that those children never think of it; that they can see weddings and be present at marriage gaities, and never once apply them to their own case? Certainly they exhibit no such inaptitude in other matters. Then is it not the duty of the clergyman to direct such thoughts into the right channel? and it might be fairly said, that they of all others were the most fit to be instructed, who were likely before many years to have occasion to require such lessons. And further, independently of the advantage the children would probably derive, the parents take infinite pleasure in listening to the answers of their sons and daughters, and would be far more likely to mould their own practice by the rule of their children's teaching, than by the most eloquent or forcible appeal in more direct ways. This remark, of course, applies to every truth on which the catechist may engage their attention, but it is peculiarly applicable in this case, when the parents are thinking of those very children settling in life.

If the clergyman is thus known to take high views of the marriage tie, the people will be prepared for his advice and warnings; and language which they might otherwise have considered intrusive, will appear warranted by the principles they have heard him publicly advance. When, therefore, he hears of a projected union between two persons whom he knows to be unsuited for each other, or who have no provision for a future family, and who have therefore no prospect of real happiness in the married state, he may reasonably remonstrate with them and their parents on their imprudence. Or on the other hand, if only temporary difficulties interfere with the consummation of a marriage which is likely to be productive of blessing, he may well promote such a marriage by rendering any assistance in his power, either in the way of money or advice. When the ultimate good of the parties concerned is evidently seen to be his motive in thus bestirring himself about their matters, they will be very far indeed from offering any opposition to his will, but will rather solicit his counsel as the only accessible person in whom they can place confidence.

Especially it will be his duty to show them the sin and danger of contracting those unhallowed unions which the Registration Act has licensed; and this is a subject on which they will be very open to conviction. They will readily acknowledge the difference between a solemn marriage before the whole Church, and a private contract in the presence of a registrar. No person of any right feeling would ever be satisfied with the legal requirements. Even members of religious sects, for whom the act was especially provided, celebrate their unions according to their own way, in addition to the ceremony in the Registrar's office, which they only

perform in compliance with the law, and to legitimize their children. No modest person, who had ever reflected upon the question, would hesitate a moment about the path of duty, and cases have frequently occurred, of couples who had been some time contracted at the Registrar's applying for marriage at the Church. It only needs to put it before the people, and they will be shocked at the idea of a secular marriage.

There is also another point on which it is the duty of the Parish Priest to put his people in mind. It is that there are times of the year when it is unseemly to marry, and give in marriage. Unhappily, the solemn seasons, when the Church calls on her children to chastise themselves for sin, are not regarded in this self-indulgent age. That Advent and Lent should be passed otherwise than in festive scenes, is a truth which we hope is gradually dawning on the world. Certainly it is becoming less common to choose Friday for parties of pleasure, and those who refuse to attend entertainments on fast days, are less open than they were to the charge of singularity. But we fear that this improvement, limited as it is in extent, is only superficial. Even persons professing Catholic principles are often found unwilling to inconvenience themselves. Mr. Monro's complaint, that Churchmen do not open their Churches for daily service, is capable of application to every branch of the system. Churchmen do not fast—do not observe holy seasons in such a way as to suffer by it. And if this be so, how can we expect that the world will recognize them. Yet nothing can be a greater violation of order, than to contract marriage during such seasons as we have named, and of old times the Church not only discountenanced it, but refused to allow it. The Priests were actually forbidden to solemnize marriages at certain times. The rubric of the Salisbury Manual is as follows—"Traditio uxorum et nuptiarum solemnitas certis temporibus fieri prohibentur: videlicet ab adventu Domini usque ad oct. Epiph. et a septuagesima usque ad oct. Paschæ, et a Dominica ante Ascensionem Domini usque ad oct. Pentecostes." From Advent Sunday to the octave of the Epiphany, (exclusive) from Septuagesima to the octave of Easter, and from Rogation Sunday to the octave of Whitsunday, (exclusive) it was unlawful to celebrate marriages. Of course this would be far too severe a rule for the present state of the Church, and of society: and probably it was never rigidly enforced even by the mediæval Church. Certainly the primitive Christians observed no such very strict prohibition. The Council of Laodicea forbids all marriages to be celebrated in Lent; and Bingham says, that this is the only prohibition in point of time that we meet with in any of the genuine records of [the] early ages. Mr. Maskell* remarks concerning the degrees of consanguinity, within which marriage was considered lawful, that "it

* Mon. Rit. I. ccxx.

must be confessed that the regulations were made as time went on, more and more both in strictness and number, that dispensations might also be more numerous, and the revenues of the Church increased." We conceive that the same remark would hold good upon the subject of times and seasons. Lent was extended to Septuagesima Sunday on the one hand, and the octave of Easter on the other. Advent was lengthened as a season of abstinence, by the addition of Epiphany, and thus a pious and reverent observance was converted into something very like a burthen. It need not be our object to restore this. It will be sufficient if we can persuade the people to recognize the main seasons—or at least Lent—and therein especially the last two weeks. It will be a great deal to do so much. One grieves over the absence of such directions in the Common Prayer Book. What induced the Reformers to omit them, with the ancient service books in their hands, it is impossible to conceive. But it is not difficult to trace the neglect of Catholic customs to that omission. We can only trust now that the increasing study of the old rituals will gradually tend to supply the deficiencies of our own Prayer Book.

Nothing will more impress the people with a sense of the dignity and solemnity of marriage, or more effectually warn them against heedlessly undertaking that holy estate, than a careful and minute performance of the marriage service. The imperceptible effect on the popular mind, from constantly witnessing edifying and impressive ceremonies, is, we believe, incalculable. There was not an office in the ancient Church which did not receive the utmost diligence that the Priest could bestow on its administration, and the consequence was, that the services were made so attractive, that independently of the deeper religious feeling which undeniably existed before the Reformation, and which would of itself have induced them to join in every solemnity, the people were led to assemble in the Churches to witness all holy rites, just as now they flock to see a coronation. When we reflect on the miserable, paltry, irreverent performance of every office of the Church, but more especially of the occasional offices, which has long been the disgrace of this communion, we cannot be surprised that our flocks should have ceased to take an interest in them. And the way to stimulate their zeal is to invest those services with some of their ancient splendour, so far as we can, and the ritual will admit of it. We can easily judge of the probable effect, by the instances which do from time to time occur of grander services. When a rich marriage takes place, the people come in throngs to witness it. Now let us bestow as much care, and pomp if you will, on the religious rites of the poor, and show them that reverence is due, not to the parties engaged, but to His Majesty in Whose sight there is no respect of persons, and we shall certainly find them willing, as far as their avocations will permit, to come to Church at all marriages and other holy rites; while the

inevitable effect will be an under-current of religious reverence for observances, which they had formerly regarded only as proper ceremonies. And it is easy to see besides what a hold the Church obtains by degrees through such services in another way. The new married couple are, we will suppose, settled in the parish; they themselves are henceforth bound to the clergyman by his interest and kindness, and their grateful remembrance of their marriage. Through them others are attached; family gathers family, and each successive marriage wins another step for the Church. The same of burials, which are perhaps even more suggestive of kindly thoughts. And undoubtedly, although the Holy Communion claims the highest place in the clergyman's care, and the ordinary services must be scrupulously attended to, yet the way to leaven a parish is by the occasional services. These come more home to the hearts of the people, and they can understand and appreciate them better than others of more general interest, however secondary they may really be.

And here we may mention another matter which to us seems of the greatest importance. Just as it is impossible to work any decided reformation in adults (we speak of course of a class—individual exceptions do not invalidate this position,) and therefore it is essential to commence the reformation of a parish in the school, so it is almost hopeless to attempt to reclaim families who have long been accustomed to improvidence and wretchedness, and the parish Priest should watch with the most vigilant care the new married couple: lest they who began life with the best intentions should gradually fall into the same miserable squalid state to which they were accustomed in their old homes. He should continually impress upon the young wife the folly of supposing that she will retain her husband's affections, without being kind and obedient; or that he will remain at home and prefer her society to that of the beerhouse, if she takes no pains to make his home comfortable, and is not ready to welcome him when he comes back wearied from his day's work. No young woman marries without looking forward to spending a happy life with the man she has chosen, and at first when everything is straight, and there are no extra cares of children and so forth to perplex her and wake her from her dreams of happiness, all this will appear so true and natural that she will very willingly listen and act upon it. So if he shows her husband the advantage of being kind, and yielding to the weakness of his wife, and the evil effect it will have on her affections if he exhibits any want of confidence, or if he neglect to bring her his wages, certainly few men will fail to see the justice of his reasoning, though unfortunately few men do see these things of their own accord. Let him also sometimes call for a minute or two in the evening when they are together, and supply them with books to read to each other; and in other quiet unobtrusive ways watch their con-

duct (without their perceiving it,) and gently lead them on to habits of cleanness, and order, and regularity. He should praise their house and furniture, inquire into their plans, advise them in their housekeeping difficulties, and exert himself to see them happily and comfortably settled. He may also induce them to commence from the first the practice of family prayer. It would be a great addition to our parochial tracts, if some short Catholic forms of family prayer were printed in plain simple language: the want is sadly felt, and we know of none that would answer the purpose. Then when he learns that she has a prospect of becoming a mother, he should see that she does not put off providing for her child—which is of great importance, for the subsequent welfare of the parents often depends upon it. Many a young couple, industrious and well to do, have had their prosperity suddenly checked by the pressure of the first confinement. They are thrown back in their rent, the doctor has to be paid and the nurse—she also requires little delicacies which they can ill afford all at once, and the consequence is that they never thoroughly recover their former comfort. All this might have been prevented if they had laid up a little money to assist them in the hour of need. It would be well if he were to offer to be their banker for a few months, if he hears of it so long before, with the promise of adding something to their store when they want it. They will gladly lay by a little week by week if they are encouraged to be provident; and the reason that the poor never save anything for themselves is that they cannot resist the temptation of spending what they see. If any one will take charge of it whom they can rely on, they will willingly lay up something against the time. This of course applies to all families, and perhaps those who have felt the want of money in former confinements will be found more ready to take precautionary measures than those who have never been in such difficulties: but we mention this as one of the means of securing as well the good-will as the respectability of the new married couple. But to return from this digression, into which we were led while speaking of the propriety and advantage of investing the marriage service (in common with other occasional offices) with becoming impressiveness.

We propose in the following pages to relate the principal ceremonies observed in the celebration of marriage in reference especially to our own office, supplying such hints as we proceed, as we conceive the parish Priest will find useful. The authorities we have consulted are chiefly the old rituals, contained in the works of Martene, Maskell, and Palmer. It will be seen from them that in this, as in other services, the English Church has moulded her own office upon ancient models: and has adopted not only the same order fundamentally as was observed in the old ceremonial, but has also translated most of the prayers and benedictions which were

formerly in use. The rubrics are indeed throughout painfully scanty and indefinite, affording a striking contrast to the minute directions found in the ante-Reformation manuals; but they are sufficiently express to show that the compilers of the service contemplated no material change from immemorial custom: and the Priest will find himself quite able to perform the English Office with the dignity and order which distinguished the ritual of a better age. We proceed therefore at once with an examination of the Marriage service.

The ceremonies observed by the ancient Church in the solemnization of holy Matrimony must be considered under two divisions. For originally the office for espousals was distinct from the actual celebration of marriage, and many weeks and even months were suffered to elapse between them. As soon as a mutual engagement had been entered upon by any two Christians, the contract was formally ratified in the face of the whole Church. No stated time was announced for the marriage, none of the preliminaries had been arranged: this only was settled between them, that they should eventually be married, and to guard against unfaithfulness on one side or the other, to assure the world that there were no impediments to the proposed union, and to obtain the blessing of God upon them from the very first, they openly betrothed themselves to each other; after which they were so far man and wife that any breach of the contract was considered adultery, and punished as such. It is to be lamented that religious feeling in these days is at too low an ebb ever to hope that persons desirous of being married should come and ask the blessing of the Church on their engagement, but doubtless if it were made a fundamental part of the Marriage Service, that they should take such a step, there would be less danger of hasty unions on the one hand, and more security against breaches of promise on the other. Half the unhappiness and disagreements between husbands and wives is to be attributed to the secrecy and haste with which they contracted their union at the first. It was an admirable rule that which the ancient Church observed:—"prohibeant sacerdotes frequenter parochianos suos ne dent sibi fidem mutuo, sed coram publicis et honestis personis ad hoc constitutis." The days are past when such an injunction would be literally complied with. But the parish Priest may well recommend his people to confide in him their matrimonial engagements, and in proportion to his influence and kindness, would be their readiness to come and tell him all that was in their heart. If they were encouraged to ask his counsel and direction, they would learn to think more seriously than they are used, whether any unfitness existed, or any bar to their happiness, and he would moreover have an opportunity of teaching them personally the great responsibilities attaching to the married state, and of warning them against the dangers to which they would be exposed.

But the separation of the espousals and marriage has long ceased to exist: and although a very little reflection will serve to show the many advantages which would be derived from a return to primitive customs, yet we may be very sure that there were good reasons for the universal disuse of it.—We can readily conceive what obstacles would be placed in the way of clandestine marriages if the espousals were made a distinct service. It is now only necessary to elude the vigilance of parents and guardians for an hour to effect an union which can never be severed. But then the publicity attending the preliminary rite would be fatal to concealment, and the intention of the parties would be discovered before the knot was indissolubly tied.—Again, take the case of runaway matches, which are so destructive to the peace of families. It requires even now considerable address and management to carry out effectually a design for elopement, when to baffle pursuit for a few hours will be sufficient to accomplish the end in view. But if an interval of some days were required before the marriage could be consummated it would be useless to attempt to escape interruption for so long a time.—We have heard also in very recent times, though happily the crime is seldom perpetrated now, of sacrilegious counterfeits of marriage. To require the previous performance of espousals would infinitely increase the difficulty of imitating a lawful marriage. These are advantages so obvious that if no other considerations offered themselves we must needs regret the change which has taken place. But we are led to inquire somewhat further into the truth when we find the whole mediæval Church (which was rather prone to multiply services than contract them,) uniting the two offices: and it seems that notwithstanding the stringent measures which were in force to prevent breaches of the sponsal contract, yet in consequence probably of the length of time suffered to elapse before the parties were required to consummate their marriage, instances of unfaithfulness were not uncommon. But this could not have been the sole reason, for it would have been easy to have assigned a limit within which the fulfilment of the contract should be compulsory. And as will be seen from an extract below, this was sometimes done. But probably the real objection lay in the proneness of the people to consider the marriage already solemnized when in truth the betrothal only had been ratified; and thus a practice of the Church which had originally grown out of a holy and good feeling would be made to minister to immorality. That the danger of this was contemplated by the Church, will be seen from the following exhortation taken from Martene. After the mutual promise, “perget in hæc verba pastor. —Ego igitur in personâ et nomine Ecclesiæ hanc vestram mutuam promissionem accepto et approbo, vos serius admonens et requirens ut juxta nostræ diocesis Leodiensis consuetudinem, infra quadraginta dies proxime sequentes procedatis ad

matrimonium legitime in facie Ecclesiæ inter vos contrahendum, denuncians simul vobis ne ante matrimonium, ut præmittitur, contractum commisceamini carnaliter, ut non incidatis in excommunicationis pœnam ipso facto per statutum synodale in tales decretum.”* So that a canon did exist against an offence which, as it was not unlikely to be committed, doubtless became common in spite of laws and threats of excommunication, and so it was found requisite to postpone the espousals to the actual day of marriage. Certainly that would be the danger now if the old custom were restored: for the standard of morality among the poor is very low, and nothing could justify a service which instead of promoting religion, and exalting the dignity of marriage would furnish an excuse for violating the requirements of both one and the other. And therefore whatever advantages might at first sight seem likely to arise from the separation of the espousals and the marriage, they must be counted as nothing in the balance when the sin which already prevails to so frightful an extent, is weighed against them.

Lyndwood thus defines the difference between marriage and the espousals. “Sunt enim sponsalia repromissio futurarum nuptiarum; sed nuptiæ sive matrimonium est viri mulierisque conjunctio individuum vitæ consuetudinem retinens.” These services as they were performed at different times, so they were celebrated by different observances. However since they have been united much of their distinction has been broken down. The ring, which is now given at the marriage, formed originally a part of the former service, as it is still in the Eastern Church. According to the custom of that communion, two rings are used, the one of gold and the other of silver: these are laid on the altar. The Priest takes them and delivers the gold to the man, and the silver to the woman, who make an exchange, each placing his own ring on the other’s finger.† Another ceremony observed was the giving the solemn kiss. Then also were signed the tabulæ matrimoniales, by the parties themselves, and by the Bishop or Priest, in the presence of three witnesses. These were laid up among the archives of the Church, and answered exactly to our parish registers. Among other pledges gold and silver were given, which gifts were called *arrhæ*, and hence the whole service *subarrhatio*. Every publicity was given to it and it was ordered by the Council of Cologne in 1240, that no betrothals should take place in private houses, nor in church except before four or at least three witnesses. The hours of marriage were also confined to the limits of eight and twelve in the forenoon. These regulations have since been always observed. Another synod provided that the contracting parties should espouse themselves fasting. From the very first the Church has opposed all conceal-

* Tom. ii. 645.

† Goar, 380—2.

ment, haste, or indecorum in this solemn contract, enacting the most stringent measures for the prevention of clandestine marriages, and all other irregularities which were likely to arise from the thoughtlessness or impetuosity of mankind.

We now pass on to consider in detail the several parts of the English office. The first rubric directs that the banns of all that are to be married together, must be published in the Church three several Sundays, during the time of morning service, or of evening service (if there be no morning service,) immediately after the Second Lesson. Up to the last review it was simply ordered that the banns should be published three several Sundays or holidays in the time of service, but the publication was then appointed to be made immediately before the sentences for the offertory—that is, when after the Nicene Creed, the Priest gives notice of the holy Communion, and of holy days in the week following, and when briefs, citations and excommunications are to be read. This rubric was again altered by the statute 26 Geo. II. 33, when the present order was substituted. It does not, however, appear that more was intended than this—to insure the publication of the banns on three successive Sundays. In the lax state of the Church when holidays had wholly ceased to be observed, the original rubric was obviously inoperative, and as the object of the act was to prevent clandestine marriages it was ordered that henceforth banns should only be published on Sundays. Then to make up for the possibility of there being no morning service, it was allowed, in that case, to publish them in the evening after the Second Lesson; but in the morning banns should be published as heretofore after the Nicene Creed, for be it remembered that the Prayer Book as settled by the last review is that which is to be the guide of the English Priest; and the statute of George II. only so far affects him as it declares that the State will refuse to legitimatise marriages unless the banns have been published on Sundays. It can have no power to dictate to him the mode of publication. But in truth it was never the intention of that statute to do so. If the notice were correctly printed, the comma after “evening service” would be omitted; the direction about the Second Lesson* merely relating to the case of there being no morning service.

* The rubric referred to in this paragraph is simply an extract from the Act of Parliament, which will account for the omission of the direction about the offertory sentences. That omission might otherwise seem significant of an alteration of the time of publication. The following is the clause of the Act verbatim, of the act that is, as now in force. The original statute of George II. underwent several modifications in succeeding parliaments, till at last it was wholly repealed in the fourth of George IV., when the act now in force was passed, which embodies this and some other clauses of the old Act. Sec. 2. “Be it further enacted, that all banns of matrimony shall be published, according to the form of words prescribed by the rubric affixed to the office of matrimony in the Book of Common Prayer upon three *Sundays*” (the italics are the Act’s) “preceding the solemnization of marriage, during the time of morning service, or of evening service (if there shall be no morning ser-

That the time for publishing the banns was properly appointed at the offertory sentences may be gathered from several old rubrics, but the following from the Salisbury manual will suffice;—"Debet enim sacerdos banna in facie Ecclesiæ infra missarum solennia cum major populi adfuerit multitudo;" and as there seems no real reason for making the alteration, probably accuracy in this matter will gradually be gained as in other more important points.

The Church has required the publication of banns from the earliest times—that is to say, she has refused from the first to ratify unions which were not consummated in conspectu ecclesiæ. Tertullian assures us that in his time all marriages which had not previously been proclaimed in the Church, were in danger of being accounted illicit. However it does not appear how early the formal practice of publishing banns thrice obtained: but in the council held at London, A.D. 1200, the following canon occurs, "*nec contrahatur aliquod matrimonium sine trina denuncione publica in ecclesia.*" It was directed in the provincial constitutions of Walter Raynold, A.D. 1322, exactly as our first rubric originally stood. "In matrimonio contrahendo semper in tribus dominicis vel festivis diebus et a sic distantibus tribus edictis perquirat sacerdos a populo sub pœna excommunicationis de legitimatione sponsi et sponsæ."* There was no form of publication given in the previous books, but there was doubtless a mediæval form in use, and the present rubric seems to allude to it, when it directs the banns to be published, "the curate saying after the accustomed manner." The banns were published in *lingua materna* from the first. The following is the form according to the York use, and it will be observed to be the original of the exhortation with which our English office commences—"Lo Bretheren we are comen here before God and His Angels, and all His halowes, In the face and presence of our moder holy Chyrche, for to couple and to knyght these two bodyes togyder that is to saye of this man and of this woman. That they be from this tyme for ever but one body and two soules in the fayth and lawe of God and holy Chyrch; for to deserve euerlasting lyfe, what somener that they have done here before." Again, "I charge you on GODDES behalfe and holy Chirche that if there be any of you that can say any thinge why these two may not be lawfully wedded togyder at this tyme, say it now, outhir pryuely or appertly in helpynge of your soules and theirs bothe."†

It is probable that the man and woman during the publication of the banns were placed in some conspicuous place, and as far as we can judge from the old rubrics that place was the same which

vice in such Church or Chapel upon the *Sunday*, upon which such banns shall be so published), immediately after the second lesson." It will be observed that there is no comma here after the words "Evening Service." We are quite unable to give the authority for the substitution for this clause for the rubric. The Act has not a word about it.

* Maskell's Mon. Rit. i. p. ccxli.

† Maskell's Mon. Rit. i. 43.

they occupied on the day of their espousals. It certainly nullifies in a measure the intention of banns to sanction the concealment of the parties engaged. But the delicacy and false pride of these days is too great to suppose that it would be possible to induce persons to come forward and appear in any public way, before the congregation. Yet it cannot be doubted that many clandestine marriages do escape exposure solely from the practice of only reading the names, some of which are not even heard when great numbers are published together, and to which very few of the congregation, if any, pay the slightest attention. The parish Priest is now almost the only person who can secure the discovery of impediments to proposed unions, and it has become an important part of his duty to inquire into the circumstances of every pair whose banns he is required to publish. But unhappily this is seldom done. The clerk or sexton is informed of the intention of a certain man and woman to be married. He writes the names down in the book kept for that purpose at Church. The Priest as a matter of routine, reads them over after the Second Lesson, and probably never thinks about it again till the parties come some morning *alone* (it may be) to be married.* He performs the service and perhaps discovers afterwards that these persons were out of his parish, or that they were minors, or that one of them was already married, or that there was some other impediment against their union. All this would have been prevented if he had only taken the trouble to visit them before publishing the banns. The act 4 Geo. IV. c. 76. s. 7. "provides that no Minister shall be obliged to publish the banns of matrimony between any persons whatsoever, unless they shall seven days at least before the time required for the first publication deliver, or cause to be delivered to him a notice in writing of their true Christian and Surnames, and of the houses of their respective abodes, within such parish, chapelry, or extra-parochial place where the banns are to be published, and of the time during which they have inhabited or lodged in such houses respectively." These seven days would give him ample opportunity of examining into the truth of the statement, and of calling on the parents or guardians: and if such a course were uniformly pursued by all parochial Clergy, the poor would find it very difficult to impose on the Church, whatever opportunities of obtaining an illegal union the registration office might afford.

"At the time and day appointed for the solemnization of matrimony, the persons to be married shall come into the *body* of the Church, with their friends and neighbours." The corresponding

* The Act provides that there shall be two witnesses. It is obvious that the intention of the Act is in a great measure frustrated, when, as is often the case, the clerk and sexton, or clerk and pew-opener, are the only witnesses. Let any one examine a Parish Register, and he will be astonished at the frequent recurrence of the clerk's signature.

rubric of the Salisbury Manual was thus: "Statuantur vir et mulier ante ostium ecclesiæ coram Deo et sacerdote et populo." The position "ante ostium" was of course in the porch. It is probable that porches were built for the express purpose of affording shelter from the weather during the performance of such services as commenced outside the Church; e.g., Baptism, churching, and reconciliation of penitents. Thus they were made to take the place of the ancient *exedræ*. But the reformers thought fit to direct that the persons to be married should come into the *body* of the Church, though it is not very easy to divine their motives in making the alteration. The symbolism of the ancient custom was very beautiful. All marriages were to be performed in *facie ecclesiæ, coram Deo et sacerdote et populo*. To set this forth, the man and woman were stationed facing the Church, with the Priest in the doorway, and the people within. As the present Prayer Book gives us no new directions, our object should be to adapt the nave of the Church to all the uses that the porch was built to answer. Thus, instead of keeping the man and woman outside the doors, let them be placed just within; the people farther towards the opposite side of the Church, and the Priest between them facing the west. He would turn, during the following service, towards the one side or the other, according as he was addressing the congregation or the persons to be married. Evidently with this arrangement, no departure need be made from ancient order.

The man and woman are to stand together, the man on the right hand and the woman on the left; this is rather ambiguously worded, as it does not appear whether the right hand of the Priest or of the parties themselves is intended: but the Latin rubric is more explicit, "*vir a dextris mulieris et mulier a sinistris viri*." The Church has universally observed this rule, for the husband is the head of the wife; but Wheatley says that the Jews make use of the contrary practice, in allusion to the words of the Psalm, "Upon Thy Right hand did stand the Queen in a vesture of gold."

Then the man and woman so placed in reference to each other and the congregation, the Priest proceeds with the exhortation. This is, as we have seen, based upon the ancient form for publishing banns, but the middle part is entirely new. The Priest during the reading of this exhortation should stand between the congregation and the man and woman, but facing west: at the words "to join together this man and this woman," his gesture should indicate the parties intended, (*Hic respiciat sacerdos personas coniungendas. Manuale Ebor.*) and at the solemn adjuration to the congregation to reveal the truth, he should make a short pause and turn round to them, delivering the words with the book closed. After waiting awhile to hear whether any one should put in a caution or an objection to the marriage, he should turn to the persons about to be married, and approaching them, pronounce in

a low deliberate solemn voice the appointed charge. This is ordered to be said also in *lingua materna* in the ancient rituals, and the following is the form contained in the York Manual; "Also I charge you both and eyther be your selfe, as ye wyll answer before God at the day of Dome, that yf there be any thyng done pryuely or openly betwene your selfe: or that ye knowe any lawfull lettynge why that ye may nat be wedded togyther at this tyme: say it nowe or we do any more to this matter." It would be impossible to put too much impressiveness into voice and manner in asking this solemn question, and the Church of old sufficiently testified her anxiety to guard against illicit unions by making here and elsewhere in the marriage service use of the vulgar tongue. If any make any objection the Priest is not to receive it, unless the objector promises to establish it within a certain time;* but if no impediment be alleged then the espousals shall proceed with the formal contract between the parties. The English form anciently used was nearly the same as that used in our own book, as will be seen from the following extract from the York Manual. The Salisbury rubrics order that the question shall be asked in *lingua materna*, but only supplies the Latin form. The York form is as follows:—"N. Wylt thou have this woman to thy wyfe: and love her and kepe her in syknes and in helthe, and in all other degrease be to her as a husbonde should be to a wyfe and all other forsake for her: and holde thee only to her to thy lyues ende?—I wyll. To the woman: Wylt thou have this man to thy husbonde and to be buxom (obedient) to him, serve him and kepe hym," &c., the same as to the man. The duty of obedience is always prominently inculcated in the marriage service, and therein our own office is certainly not deficient. The same variation in the answers of the man and woman are to be found in the form used by ourselves.

Having thus received their mutual consent, the Priest proceeds to the actual marriage service. "Who giveth this woman to be married to this man?" The form of the York Manual is "Deinde sacerdos—Who gyves me this wyfe? deinde detur fœmina a patre suo vel ab amicis ejus."—This is a very significant expression, evidently setting forth the authority of the Church to marry; the friend who gives the woman away, gives her first to the priest. He is the paranympus of S. Augustine. "The minister receiving the woman at her father's or friend's hands, shall cause the man with his right hand to take the woman by her right hand;" that is, the paranympus is to give the right hand of the woman to the Priest, who causes the man to clasp it with his right hand. The woman should be made to walk a few steps forward, when she is presented to the Priest, in order that so his giving her in marriage may be more

* Except in the case of minors. The simple dissent of parents, or guardians, is sufficient to render the publication void. 4 Geo. IV. c. 76, sec. 8.

significantly represented, by his leading her to her future husband. It was ordered by the old rubrics, that the woman should have her hand covered if she were a widow, one of the many points by which the Church distinguished second marriages. With the right hands thus clasped, the Priest "teaches" the man to say the solemn words of espousal. The words of the Salisbury Manual are as follows—"I N. take the N. to my wedded wyf, to have and to holde fro this day forwarde for better: for wors: for richer: for poorer: in sykenesse and in hele: tyl dethe vs departe if holy Chyrche it woll ordeyne, and thereto I plight the my trouthe." Why the reformers should have changed this into "according to God's holy ordinance," it is difficult to conceive. The woman's betrothal is the same to the word "hele," when it concludes, "to be bonere and buxom in bedde and at the borde till dethe us departe, &c." With a few slight differences, the same form is found in all old manuals: the various forms are given by Mr. Maskell in the preface to his "Ancient Liturgy of the Church of England," p. clv. This contract originally stood as part of the espousals, but since the two services have been united, it has formed part of the marriage office. "Then shall they again loose their hands: and the man shall give unto the woman a ring, laying the same upon the book, with the accustomed duty to the Priest and clerk." The corresponding rubric of the Old Manuale is "*Deinde ponat vir aurum, argentum, et annulum super scutum vel librum:*" that is, upon the book either closed or open; on the cover or the page. If there were a cross on the binding, the ring would be laid upon it, during the benediction to be pronounced by the Priest over it. The destination of the gold and silver is not usually stated, but it seems that part went to the Priest and part to the woman. A MS. Manual, in the British Museum, of Salisbury use, has a curious addition here—"Et dato annulo dicat sacerdos: Loo this gold and this silver is leyd down in sygnifyinge that the woman schal have her dower, thi goodes, if heo abide after thy disces."* The fee given now is evidently intended for the Priest and clerk alone, but there is no reason why "*arrhæ*" should not also be offered to the wife, and if her husband wishes to present something over and above the ring, in token of his love, he may well be permitted to do so here. The Priest taking the ring shall deliver it unto the man to put it upon the fourth finger of the woman's left hand. But in the old service, before he delivers it to the man, the Priest is directed to inquire whether it has been previously blessed. The benediction of the ring was a rite never omitted in the ancient Church, and one which should be always observed. The silence of the Prayer Book can be no authority for the disuse of an ancient custom, and the English Priest may use

* Maskell's Mon. Rit. i. p. 47, note.

(as in other offices he is obliged to do), some appropriate form. On looking through Martene, we find the benediction almost word for word the same as that in the Salisbury Manual, which he cannot therefore do better than employ. But perhaps it cannot be justly said, that our own office takes no notice of the Blessing the ring, for it will be seen that the prayer which follows is an adaptation of the disused form. We give them side by side, that the reader may compare them.

Dominus vobiscum. Oremus.

Let us pray.

Creator et Conservator humani generis, dator gratiæ spiritualis, largitor æternæ salutis; Tu Domine mitte benedictionem tuam super hunc annulum (*respice*) ut quæ illum gestaverit sit armata virtute cœlestis defensionis, et proficiat illi ad æternam salutem. Per Christum.

Oremus. Bene~~x~~dic, Domine, hunc annulum (*respice*) quem nos in tuo sancto nomine benedicimus, ut quæcumque eum portaverit in tua pace consistat, et in tua voluntate permaneat, et in tuo amore vivat et crescat et senescat, et multiplicetur in longitudinem dierum. Per Dominum.

O Eternal God, Creator and Preserver of all mankind, Giver of all spiritual grace, the Author of everlasting life; send Thy blessing upon these Thy servants, this man and this woman, whom we bless in Thy Name: that, as Isaac and Rebecca lived faithfully together, so these persons may surely perform and keep the vow and covenant betwixt them made, (whereof this ring given and received is a token and pledge,) and may ever remain in perfect love and peace together, and live according to Thy laws; through Jesus CHRIST our LORD. Amen.

Still it does not follow that because the Church has given old prayers a different application, that therefore they may not be used in the original sense, in addition to the modern interpretation. And it would be well to have a slip of paper containing this or some other and shorter benediction fastened into the office book; or the following brief form might be used: it is taken from Martene: Bene~~x~~dic Domine annulum istum, ut in ejus figura pudiciliam custodiant. The ring was always signed with the Cross, at the word "Bene~~x~~dic;" the same symbol may also be used in the corresponding part of the English prayer. After this blessing in the old ritual followed the aspersion, "Tunc aspergatur aqua benedicta super annulum," a practice which we are not likely to see restored.—But if the ring had been already blessed, it was to be delivered at once to the man. The signification of the ring has been variously explained. By its form, which is round, the eternity of the union once ratified by the Church is signified. From

its metal, the purest and noblest which the earth can render, and of which even the streets of the New Jerusalem are paved, we are taught the unalloyed love which should exist between husband and wife, and in which they may, by the grace given in this Sacrament, help each other forward in the good way which leadeth to everlasting life. From its use, which is that of signing or sealing contracts, is drawn an image of the inviolability of the marriage vow: and again, the confidence which the husband professes to place in the faithfulness and prudence of his wife, in that he yields up to her the signet on his right hand.* The man is to receive the ring "*manu sua dextra cum tribus principalioribus digitis*," i.e., the thumb and two first fingers, and taking the right hand of the woman in his own left hand, says after the Priest the marriage words. But here there is a discrepancy between the modern and ancient rubrics. As the rubric stands now, the ring is evidently to be put on before the form is repeated, for he is to put it on the fourth finger of the left hand, and hold it there as, taught by the Priest, he says the words; but in the old rubrics (and not only in the English Church, but everywhere), the ring is put on with great effect by several stages, so to speak, during the form of marriage. Thus in the Salisbury Manual, which may be taken as an example, "With this ring I the wed, and this gold and silver I the give, and with my body I the worship, and with all my wordely catel I the endowe;" and then he is to put the ring on the thumb, "*In nomine Patris*," on the forefinger, "*et Filii*," on the third finger, "*et Spiritus Sancti*," on the fourth finger, "*Amen*." There were slight variations in this observance, but the trine insertion was universal. It is perhaps not a matter of much importance, and as it concerns the part of the man to be married may not be insisted on. It is well to keep the discharge of the ceremonial as much as possible in the hands of the Priest. If the Priest had to put the ring on, it might be a question how far the old custom should be enforced, but as it is, it may be left to the feeling of the husband. The left hand is chosen partly because being the hand least used, there is less danger of injury to the ring: but chiefly in distinction to the Bishop's ring, which was always placed on the right hand, when at his consecration he was espoused to the Church: "*in sinistra ferat (sc. sponsa) ad differentiam gradus episcopalis ubi annulus in signaculum integræ et plenæ castitatis in dextra manu publice est portandus*." The fourth finger is the finger appointed for the ring—*quia in medico est quædam vena procedens usque ad*

* Hence the husband should always wear the ring on his own finger before it is required by the Priest. Which, besides being symbolical of the sentiment in the text, will be found to conduce to practical reverence. Nothing can be more unseemly and ludicrous than to see the man hunting for it nervously in his pocket. A hitch of this kind does more to undo the solemnity of the service than any common irreverence or inattention to order.

cor, according to the Salisbury Manual. That there is any vein leading directly to the heart, is, we believe, a fact contradicted by the anatomist, but it is sufficient for our purpose to know, that such an impression did exist, and that it was the origin of the selection of that finger.

After the ring has been put on, the rubric commands that the new married persons shall kneel down : *deinde inclinatis eorum capitibus dicat sacerdos benedictionem super eos* : for they have been standing up to this moment. This of course will be at the feet of the Priest, and facing east. Then follows the prayer, which we have seen, to be the substitute for the benediction of the ring. According to the York use, if the woman had received land for her dowry, before the benediction (which occurs in a later part of the service,) she here prostrated herself to the earth at the feet of her husband, in token we suppose, that notwithstanding her dowry, she would be obedient to him, and that she and her land were equally at his disposal. Mr. Palmer says "that the succeeding rites in which the Priest, with a certain formulary, joins their right hands together, and afterwards pronounces the marriage to be complete, are perhaps peculiar to the Church of England." But in the Ambrosian Ritual, given by Martene, we find a very similar form. *Quibus (sc. sponso et sponsa) consentientibus Parochus dicit hæc verba Evangelii; Quod Deus conjunxit homo non separet.** Of the formal declaration to the people, that the new married persons are man and wife together ; we can find no trace elsewhere. It is probably due to the insatiable thirst of the reformers for exhortations and addresses to the people, which they seem to have crammed into their services at the slightest pretext. "And the minister shall add this blessing." The same benediction is found in the old manuals. In the York service, it is placed later, but there is a slight difference between the Latin and the English, perhaps in favour of the translation, which is, it would not be too much to say, the most beautiful of all the beautiful forms contained in the Prayer Book. In giving this blessing, the Priest should place one of his hands on each of their heads, after the manner of the Patriarch. Here the sign of the Cross was always made over them, as *Benedicet vos Deus Pater* in the Latin form. This blessing is not to be confounded with the marriage benediction, *benedictio sacramentalis*, which occurs in a later part of the service, and was given in conjunction with the Holy Eucharist. The present blessing was invariably used over all, but the blessing proper was denied to those who had been married before. Of this we shall speak in another paper. We pause now at the conclusion of the former part of the service, when the parties enter the Church, and proceed as in our own form towards the altar.

* Martene, II. 649.

MISS KAVANAGH'S WOMEN IN FRANCE.

Women in France during the Eighteenth Century. By JULIA KAVANAGH. Smith, Elder, and Co.

THERE are certain influences in the moral constitution of this world to which mankind must of necessity be subject, in all ages and in all conditions of society ; these are possessed of an inherent power, which, from its very nature can never be either partial or passive, but whether in its abuse or its legitimate exercise must everywhere act for good or for evil on the human race. All such influences, like everything else in God's providence, are designed to work only to His glory and for the good of His creatures ; they are as it were living streams springing from Him who is the alone source of spiritual life, and which He would have to flow with purifying and healing waters through the wilderness of earth for the solace and the benefit of man. But even as the human corruption would seem ever ready to frustrate the Divine goodness, we find most often in the world's history these waters turned to deadly poison, and the power, all the more dangerous, because indestructible, perverted unto evil uses. There must therefore be considerable interest and instruction in a work which adopts for its theme some one of these especial influences, and gives the details of its working in any one form, with the principles by which it was directed, thus showing forth for our avoidance or imitation the causes of the effect produced. For this reason we conceive that the book before us claims our careful attention independent of its historical interest or any intrinsic merit it may possess.

We find in it a full and lucid account of the power exercised during a whole century in one country by that which has ever been a most important agent in the destinies of the world, viz., female influence. This is a power which is indisputable, felt and acknowledged in every corner of the earth, and for that very reason there is none perhaps which may be, and has been productive of so much evil, none which it is so essential should be restrained within its own proper limits and in its own appointed channels. What these channels ought to be is however a matter on which opinion has widely varied in every age and every nation, yet it is a question of very great importance, and which we would gladly see subjected to more definite and sterner rules in our own country at the present day. The social condition of women in England is generally held to be extremely satisfactory and well organized, superior in fact to any other nation, yet it is an undeniable truth that it differs greatly from that which the voice of the Church would teach us of their state in those early times when the position of women, with every

thing else, was "set in order" by the Apostles themselves. It may be argued that the rules which were laid down for their guidance at that period can no longer apply to the present altered state of society; but we are by no means disposed to agree with this view; human nature does not change; in the beginning a certain amount of influence was divinely appointed to woman for certain beneficial purposes designed to affect the whole race of man, and we conceive that these purposes do not admit of alteration any more than the actual material on which they are to work.

It may be well then to inquire somewhat into the nature of those channels, in which it was originally intended that this active power should flow, whilst we have before us so valuable an assistant as this book, which gives an able picture of the work wrought by woman's influence when it was wholly unrestrained by any laws whatever external or internal.

It is in the female mind itself that we should chiefly desire to see established a proper understanding of their fitting vocation, for it seems plain to us, that in all countries where woman has stepped out of her own proper sphere she has done so by a *voluntary* desertion of her part, a voluntary arrogating to herself of undue means of influence, and not because any unnatural power was imposed upon her by the other sex. In fact, we are disposed to think that *they* have more fully recognized her proper work than she has herself, and that a very considerable unanimity of opinion on this subject could be found amongst men in all countries were they unshackled by the received customs and regulations of society. We would even venture to assert that if a Turk and an English gentleman could be induced to communicate their ideas confidentially to one another, as to the exact nature and limits of female influence, they would be found not to differ so much as would generally be supposed. We would therefore invite some of the independent and aspiring spirits so unhappily rife amongst the women of our day to join us in examining the account which Julia Kavanagh gives of the work wrought by their sex in France, at a period when they were allowed the free exercise of an entire liberty, moral, intellectual, and social. Truly, we have here a notable example of the fearful abuse by undue exaltation of a power designed for pure and holy purposes. Never, probably, in any country or at any epoch of the world, was there so unbridled a licence permitted to women as during the eighteenth century in France, and they did not fail to take advantage of it as the weak ever do when they are permitted to tamper with the province of the strong, by exerting their influence in every channel, even the most unlawful to which they could by any means attain. By the lamentable results of this unnatural usurpation, so fully recorded in this work, we shall be better able to judge what are in truth the right and legitimate spheres of action, to which, not only they ought to be restricted by

the fiat of society, but to which they ought to be willing and content to restrict themselves.

It is not now our object to inquire how far the women of England are disposed to fall into the great error of mistaking their proper vocation, but we conceive that it may be very salutary for all to have this evil placed before their eyes in its full development as it presents itself to us during the reign of Louis XIV.

It is singular enough that the only country now remaining in Europe, which, by the enforcement of the wise and just Salique law has escaped the glaring anomaly of a female monarch, should yet be that where women unauthorized by crown or sceptre have reigned with an absolute sovereignty, which did not stop short even of ruling the entire destinies of the nation.

We give our author's own statement as to the extent of the power which the French women of the eighteenth century arrogated to themselves.

"In times still recent, in a nation celebrated for its power and greatness, and in an age which gave to thought a vast and magnificent, even though perilous, development, a series of most remarkable women exercised a power so extensive, and yet so complete, as to be unparalleled in the history of their sex.

"They ruled society, as women of the world; the empire of letters, as patronesses of the fine arts; the state, as favourites and advisers of kings. They gave the tone to feeling, philosophy, and thought. Their caprice made wars, and signed treaties of peace. They hastened the fall of a monarchy, and the outbreak of the greatest revolution of modern times. They could attempt to check or direct that revolution in its rapid and fearful course; they shared to the fullest extent its errors, its crimes, and its heroic virtues. They suffered from its proscriptions like men, because like men they had striven; and when their falling power seemed at its last ebb, it was still a woman who overthrew Robespierre, a woman who raised a solitary voice against the despotism of Napoleon."

In the two volumes before us we have the working of this power presented to us under two distinct aspects, first, in its most foul and revolting abuse; and secondly, in its entire perversion; the reign of Louis XIV., and the regency during the minority of Louis XV., with his subsequent reign forms the one epoch, and the period of the long protracted revolution, the second.

In the first we find women occupying a position of fearful importance as political agents, as the instigators of all government measures, as rulers even in the Church itself. Now, the deadly evil which after results prove to have emanated from this unnatural system, was in fact, a necessary condition of its very existence. For not only no such offices were ever designed for women by the Divine Mind, but inasmuch as by their very nature that sex were wholly incapacitated for them, they could only attain to them by means essentially corrupt. Here then was at once a fruitful source

of poison corroding to the very heart of the social system ; for we do not hesitate to assert with the evidence of these records before us, what in theory we should ever have held, that it is by *crime* alone, by moral corruption and individual degradation that women can force themselves out of their proper sphere into the dangerous post of public influence.

The Mary Wolstoncrafts and Mrs. Hugo Reids of our day may propound their ambitious absurdities with what vehemence they will, to the great discomfort no doubt of their own families and the ennui of the rest of the world ; but they will never be able to disprove or conceal the fact that it is the very and actual nature of the woman which incapacitates her for any sphere of outward action beyond the immediate province of her own domestic concerns. It is not in any case that the arbitrary laws of society or the grasping dominion of the stronger man would debar her from privileges she is capable of enjoying, but that the very qualities which in her proper place are at once her glory and her strength, must of necessity turn to elements of deepest evil, when distorted from their natural use and purpose to influence the weighty matters of public affairs.

It is one of the first laws in creation that elements in themselves pure, good, and productive of beneficial results in their own allotted place, may at once be turned into the most powerful instruments of evil when brought to bear on materials antagonistic to their destined work. The fire that gives warmth and comfort from the hearth will burn down the house if unrestrained within its own due limits : and thus with women, that first predominant quality which in their own homes is designed to act with a blessed and holy influence, must in public life work only disorder and corruption. This ruling power which reigns supreme in the heart of every one of them, is their strong and uncontrollable affections ; to this they are for the most part slaves, being influenced primarily by it in every thought and action : neither their ambition, nor their sense of justice, nor their amor patriæ, nor yet the spirit of intrigue, so fascinating to them, can overcome this indomitable instinct of their nature.

If we look back through the records of this world, we shall find that but One Power hath ever been stronger than the deep love of the woman's heart—and that is the power of the Cross. Constrained by that sweet awful influence indeed, we do see many a blessed wife and mother offering up their beloved, whose dear resting place was on their very breast, into the cold arms of death ; but nothing short of the divine fascination, so to speak, of CHRIST'S own Holy Passion, can subdue in them this all-powerful feeling, which is the root and spring of every movement of their souls. But the Cross which, by means of their very intensity of affection, has caused that many women should swell the white robed ranks of

the martyr, has nought to do, speaking generally, with those whom an unlawful ambition draws out of their own sphere to the arena of public life.

Thus the clear unbiassed judgment, the Brutus-like adherence to justice, the perfect singleness of purpose, unmoved by any private inclination, which is absolutely essential to those who would legislate for the public welfare, is altogether impossible to them; there will ever be some beloved object between their eyes and the rest of the world, to whose weal all other interests will succumb, and he would vainly ask justice or even mercy at the hand of woman whose claims interfere with the wishes of those for whom her heart is beating.

Now this loving nature in which God has moulded her is precisely adapted to render her a blessing within the limits of her own home; though it becomes so pernicious and even fatal out of that narrow circle. It enables her to support with joy the daily, hourly fatigue and self-sacrifice which the helpless infant demands from the mother, and to minister with unwearied devotion to the sick and infirm when bound to her by natural ties. But simply because, as we have shown, these her inherent propensities can only be beneficially exercised within her domestic sphere, we repeat our assertion, that it is by corrupt and guilty means alone that she must seek the gratification of an unjustifiable love of power, or an unholy ambition. These will find no aliment in the obscure duties which the care of her children and household impose upon her—she must seek them in unlawful spheres and by forbidden paths.

If any doubt the extent of this assertion let them read the work before us, and see how deceit, intrigue, and murderous slander were amongst the least vile of the means used by the female politicians of France to attain their perilous eminence; how in fact there is not a single instance given of their successful dominion, which was not acquired by the last most miserable fall which can degrade the woman in this world and lose her in the next: it was as the debased favourites of statesmen and kings that they ruled the destinies of Europe at this period; and truly it may be said that their short lived power was bought at a fearful cost.

Here was an evil sufficiently appalling as concerned themselves individually, but its deadly influence stopped not there. It was impossible that they should thus abandon themselves to vice, unless they first cast off altogether the trammels of a holy faith—that such was the case the following extracts sufficiently prove, and we shall then proceed to show what were the results of this their sad perversion, not as regards themselves only, but the whole nation to which they unhappily belonged.

“ But if men were thus inactive and powerless, women were not.

The same Montesquieu declared, ' that the individual who would attempt to judge of the government by the men at the head of affairs, and not by the women who swayed these men, would fall into the same error as he who judges of a machine by its outward action, and not by its secret springs.' Women were indeed already exercising that great power, which attained its full developement towards the middle of the century. They eagerly seized on influence, whatever the means of influence might be. They had received from their male relatives a shameless example of profligacy, which they were not slow to follow. When women fall, they fall deeper than men, because the only sense of honour allowed them by society departs, if once the purity of their lives is tainted. The abandoned conduct of ladies of rank threw a great reproach on their order. It created doubts on the legitimacy of the most noble families, and scandalized the people who lived apart in patriarchal austerity. The corrupting tendency of a despotic government had reached the women who lived beneath its sway. The men, deprived of political rights, used their female friends as the means of their ambition. Indirect power is necessarily immoral ; when exercised by women it is still more so. At the times of which we speak, a spirit of ambition and intrigue, not pure in its origin or purely exercised, seemed to have seized on the whole sex. The persevering ambition of the widow of the burlesque poet, Scarron, had made her queen of France, in all save name. Her friend, Madame Guyon, attempted to found a religious sect, and caused the long quarrel between Bossuet and Fénelon, which ended in the exile of the latter. Whilst apparently wrapt in the gaieties of Sceaux, Madame du Maine plotted and schemed for the aggrandisement of her husband ; one of her chief agents being her clever femme de chambre, Mademoiselle de Launay. Ladies who had nothing better to do, and no surer means of making a fortune, turned their hotels into gambling houses, from which they derived a large and infamous revenue. Others conscientiously devoted themselves to the education of the young noblesse. The youthful de Fronsac, so well known for his intrigues under the name Richelieu, was early taught by Madame de Brancas to write billets doux which he could never spell, make imaginary assignations, feign love, jealousy, and all the other appearances of the tender passion. Thanks to his early and judicious teaching, his father was compelled to send him to the Bastille in the fifteenth year of his age."

The women who could thus act had most assuredly abandoned all desire to struggle after the holy hope of the *Puri corde*, but we have in fact an embodiment of their spiritual condition in the epitaph which the Countess de Verrue, celebrated for her beauty and accomplishments, actually composed for herself, and which was engraved on her tombstone :

" Ci git dans une paix profonde
Cette dame de Volupté,
 Qui, pour plus de sureté
 Fit son Paradis dans ce monde."

They abandoned the light because their deeds were evil, and what was the result on the people they so boldly influenced? We subjoin two out of the numberless instances of the work wrought by the female philosophers of that time:

"Under the superintendence of a cold, worldly woman, the germ of the future Encyclopædists was being slowly but surely developed."

* * * * *

"The immorality of Madame de Tencin was, moreover, no disqualification for becoming the advocate of enlightened freedom. It was a characteristic feature of the eighteenth century, that all those who prepared the great but short-lived triumph of liberty with which it closed, participated from Madame de Tencin down to Mirabeau, in the immorality of the age. Freedom sprang not, as in Rome, or in early Greece, from a primitive purity of morals, but from the very corruption of preceding tyranny. It was an intellectual movement, and all joined in it: not so much for the reason that the existing state of things was corrupt or impure, as because all felt that it was worn out, and doomed to perish. This was especially the case with the early philosophers; the school of Rousseau adopted a more exalted and sentimental tone: all had the same end in view—destruction. Madame de Tencin was one of the first women who laid the basis of this formidable power. The nature of her influence over her contemporaries, may be traced in two important works, which, if they do not owe their existence to her, were at least inspired by the tone prevailing in her circle. We allude to Montesquieu's *Esprit des Lois*, to the success of which Madame de Tencin greatly contributed, and to Helvetius's *De l'Esprit*; not published, indeed, till after her death, but imbued with the doctrines, which both she and her friends professed. Thus the first attack on absolute Monarchy, in favour of constitutional freedom, and the first display of that gross materialism which characterised the eighteenth century, both originated in the drawing-room of Madame de Tencin."

We have a strong argument in favour of our assertion, that there must be a primary overthrow of religious faith in the mind of the woman who would gratify her ambitious love of rule—in the fact that this Madame de Tencin was an *ex nun*, who protested against her vows—though not, we believe, till she had broken them one and all. Our next example was chosen by Voltaire for the unhallowed post in which he placed her, because he so admired the bold intellect with which she worked most ably in the cause of infidelity.

"Madame de Chatelet was then in her twenty-eighth year. Voltaire was twelve years her senior. The loose maxims of the time justified their connection in the opinion of the world and in their own. They might indeed have adopted a higher and nobler standard of morality, but that they did not do so must be less a matter of surprise, than one of regret. As it grew more polished and sceptical, the aristocracy lost

those virtues which can only exist in ages of a severe and enthusiastic faith. The chivalrous honour of man, and the chastity of woman, first yielded to the corrupting breath of the times. The philosophy which both the lovers professed was, moreover, neither severe nor restrictive; as their conduct indeed plainly showed. Madame du Chatelet was one of the first ladies of the aristocracy who joined the philosophic party; but in this, as well as in her connection with Voltaire, she still observed appearances, which her position in the world did not allow her to neglect, and accordingly attended mass with her lover, whilst, like him, she secretly wrote against Revelation. The same spirit of policy made Voltaire in his youth write verses in praise of the Virgin and the SAVIOUR, whilst he attacked Christianity in private."

In the extracts we have now quoted, it seems to us that we have the chain of cause and effect complete, by which we may duly appreciate the evils, great almost beyond belief, that result from the abuse of female influence.

The nature of women fits them, as we have said, only for the obscure retirement of domestic life, an ambitious love of power can therefore be gratified solely by unholy means; and before they would venture to use these, they must for ever have abandoned the Cross, under whose shadow He calls them to abide in stillness, meekness, and purity, and gone forth into the world as the active supporters of infidelity. This brings us at once face to face with an evil, than which none, we believe, can shed more poison throughout the social system, and that is scepticism in woman; we have hitherto, in our argument, been seeking rather to disprove her right, even to the amount of power which society would award to her, but on this point, viz., in matters of faith, we not only admit, but assert, that she has a most tremendous amount of responsibility committed to her; which, woe be to her and to the nation of which she forms a part, if she abuse!

He Who did not abhor the Virgin's womb, hath in honour, as we may reverently suppose of her, the Blessed among women, the very Queen of all holiness and purity, appointed to all her sex in succeeding ages, a high and sacred office in His Church. Even as she was the sole guardian of His Holy Infancy, so unto woman alone hath He now commended the souls of His baptized little ones, that they may watch over the regenerate life which He hath planted in those infant members of His Body; and not unto these only is this in truth the lawful use of female influence to be confined.

Like to that same holy one who followed Him step by step throughout His weary pilgrimage on earth, ready ever to minister unto His wants, nor left Him through all the appalling darkness of the last dreadful hour, but tended even when life was gone, the Adored and Sacred Corpse; so does He will that women should follow their beloved through all the toilsome paths of this world's strife and cares. And when its distracting business or corrupting breath

seems about to destroy CHRIST'S Image in their hearts, still by secret intercession and outward influence, to win them back to faith and hope, for ever holding up the Cross before the eyes of those whose hands are too full of this world's occupation, to uplift it for themselves; and at the last, when watching over the death-bed, which is in truth their special province, moving them with gentle influence to seek reconciliation with the Church, and guiding haply to the side of dying men, the Priest whose presence the passing souls themselves would never have invited.

But more than by active influence, which except on the infant mind is hazardous for them, even in the cause of truth, they are appointed to work in the secret and silent office of intercession by prayer. In a certain Christian land not many years since when there was a great war for the cause of the Holy Catholic Faith there established by Apostolic building—the women were wont when the men went forth to battle to repair to the churches and prostrate before the altar, to remain in supplication so long as the engagement continued; this is an apt illustration of that which we hold to be their fitting work even in times of quiet for the Church. Whilst their husbands and fathers are so actively engaged in the enterprize and conflict of life that they too much forget to pray for themselves, then let these who have no share in the distractions of business offer themselves in deep unceasing devotion to bear them on their hearts before the Throne of God.

We need not pause to comment on the obvious destruction of this, the legitimate power assigned to women, when they have dared to assume such unhallowed offices as they could only venture to hold when lost in scepticism, like the four sisters for instance, who were successively the favourites of Louis the Fifteenth, that they might cause the momentous and existing political events of the day to be entirely under the control of one family.

But it may be asked, where then and how are women to use their lawful influence on behalf of the Holy Faith? What channels are indeed open to them for the exercise of this or any other portion of their permitted power? Truly after reading Julia Kavanagh's book, we should be disposed to say their fitting province is wherever the French women of the eighteenth century sought it *not*.

Do we find in the lives of these brilliant and intellectual ladies any record of their having cared for the comfort of their households, or watched over the early education of their young children, or ministered to the temporal wants of their husbands, or tended the sick bed of their relations? Not one instance do we find of their having performed these their rightful and proper duties—had they done so, France and through it all Europe would not have been inundated with the flood of scepticism which even now is swelling over it with destroying tide. We have seen how powerful was the

influence of female infidelity, and that infidelity never would have existed had they in their own quiet homes wrought such works as would have won for them the blessing of the LORD's own presence.

Their deeds being just and pure they would not have shunned but loved and sought the light, and far from seeking in unbelief the miserable refuge of a guilty conscience, they would have cherished those to whom they were bound, not only by natural ties, but by the sweet bond of loving sympathy; and their brightest joy would have been the hope of being reunited to them hereafter on the blessed shores of the land of everlasting life.

It may seem in this age of *enlightened progress*, (so called) that we have unduly limited the province of beings endowed like men with an intellect and reasoning powers, when we have assigned to them no higher offices than the care of children, the orderly regulation of their households, and the tending of the sick; but they who would start such an objection, little know how deep a power lies in these gentle charities of home; what an elevating and softening influence they may exercise on man's rougher nature, and how great a work may by their means be accomplished for the advancement of His kingdom of love and peace when these humble offices are done purely and to the LORD JESUS.

We must not overlook too another vast sphere of action quite lawfully open to women *under due direction* in the care of the poor, most chiefly of their temporal wants, and in the solace of their infirmities and diseases; though care must be taken in this matter not to tamper with the province of the Priest.

In actual fact however it will avail nothing to dispute the view we have taken of the right limits of female influence, however humiliating it may seem to ladies endowed with a painful independence of mind; the teaching of Most High authority is far too plain on the subject; there is one who says that woman's only ornament must be a meek and quiet spirit, and elsewhere that she is not even openly to seek instruction, but to ask her husband at home, for that she "must learn in silence with all subjection," not being "suffered to teach nor to usurp authority over the man, but to be in silence," and "to submit herself to her own husband."

Possibly the lesson we have been seeking to draw from the revolting details of female degradation during that profligate age in France may lose somewhat of its force from the idea that it cannot in any sort apply to the condition of women in England, where the morality of society is so much higher than in any other country, and very far removed in truth from the open and debasing vice of that day. Yet although they may indeed feel deeply thankful that they live in better times and under holier auspices, we are by no means disposed to allow that they may not largely profit by the picture here placed before them of the evils their sex are capable of working by an abuse of power. The same *principle* of desire

for inordinate and unlawful influence may haply be just as rife among the quiet and modest English women of our day, though they would shrink in horror from being led thereby into such excesses as degraded the court of Louis XV.

There are two channels of influence most unhappily (as we think) open to our countrywomen in the present day whereby they may gratify the same unnatural love of power, whose evil effects we have been contemplating in France, and in its gratification work an amount of mischief nearly as great, though less revolting in its nature. The first of these is to be found in the vast preponderance of female writers in this country. No small share of the literature of these times is the production of women, especially that species of lighter compositions, which is by far the most universally read; and it is impossible to conceal from ourselves that by this means women do exercise a very important influence on the public mind. We have a fearful example of this within the last few years in France, where the writings of one woman—the celebrated George Sand—(Madame Dudevant)—have done more to corrupt society, than all the works more glaringly gross and profane of male writers.

It is in England, however, that this means of working on popular feeling is so completely at the mercy of feminine ambition; and it may be well to see whether it can in any case be a safe or legitimate exercise of their influence.

We must confess, at the risk of seeming prejudiced, that we have ourselves a strong antipathy to female writers. Without seeking to detract from the good intentions of many excellent women who have produced what are called “moral works” with untiring, we might even say with *unsparing zeal*, we do most positively hold as a theory that female authorship is a decided anomaly; there may of course be exceptional cases where, as a means of subsistence for themselves or others, writing may be an obvious duty in women; but in the abstract we assert that it is not, and cannot be, their legitimate province.

Woman has neither the clear intellect nor the sound judgment of man, and where she does possess these qualities in any eminent degree, they will be too completely under the ascendancy of her imagination, and, above all, her feelings, to admit of her conveying truths to the mind of others with any degree of justice or impartiality. But it is not so much that we judge women to be incapable of writing beneficially, which disposes us to maintain that the privilege of so doing is neither right nor fitting for them, as that we conceive it to be proved by demonstration, plain as any mathematical rule, that no such office was ever intended for them. This, we say, is plain from the fact that they must generally abandon their own proper duties in their households before they can even attempt to fulfil the requirements of authorship.

It is scarcely possible that a woman, in whatever station of life, should attend properly to her domestic concerns, giving that minute attention of every hour and moment to the enforcement of order and punctuality, so essential to a well-regulated house, and carry on at the same time the labours of the intellect. These last do not admit of being bound down to stated hours, nor may the even tenor of them be interrupted without great risk. How is it possible that the mistress of a household can obtain the time and the freedom requisite, without an obvious and pernicious neglect of the family, who depend on her for their comfort and well-being? the two offices are wholly incompatible; and the attempt to unite them has been proved to be too much for the strength even of the woman's bodily frame. Nor is it of wives and mothers only we would speak: it almost always happens that single women also, unless they live entirely alone, have some relations who look to them for the daily works of *home charity*, requisite to the peace and happiness of every household. It seems, however, a hopeless task to argue against female authorship in the present condition of English society. The heaven has spread too widely, and there remains but to seek at least to restrain it within close bounds. We should say then that if women must write, their most legitimate work would be in providing suitable reading for young children; although we would shrink from seeming to lessen the exceeding greatness of these little ones in His Eyes Who once lay a Holy Child upon His holy mother's knees, yet it does seem an unnecessary expenditure of masculine learning and vigour that it should be given to prepare the light food necessary for these innocent minds; and women may possibly, with some advantage, spare them a species of labour to which they will find it hard to bend their stronger minds. The writing of light works, designed solely to afford amusement, may also be in some respects a harmless channel for female talent. But this we do positively maintain, that they must in no case attempt either these or any other branches of literature, excepting under proper spiritual direction.

We have yet to speak of another medium of the abuse of female influence, but too sadly prevalent in England, is that the most presumptuous and reprehensible interference of women with the priest's office as regards the spiritual condition of the poor. It is an evil chiefly rife in country parishes, but by no means confined to these alone; and we verily believe there is not a corner of our land exempt from the influence of these self-elected female preachers, as the Quakers would aptly term them, who go about delivering amateur sermons to the wonderful havoc of ideas in the minds of their illiterate hearers, and without a thought as to whether the priest, the appointed shepherd of these sheep, is likely to approve their mode of teaching, or feel gratified by their unasked assistance.

We have said elsewhere that it is a legitimate employment for women to attend to the *temporal* wants of the poor, but those ladies, so *ecclesiastically* ambitious, of whom we are speaking, seem generally to disdain this branch of usefulness, or at least to treat it quite as a secondary consideration, whilst they devote themselves with a most lamentable zeal to the spiritual necessities of their poorer brethren. We are fully convinced that all members of society will bear us witness to the extraordinary manner in which women arrogate to themselves duties devolving on the clergy only, and which no system of legislation, Divine or human, could ever have assigned to them.

We admit that this species of feminine and lay preaching is generally allied to sectarianism, because wholly opposed to Catholic teaching. But it is nevertheless most woefully prevalent amongst members of our own communion, and we are glad to have this opportunity of openly and utterly condemning it, whilst at the same time we would anxiously impress on our countrywomen that a blessed and holy work is open to them amongst the poor in the tender nursing of the sick and aged, and the solace of their bodily infirmities; this is essentially within their province, because not being the fitting work for a man, the priest will gladly place it in their hands, under due regulation.

We have left ourselves but little space to notice the second volume of this work, which, as we have said, presents to us the sentimental perversion of female influence, whilst the first displays its total abuse. It embraces the period of the revolution, and gives the lives of Marie Antoinette, Madame Roland, &c. Our author evidently thinks that the instances she gives us in this part of her book of the exercise of power by women may excite our admiration and approval, but we cannot admit that their influence was one whit more legitimate in the public field of action, in which we now find them engaged, and consequently it could not be more beneficial. The difference between them and the women of the preceding age was, that these were only mistaken, whilst the former were guilty; but their errors were not less errors because they expiated them on the scaffold, and we still find them here working out of their proper sphere and with other objects than the one which we have spoken of as alone lawful for them, which is to labour for the cause of truth by the gentle means entrusted to them by nature.

Our author would have us admire the women in the revolutionary prisons, because of the boldness with which they went to the death, and exhorted men to imitate their constancy and firmness; but she does not hide from us that they were thus brave before the guillotine, not like the virgin martyrs of old, because of the bright crown upheld by angels' hands which shone behind it, but from a vain ostentation of courage, truly heartsickening to contemplate in such an hour. Nor do we find them ever winning those men whom they

piqued into dauntlessness by their example, rather to seek the *κτῆμα εἰς αἰετ.*

However much individually we may admire such women as Madame Roland, when considered as an example of female influence, we can only condemn the false and unduly active enthusiasm which made her the instigator of republicanism. Such interference on the part of a woman in the government of a people can *never* be justifiable. We do not exclude them from the feeling of patriotism, but it must be wholly passive; the result of its becoming a principle of *action* in the female mind is shown us in one terrible example—that of the murderess Charlotte Corday. To the honour of Religious Orders, be it noted that the noblest trait recorded in the book, is the anecdote of several nuns who preferred death to falsehood.

As a whole, the work is decidedly clever and interesting, full of research, and containing withal traces of very deep thought; but scarcely in its tone such as we should have expected from the author of "Madeleine."

PAMPHLETS OF THE MONTH.

IN returning to the notice of the various Publications called forth by the case of Mr. Gorham, the first place is due to Dr. Pusey's long expected treatise, "The Royal Supremacy not an arbitrary authority but limited by the laws of the Church of which kings are members" which, we regret, is still incomplete. One part only has appeared, containing a collection of ancient precedents, followed by two chapters on "the late judgment and its remedy," and "the Supreme Court and its remedy," together with a postscript in answer to Mr. Dodsworth and Archdeacon Hare. Mr. Dodsworth has since replied in "a letter to Dr. Pusey on the position which he has taken in the present crisis." He professes himself not satisfied with Dr. Pusey's postscript. He says, "I must express my decided belief that no one who has examined the matter for himself will venture to say that the only doctrine or portion of a doctrine impugned by this judgment is, *that original sin is remitted to all infants in and by the grace of Baptism.* In your recent publication, p. 226, you challenge me to show that more than this has been denied." We think this challenge unfortunate, for we are unable to affirm that more has not been denied; although we do not see that Mr. Dodsworth has proved anything further than that it is *doubtful* whether more has been denied or not, and Dr. Pusey says, p. 181, that his view is true, *in the judgment of eminent lawyers.* But, to our apprehension, this is not exactly the ques-

tion ; and we still maintain that those " who ought to know better " actually do know better than Mr. Dodsworth. We cannot assert that more has not been denied, because *this* denial involves the denial of more by *necessary consequence* ; but we can assert that, if this be affirmed, all Mr. Gorham's statements are so absurdly inconsistent with it, that a Bishop would be as able as before to refuse institution to a Clergyman who adopted as his own doctrine any one of Mr. Gorham's heretical statements. To us Dr. Pusey's original statement is clearer than his reply to Mr. Dodsworth's objections. He says, p. 182, " The Privy Council did not even consider the subject of the grace of Baptism. It recites as Mr. Gorham's statement ' that he explicitly and expressly denied that he either held or persisted in holding that infants are not made in Baptism members of CHRIST, and the children of GOD, [his statement is even more than this ; he denied that he did maintain that spiritual regeneration is not given or conferred in the holy Sacrament of Baptism, or, &c.] The point upon which the whole judgment turns is, whether the gifts bestowed by GOD in holy Baptism are given to *all* Infants. The question raised has not been as to the *gift* but as to the *receiver*. . . . It is still to be true that *some* Infants coming to His holy Baptism, receive remission of their sins by spiritual regeneration ; only, to some original sin in which the child is born, under which it lies, of which it is unconscious, is to be an obstacle to its own remission."

We are satisfied that an authoritative affirmation of the one point insisted on in the " Resolutions " would be sufficient to annihilate this judgment. It is true we should have afterwards to combat the strange misapprehensions (to use the mildest word we can) by which Mr. Gorham (or his defender, Mr. Goode), reconciles the statements he made on oath in both Courts, with the statements of his book, but then it was only contended that this one point was sufficient *for the present*. This judgment has been made the *occasion* for the public discussion of a vast number of questions, both of doctrine and practice, which can never be set at rest, except by being authoritatively determined or at least satisfactorily answered : but these must not be confounded with the *effects of the judgment itself* ; and if our friends will not confine their exertions to the remedy of these in *the first instance*, we see no possibility of doing anything at all. Why should it be thought that we make light of evils, which it is the business of our life to contend against, because we are convinced that it is simply impossible to remedy them all at once ? The effects of the judgment are two :—1. It has an effect on our doctrine which will be fatal if not remedied, and would be so by whatever authority it were introduced. 2. It is repugnant to the law of CHRIST that such an authority as the Queen or her privy council should be able to alter our doctrine at all, whether for better or for worse. This

power is not claimed but it is *exercised*; and be the consequences what they may, it must be resisted, it must be extinguished. It is plain that if the Church does not destroy it, it will destroy the Church. At least we can see no other event.

On the first of these effects of the judgment we cannot say much here. We do not think that the judgment of the Bishops of London, and Bath and Wells, differs from Dr. Pusey's view as Mr. Dodsworth says, (p. 7.) for it does not appear that Mr. Gorham separates remission of original sin from adoption into the family of God and regeneration. We imagine he would as readily admit that all three, as that the first alone, are given always to all infants in and by Baptism; and if he may not deny this of all three, he would not care to deny it of two of them: his difficulty, as appears in the pleadings, being not as to what is the gift, but as to the persons on whom, and the means whereby, it is, by CHRIST's appointment, conferred. In fact he denies that God gives *any* real grace, except to those who will finally be saved; and he denies, what Mr. Goode calls the Bishop of Exeter's *opus operatum* doctrine of Sacraments, both which denials would be excluded by the one point in the Declaration so often alluded to.

Now what is this *opus operatum* doctrine? Mr. Goode says it is, that man has power to confer spiritual regeneration, by pouring water and saying words independently of the grant of that privilege by God; at least this is what he means to say, so far as we can make out what he means. His own doctrine is that "God's grant is independent of Baptism." (See his disgraceful letter to the Bishop of Exeter, p. 25.) The doctrine of Scripture and the Church is that God has made it ordinarily dependent on Baptism. This is the *opus operatum* doctrine, that when Sacraments are administered *according to God's appointment* we certainly know that God works thereby all such effect as according to His declared Will the recipients are capable of. Who are capable of what gifts, is a further question; but we can see no difficulty in the assertion that all human beings are capable of regeneration, the question whether they are such that we may hope it will have a wholesome effect on them, being quite a distinct one.

Mr. Goode (though after *his* manner, he misrepresents Arch-deacon Wilberforce's doctrine) seems to think it a vast absurdity to say a man may be in any special sense united to CHRIST, and yet be none the better for it.* Let us hear CHRIST Himself, "I am the True Vine and My FATHER is the Husbandman. Every *branch in Me* that beareth not fruit, He taketh away."† Are such branches any the better for having been in CHRIST? or were they never in Him, though He says they were, even as branches in a vine? and this is not an isolated text, but rather a specimen of the general

* Letter, p. 24.

† S. John xv. 1.

teaching of the New Testament, which, no less than our Prayer Book, is reduced to a mass of absurdity by Mr. Goode's un-Evangelical speculations.

Were not the present a time, in which one must have patience with everything, we should have no patience with Mr. Dodsworth's carping* at Dr. Pusey's expression, "breach in the wall," as though he denied that it was, what Mr. Dodsworth calls it, an undermining of its very foundations; which he certainly does not deny. And again, we think it is quite evident that, when Dr. Pusey says in reference to the resolutions signed by Archdeacon Manning and others, that the words "conscious, wilful, and deliberate," were carefully inserted in order to *exclude the thought* that the Church of England had already cut itself off from the Body of CHRIST, he means that they were inserted in order to *avoid suggesting* the thought &c., to persons who did not as yet entertain it, which is what Mr. Dodsworth admits. Dr. Pusey, surely, is no idiot, though his *words* may not always be exactly to the purpose, and how could he have imagined that words could have been suggested in order to exclude a thought from the minds of those who had just then expressed it? Finding that some had entertained such a thought, words were carefully inserted in order to avoid expressing it in the resolutions. We must think that some persons have great need to lay to heart these words of Dr. Pusey, "God has been wonderfully leavening with truth the whole Church: We would wait with patience and prayer till the whole is leavened. We would not, if we could, break off what is yet unleavened.—We would not be broken off ourselves. Truth has been and is spreading wonderfully. Had there been a rent some years ago, *many who are now teaching the truth, would have been rent off then. Surely some who have once been perplexed themselves, should have sympathy with the perplexities of others.* Why, when the fruit is ripening, cut out the part unripened? Why pluck out the petals of a flower which have not yet unfolded? The sun of God's light and grace 'is shining more and more unto the perfect day.' Not sickly, not imperfect, not reviving members, are to be cut off from the Body of the Church; but the dead and the putrefying."† And surely our care for our own flocks is no sufficient answer to these considerations: we are bound in any general measure to consider also the flocks of those Priests who are in partial error: what would become of them if their pastors were now cut off? what good *may* come to them, if, on the contrary, their pastors are led by this anxious discussion into fuller appreciation of the truth; as has happened to some who now think it is "evasion," &c. to entertain any such hopes?

We come now to the question of the Royal Supremacy, in which

* The letter, we must say, is written in a most ungenerous spirit.

† Page 225.

Mr. Dodsworth objects to Dr. Pusey, as follows: "You have not touched on the point, which seems of all most needful to be considered, in order to arrive at just conclusions on that most important subject. I mean THE AUTHORITY FROM WHICH A SPIRITUAL COURT IS TO DERIVE ITS JURISDICTIONS. I must say the argument required some notice from you. If it be a sound argument, (as I must believe it is until it is shown to be otherwise,) the 'ancient precedents' collected by you do not really bear upon the question now at issue in the English Church."* Now (bearing in mind that Dr. Pusey's very learned work is as yet unfinished,) let us see whether it is quite fair to say that the question of the source of jurisdiction is not *touched*. In p. 158, we read, "I mean, of course, that inquiry the more justifies not what Tudor kings may have enacted, but what the Church conceded. The Church will hardly be held responsible for the acts of that Henry, whose hands were dyed in innocent blood, and stained with oppression, whose 'eyes were full of adulteries, and never ceased from sin,' whose evil life was closed by an awful death, whose memory is cursed upon the earth, and as to whose soul none can hope. They who are so anxious to enforce upon us precedents of his ecclesiastical oppression, should think how they would endure his *civil* precedents. If not, if the ministers of the crown are not prepared to maintain that it is right and lawful, by the laws of God and man, that a minister should, without form of law, be beheaded like Cromwell, they might pause ere they urge upon us that monster's acts towards the Church, which she had no power to resist. The Church is responsible not for his acts, but for her own concessions. And I am satisfied that the Church of England has not conceded to the civil Sovereign any power inconsistent with that which essentially belongs to her, as a portion of the Church of CHRIST. In a word, in assenting to the Supreme Authority of the Sovereign, there is no proof that she meant to concede anything which might not be lawfully conceded by her consistently with her duty to her Divine Master, or her own *inherent authority as derived from Him*, or her office of bearing witness to His Truth. (This defence does not extend to the present Court of Appeal, see p. 204.) There is no proof that she meant to concede anything which has not at other times been conceded in different portions of the Church." Again, "The power of Sovereigns being confided to them as Christians, it was to be expected that they would exercise it as Christians, i.e., according to the laws of that Body of CHRIST to which they belonged, of which they were themselves members and sons."† Again, "The Emperor or King, as the Minister of God, to correct all evil doers, was entitled to give justice to all his subjects in all their causes, to see that those wronged were righted,

* P. S. p. 19.

† P. 160.

and to help the oppressed against him that was too strong for him, provided that he himself *did it in a lawful way*. Even in ecclesiastical causes, this was freely conceded to him, if *he only did it according to the laws of the Church*. Patriarchs, Ecumenical Councils, the common voice and practice of the Church, conceded this. The Emperor bound himself not to let Ecclesiastical causes be brought into civil courts; he was left free to appoint Episcopal Judges. *Nothing was then said about derived jurisdiction. It was not thought that in matters of discipline, or of faith, Bishops acted by "a delegated authority," because a particular case was referred to them by the Emperor, or because Bishops were by name convened by an Emperor to decide it.* The African canon, acknowledged by both East and West, fearlessly and without restraint, permits an appeal to the Emperor, provided only the appellant asked for Bishops as his judges, &c. &c.* And "the Church understood well that Bishops, when they judged, however they were called together, judged in God's stead, by the authority given to them by God. And so she cheerfully acquiesced in each mode which was adopted, conscious of the inherent authority, given by CHRIST to His Apostles and their successors."† Yet further: "But it is said that while our Bishops are appointed as they now are, we could not trust such synods with the faith of the Church. The objection goes far deeper than this one function of the Episcopal office. But this evil, like others, would be its own remedy. If the purpose avowed on one occasion, to "liberalize the Church through the Bishops," were attempted to be carried out, the two great sections of the Church, which hold the faith of the Gospel dearer than their lives, would unite to oppose it,‡ by prayer, which would be heard of God, and remonstrance which must be heard by man."§ See the whole of the following page.

Once more, "There are two distinct and important principles involved. 1. That the ultimate Court of Appeal in all matters of faith, nor purely spiritual, should be a Synod of Bishops. 2. That in matters affecting the Church, *the Church herself ought to have the initiative.*"|| Yet with all this, and much more, in a half finished work, Mr. Dodsworth says the question of the source of jurisdiction is not even touched upon. This to us seems strange, we suppose it may in some measure be accounted for by Mr. Dodsworth's reliance on a pamphlet by Mr. Allies, "in which the whole subject is most ably and learnedly treated." We are not going to dispute Mr. Allies's ability or learning, though we *fancy* we could find most of his authorities in one or two ordinary books

* P. 161.

† P. 167.

‡ We hope this is true, but Mr. Goode seems to hug the extremest exercise of most secular Supremacy, as though CHRIST Himself had appointed it. We trust he is not a fair representative of any section, though he has the honour of being represented by the two highest officers in the Church.

§ P. 170.

|| P. 206.

of reference, but we really have not time to look, and so let that pass. However, if Mr. Allies have competent learning for the discussion of this question, he must of course know that Hooker does not allow that the Crown is the *source* of jurisdiction even in civil causes, and yet he quotes that great writer's assertion.* (Eccl. Pol. 8, viii. 2.) "This power being some time in the Bishop of Rome, who by sinister practices had drawn it into his hands, was for just considerations, by public consent, annexed unto the king's royal seat and crown, and whatsoever any spiritual authority or power, such as legates from the See of Rome would exercise, hath done, or must heretofore have done, for the remedy of those evils *in lawful sort*, (that is to say, without the violation of the law of God or Nature,) as much in every degree, our laws have fully granted that the king for ever may do, &c.,"† as though it quite settled the question; and adds, "I recommend the above passage to the consideration of those who dream of a certain civil supremacy in ecclesiastical matters, as the meaning of the Thirty-seventh Article, especially to one revered person, &c." It is certainly unfortunate that Hooker appears to limit the words "in lawful sort" in the above passage, to "without violation of the law of God or Nature in the thing done," which is a generality so wide, that it might be claimed for almost any act; but it must be remembered in how imperfect a state he left his eighth book, and he must not be supposed here to contradict the very definite limitation he has supplied elsewhere in this same book, ii. 17. "It hath been declared already in general, how the best established dominion is where the law doth most rule the king; the true effect whereof particularly is found as well in *ecclesiastical* as in civil affairs. In these the king, through his supreme power, may do great things and sundry himself. . . Some things on the other side the king alone hath no power to do without consent of the Lords and Commons assembled in parliament, . . because the law is a bar unto him, not any law Divine or natural, but the positive laws of the realm have abridged therein, and restrained the king's power; which positive laws, *whether by custom or otherwise established*, without repugnance unto the law of God and nature, *ought no less to be of force even in the spiritual affairs of the Church*. Wherefore in regard of ecclesiastical laws, we willingly embrace that of Ambrose—'Imperator bonus intra ecclesiam non supra ecclesiam est;' kings have dominion to exercise in ecclesiastical causes, *but according to the laws of the Church*. Whether it be therefore the nature of courts, or the form of pleas, or the kind of governors, or the order of proceedings in whatsoever spiritual businesses, *for the received laws and liberties of the Church, the king hath supreme authority and power, but against them none.*" He then mentions

* P. 38. † Mr. Allies gives the passage at greater length.

the four general councils as a requisite part of the rule, wherewith dominion was to be limited. According to Hooker,* the whole body politic is the *source* of civil jurisdiction, and similarly the whole Church Catholic is the *source* of ecclesiastical jurisdiction. He does not allow that the Pope ever *was* so, though of course he is aware of the fact, that for a long time his claim to be so was allowed. Nor does he ignore the difficulty, that "the Church of God now being spread throughout all kingdoms, it would be a cause of great dissimilitude in the exercise of Christian religion, if every king should be over the affairs of the Church, where he reigneth supreme ruler." His answer is as follows—"Dissimilitude in great things is such a thing which draweth great inconvenience after it, a thing which Christian religion must always carefully prevent. And the way to prevent it is, not as some do imagine, the yielding up of supreme power over all Churches into one only pastor's hands; but the framing of their government, especially for matter of substance, everywhere according to the rule of one only law; to stand in no less force than the law of nations doth, to be received in all kingdoms, all sovereign rulers to be sworn no otherwise into it, than some are to maintain the liberties, laws, and received customs of the countries where they reign. This shall cause uniformity even under several dominions, without those woeful inconveniences, whereunto the state of Christendom was subject heretofore, through the tyranny and oppression of that one universal Nimrod who alone did all. And till the Christian world be driven to enter into the peaceable and true consultation about some such kind of general laws concerning those things of weight and moment wherein now we differ, if one Church hath not the same order which another hath, let every Church keep as near as may be the order it should have, and commend the just defence thereof unto God."†

It is of course open to Mr. Allies, or Mr. Dodsworth, or ourselves, to think Hooker is entirely mistaken in all this; but when *one passage* from him is quoted in opposition to "those who dream of a certain civil supremacy in ecclesiastical matters," and those other passages, which we have added, are passed by as though Hooker had never written them, we must ask Mr. Allies, "is it honest to quote authorities thus?"‡ We must confess that we are "ashamed to answer such citations." Moreover, we think Mr. Allies entirely fails to show that spiritual jurisdiction is necessarily, or was in early times, distinguished from order in that marked way in which it has been, since the full growth of the Papal Supremacy; so that regular descent of spiritual jurisdiction is held to be as necessary to the validity of sacraments as Apostolical succession of order. We know of no ground for such an

* See 8 ii. 9, 13, and vi. 11.

† 8. iii. 5.

‡ Allies, p. 79.

assertion, and we strongly suspect that Hooker was perfectly aware of this whole theory, and had no great opinion of its importance.

We cannot conceive how Mr. Dodsworth can think Dr. Pusey's object is, to show that the Church may safely, or without forfeiture of her birthright, allow to the State . . . authority to decide on what her doctrines are. We have not space to give anything like a full statement of the evidence Dr. Pusey's book furnishes, that his object is nothing of the kind; but we hope the following sentences will suffice. "Till this state of things is remedied, the Church is very seriously crippled in her functions. She has no right to give up the trust she has received in discipline any more than in doctrine. Our eyes are now opened: we dare not close them, nor act as if they had not been opened. We see now on the brink of what peril the Church is placed; and even if, by God's mercy, we escape at this time, we dare not leave the flood-gates open, which might again admit it. We have seen a doctrine, to us as plain as the sun itself, called in question in a court from which there is no ordinary appeal. . . It would be tempting the goodness of God, it would be recklessness as to the faith in CHRIST, to admit the continuance of a court involving such risk as this."* We have already shown how plainly Dr. Pusey asserts his conviction, that the Church never meant to submit to such an infliction, and we hope we have made it tolerably clear that Hooker agrees with him in this assertion.

Meanwhile, lest whatever moral weight the judgment might seem to have, should be thought not sufficiently demolished by the Bishop of Exeter's letter, the main points of which remain unimpaired, even by the marvellous audacity† with which Mr. Goode attacks his lordship, there is no lack of fresh assailants; the most powerful of which, perhaps, is the author of "a Letter to the

* P. 10.

† We have not space to verify this epithet; but will mention as one instance *out of many*, that Mr. Goode accuses the Bishop of Exeter of misrepresenting facts, because he says that the king first granted his commission under the Great Seal to certain Bishops and other Divines to *prepare* alterations in the Book of Common Prayer; next authorized Convocation to *make* such alterations as to them should seem convenient; and lastly recommended them to the Parliament to be enacted. Whereas in all this, the Bishop is simply reciting the '*ipsissima verba*' of the preamble to the Act of Uniformity XIVth. Caroli Secundi. Mr. Goode, says the Bishop knows very well that Convocation could not make alterations without the Parliament. The Parliament itself says they *could*; but that they could not enforce them "under such sanctions and *penalties* as Parliament should think fit;" which of course not only the Bishop of Exeter, but every Bishop in Christendom knows very well: but how does it help Mr. Goode, who in the plenitude of his learning charges both Houses of Parliament with misrepresenting facts? Moreover Mr. Goode says the Commons were very jealous of any alterations; so much the better for the Bishop of Exeter; they were Puritans who wanted to make alterations; and the strength of the Bishop's cause lies in the maintenance of the Prayer Book against their attempts. Mr. Goode does not possess more than what among scholars is called "Index learning," and is not happy in the use he makes of that.

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two Archbishops, by a Rural Dean," who shows that the Judges were indebted to Mr. Goode for all their authorities, fully vindicates the chief of them from that amiable person's misrepresentations, and shows that even Bullinger is of no great service to the Gorham cause.

Jewell, Hooker, Ussher, Taylor and Pearson, are also sufficiently vindicated from misrepresentations by "a Fellow of a College at Cambridge." And the legal value of the Judgment has been systematically tested with great ability and clearness by "a solicitor." "Plain Statements for Plain People," by a layman, is well deserving of attention, though it contains one or two mistakes, scarcely excusable even in a layman, such as his attempt to prove that we do not hold what he calls "the low and unscriptural doctrine taught by the erring Church of Rome; viz., that in cases of extreme necessity, it is lawful for any person, father, mother, or nurse, to baptize the child, using the form prescribed." We can assure him that we certainly do hold this doctrine, as was rightly decreed by the Archbishop's Vicar-General, in *Mastin v. Escott*; and that the alterations he points out in our services, are sufficiently accounted for by other considerations. This writer is chiefly remarkable for his energetic protest against the superiority ascribed to the Thirty-nine Articles. He says, "We must protest against the Articles and the Catechism being considered to have equal and *co-ordinate* authority with the Creeds, the Prayers and formularies of our Church; they are but explanations of, and deductions from, these, and therefore wheresoever they differ, we must yield to the authority of the latter. And this more particularly applies to the Articles: they are not directed to be taught to the laity, or submitted to by them." We cannot follow him, however, in all that he says, since "His majesty's declaration," though loosely worded, when it speaks of curious and unhappy differences, alludes only to Article XVII., and to the one doctrine of Predestination, as is pointed out by a 'Rural Dean' above mentioned.

Howbeit, we have no great admiration of the said Articles, and think this layman shows some cause for saying (as he does) "that Article XXV. is one of those calculated to mystify and mislead, and that the next Article is of the same vague, indefinite, unsatisfactory character." He then compares the offices for Baptism together, and adds, "And now, if words indeed have meaning, if they can be used so as to have any *natural sense* at all, then we appeal to every man who has learning enough to read, common sense enough to understand, and common honesty enough to prevent his salving his conscience with a lie, whether the Church does not hold and teach Regeneration, in and by Baptism, and this so clearly, that no Article can alter or mystify it, no individual opinion or scholastic refinement modify or resist it." We wish we had space to insert

this writer's manly assertion, that the Bishop of Exeter did no more than his bounden duty, and his lamentation over the unfaithfulness of the Archbishop: we cannot omit the following*—
 "It is not an open enemy that hath done us this dishonour, or we could have borne it, but it is even a companion, a guide, and a familiar friend: one of whom it may with truth be said, that his evil 'is his very truth and honesty,' that 'his end has ever been to do well;' but alas, his judgment has been ever weak and erring. He it was who, a few years since, believed that he was doing God good service, when he petitioned for the life of a parricide, that she might become a *teacher in the colonies*; and this the daughter of a heretic and schismatic. We say not this to blame him, but that his fault may be laid where it ought to be, not to his *heart*, but his *head*; and that others may see, that if in the plainest case of mere morality, his feelings of charity and benevolence overpowered his sense of right and justice, his conduct in the present case, however deeply it may be deplored, is not to be wondered at." We had intended calling attention to the above singular fact, and with the same purpose, had we not found it so ably done to our hand.

"The Clergy and the Commons," by a Layman, claims for the clergy a right to be represented in the House of Commons as well as in the House of Lords. If nothing but this can prevent the entire separation of Church and State, we fear that event is not far distant; for it seems to us far more visionary to suppose the House of Commons will ever allow a dozen or two of clergy to be enrolled among its members, than that Convocation, or something analogous to it, should be restored. Nor do we think that either clergy or laity would be satisfied by such a measure. We do not see why Church and State need be entirely separated, if the Act of Submission were repealed; nor can we see how that Act deprived Convocation of all power to legislate without the sanction of Parliament. If we are not greatly mistaken, it has made laws since that Act without Parliamentary sanction, which bind the clergy to this day, even to the extent of affecting their property and personal liberty. And even if it cannot legislate, it might prevent each bishop from being an *independent* despot within his own diocese to such an extent as is at present the case, and impose a salutary restraint upon many other abuses of existing laws. We see nothing in this pamphlet which need offend any one, and it is valuable, at any rate, as a contribution to the elucidation of the great fact that the Church is grievously wronged by the existing state of things.

Perhaps the most vigorous of the numerous pamphlets with which we are surrounded is "A Voice from the North," by an English Priest, a second number of which has just reached us. It is not one of the enjoyments of life to have very unpleasant truths

very plainly put before one, and we own to having gained an unfavourable impression from a hasty perusal of the first number ; but the writer's very earnest "prefatory words" prefixed to No. 2 led us to read No. 1 over again, and we have now no hesitation in saying that we feel deeply the truth of nearly all his assertions. Having said this, we must beg the writer's forgiveness for expressing our conviction that he has not adopted the tone best suited to further the end we are sure he has in view as well as ourselves—the preservation within the Church of England, and her practical realization, of the Faith once for all delivered to the saints.

We venture to think he has not made sufficient allowance for the ignorance consequent upon our want of discipline, and the lamentable fact that our clergy generally have had no professional education—we say, *no* professional education, for the amount of training they have gone through, beyond a merely *general* education is as nothing compared with what is deemed absolutely necessary to every lawyer, every physician, every one who has a chance of success in any secular profession whatsoever. We do think that, without at all concealing his just and necessary abhorrence of heresy, he might have done less to shock and more to attract hearts whom nothing but ignorance has arrayed against that Truth, "*quæ si oculis cerneretur, mirabiles amores excitaret sui.*" He seems to see nothing in the English Church but the two antagonist systems of doctrine, which he has so ably contrasted ; whereas many who have been taught the false system, have embraced large portions of the true ; and many who have been taught the true system imperfectly, have suffered more or less from admixture of the false. We grant that the antagonism has now reached a pitch at which it cannot possibly continue ; but the state of confusion is such that it is quite impossible for the body of the Church, or even of the clergy, to make up its mind on all points at once, as to what is the whole complexity of the Faith once delivered to the saints ; and we do very much lament that it has been thought necessary to distract the minds of many well disposed but ill educated persons with hard statements on points of doctrine most mysterious, and most difficult to be reverently defined, before they have had time to be disabused of the misrepresentations under which that very elementary doctrine has been presented to them, which is now called in question.

We are sure charity required this to be avoided if it could ; we may be wrong in thinking it was possible to avoid it : but at all events, it is now done ; and as to the writer of "*A Voice from the North,*" his own words are his best apology ; and we beg all who read "*A Voice from the North*" to bear them in mind, and keep their patience if ever he seem to overstate abuses, or even to misstate any doctrine of the Gospel : "*Who, that loves the Church of England, can see her thus, without one effort, however humble, in*

her cause? Hers sincerely, affectionately hers be this poor effort of an obscure and unworthy priest whom she has commissioned. To her LORD in her be every line inscribed. In Him be it written, and perish every word not in accordance with His Word and will."

We are not going to *enlarge* upon those points of doctrine which we wish had been treated with more reserve; but must remark briefly on "a surprising instance of the extent to which the Puritan heaven has spread." It is this, that "a Catholic incumbent" can feel any objection to a priest saying that he "believes to the full" both these propositions:

"I. That CHRIST Himself is offered in the Eucharist upon the altars.

"II. That the Sacrament, or CHRIST's Presence in it, is adorable."

As to the first, unless it is to condemn such statements as those of S. Chrysostom in Hebr. x. t. xii. p. 168, and of S. Augustin in Ep. 98. ad Bonifac. Episc., not to mention other authorities, it means something very different from what Englishmen in general will understand it to mean.

As to the second, we accept the statement of Bishop Andrewes, "*Nos et in mysteriis Carnem Christi adoramus cum Ambrosio, et non id sed Eum qui super altare colitur; nec Carnem manducamus quin adoremus prius cum Augustino, et sacramentum tamen nulli adoramus.*"

We would gladly have made some extracts from this writer's very forcible, and in the main, lamentably true statement of the evils of the Royal Supremacy, which means (as he rightly observes) the Supremacy of Downing Street. As to the actual amount of the grievance hitherto, we believe he has omitted to notice many extenuating circumstances; but we fear he gives no more than a faithful picture of what it may be, and *will be*, unless we bestir ourselves as men who are struggling for their life.

We have read "The Morality of Tractarianism, a letter from one of the people to one of the Clergy," with no less surprise than pain; and can only say that if such a state of mind as is here described is at all common among our people, nothing can more imperatively call for a remedy. It cannot continue without the destruction of all that makes any doctrine valuable. And yet we must profess ourselves very greatly at a loss how to deal with it, since we are totally unconscious of any approach to such feelings ourselves: nor has the perusal of this melancholy statement excited in us any misgiving as to the morality of what we understand by Tractarianism; and we supposed ourselves to know what is meant by it, for we have long borne the odium and inconvenience which attaches to that ridiculous appellation, and have no expectation that we shall shake it off for a long time to come. Most assuredly "there is a vast difference between reserve and deceit,"*

* Page 26.

so wide a difference that no deeply religious person can either allow himself to practise the latter, or avoid practising the former.

We do *not* acknowledge that the only way of holding all necessary truth in the Church of England is by the use of *non-natural* interpretation, and can therefore maintain that "these truths are the heritage of the people" without having to begin by "spreading the spirit of casuistry among our village schools, and labourers' cottages; and making our wives and daughters students in scholastic niceties;"* though even this, highly undesirable as it would be, need not involve any immorality. We deny that we must either leave our people Protestants, or else make them false. Our alternative is that we must either leave our people mere Protestants or else make them *think*, but they may think as *honestly* as any Roman Catholic can. We are sure that such as we have dealt with experience no sense of concealment arising from fear of avowing their belief, which is deceit; but only such as comes of charity towards those who, from prejudice, or wrong education, or evil life, are incapable of appreciating sacred truth: we are sure they are not "weighed down with a sense of *guilty* secrecy:" nor do they "tread a weary path of subtilty which leaves their conscience burthened with deceit." If it be meant to assert that the faith once delivered to the Saints embraces the whole cycle of Roman doctrine: that is a proposition to which we cannot assent: even if it could be conceded that no Roman doctrine can be shown to be false; there is much of it, which does not rest on such evidence as would justify us in imposing it upon our people, supposing we had the power.

True unity of doctrine must reach through all time as well as all places. Is there no difficulty in reconciling the practice of Communion in one kind, and the doctrine involved in it, with the doctrine and practice of Scripture and antiquity? Does the *Roman* doctrine of sacrifice harmonize with the language of S. Paul, more *naturally* than the ancient doctrine of sacrifice with our liturgy? Does one who ventures to think about what he professes to believe find no difficulty in reconciling transubstantiation with the undoubtedly Catholic verity, that according to the natural mode of a body's existence, our blessed Lord's glorified Body is in heaven and will remain there till the day of judgment? Is there no "scholastic subtilty" in this? and does not the attempt to impose belief in propositions which men may not think about, furnish some clue to the state of the population of Rome, in spite of a Clergy many times as numerous as ours, and the whole cycle of Roman doctrine without let or hindrance? Is there no such thing in this system, we must sorrowfully ask, as "an infidelity more subtle than an open denial."† We do not "break up a great

* Page 10.

† Page 22.

system and take the parts *that suit us*, and call that truth," but we take the parts, which existed in it in those ages when it was thought necessary to have warranty of Holy Scripture for every thing required as necessary to salvation. We do *not* "know very well that the *same* authority gives us other things which we do not choose to receive." We cannot deny that some few things, which we are bound to maintain, have been obscured in our Prayer Book, or withdrawn, but not forbidden; and our duty is, for the present, to point out these in Scripture as interpreted by the undivided Church; and not "to take joy in the weakness and vacuity of our formularies, because we can twist them as we like," but profess our desire to amend every defect, yet not without great consideration for those of our brethren, whom the miserable circumstances of our times have filled with distrust, but whose heart's desire is only to be conformed in every respect to the will of CHRIST. We deny that we give up anything *lest we should offend*, or conceal anything *lest we should be found out*. It is no principle of ours not to risk all for the truth, nor to abstain from doing right for fear of consequences; but we do assert that there is neither cowardice, nor meanness, nor evasion, in taking Him for our example, Who would not break a bruised reed, nor quench smoking flax: Who has sent us forth as sheep in the midst of wolves, with the injunction, "be ye therefore wise as serpents and harmless as doves."

If it be asked "is this a time for half-measures and fears to give offence?" We cannot say: but one whose wisdom will not be disputed has told us that there are times in which "*nil bonis restat nisi lacrymæ et gemitus*,"* and haply it may be given to the most fearless singleness of purpose to see in his description of such times no faint resemblance to our own. Nothing need make us fear to wish our Prayer Book better; but there is neither cowardice nor dishonesty, in thinking that it has a poor chance of being made so just at a time of unparalleled excitement and panic, and we are quite sure that no book whatever, *neglected as our Prayer Book has been*, could have corrected the evils here charged upon it, which are no more produced by it, than Roman hatred of Priests is produced by the liturgy of S. Peter. We too "will hope against hope," and by God's help we will "be sober and hope to the end."†

We are truly glad to see that Mr. J. C. Robertson and his friends are resolved not to allow their dread of being thought to acknowledge certain persons as their leaders, to deter them from acting in the right direction in the present crisis. This is as it should be; it carries with it the strength of an independent testimony, and ought to have its influence on all those who have a nervous dread of being called by nick-names. We are quite sure that the said sus-

* Vid. S. Aug. Serm. 351.

† Page 27.

pected individuals desire nothing less than to be party leaders: *their sole wish* is that God's truth may prevail. We entirely agree with Mr. Robertson on many points, and will mention one of great importance. He says,* "The immediate concession to Puritanism is not all. The door which has been opened for Mr. Gorham may soon be found wide enough to admit yet more questionable persons;—the Lindseys and Fysche-Palmers, the Blanco-Whites, and Sterlings. The real gainers are *the philosophist* party—a party small indeed in numbers; connected by bonds rather intellectual than religious, and very much divided in opinion; yet in high favour with statesmen; very active in its endeavours to acquire influence by all means;† and having in all its subdivisions an impatience of whatever is objective or traditional, with a desire to get rid of tests, whether by abolishing the very letter of them or by explaining it away into nothingness. . . . they know that whatever tends to lessen the force of tests, is so much in their favour. And if we would not play into the hands of this party, we must, I think now make a stand."

Lord Redesdale, in "Observations on the Gorham Case," also maintains that the moderate party must not endure Mr. Gorham. His Lordship's useful pamphlet however will scarcely bear comparison with Mr. Robertson's. Dr. Wordsworth has been preaching "Occasional Sermons," in Westminster Abbey, which were listened to attentively by crowded audiences, and have been published: but these with a host of others, have not reached us.

We have received just in time for perusal "Two Sermons on Holy Baptism," by Henry William Egan, preached at Newcastle-upon-Tyne. They contain a very clear statement of the extent to which the doctrine of Baptism pervades the teaching of the New Testament.

Mr. John Hartland Worgan, in his "Plea for the Church of England," is keenly alive to the peril to which she is exposed, and does not shrink from stating plainly what she has suffered and is suffering, as well from State oppression, as from that "heterogeneous jumble of teaching which was brought in by foreigners, Bucer, Peter Martyr, and the like; or by Englishmen, who being exiled in the reign of Queen Mary, came back, in Elizabeth's reign, with a system of divinity utterly at variance with the doctrine of the Church of England," and have maintained it by "evasively and dishonestly garbling and misquoting," "till at length with an effrontery only equalled by their perverseness they have assumed to be the Church's interpreter." This writer professes to have no sympathy whatever with the Church of Rome; nor can we detect any;

* Bearings of the Gorham Case, page 18.

† See in the last number of the *Quarterly Review*, the exposure of the attempt to influence our female education, by means of "Queen's College, London."

but possibly the keen sight of Mr. Goode will not be so easily satisfied.

The very able and conclusive "Review of the Gorham Case, in its aspects moral and legal, with a critical examination of the Judgment : A letter to the Lord Bishop of Salisbury, by John David Chambers, Recorder of New Sarum," after stating the principles on which the judgment ought to have proceeded, as for example, *that the Acts of the Reformation ought to be construed as Remedial Statutes applied to the previously existing law of the Church, &c.* sums up and concludes with these four propositions, which we cordially accept.

"1. That the decision in the suit of *Gorham v. The Bishop of Exeter* violates the rules of law, grammar, reason, and equity ; is therefore binding only in the particular instance, and can never form a precedent in any future case.

"2. That if it were legally unexceptionable, still it does not settle what is the *true, just, and honest* construction of the Formularies of the faith of the Church of England ; but only declares that the fantastic theology of Mr. Gorham is not *absolutely contrariant or repugnant* thereto : in other words, that he has secured a loophole through which he may evade their stringency.

"3. That it ought not and cannot, therefore, affect the individual conscience of any single member of the Church of England, however it may *in foro exteriori* deform and wound the temporal status of that Church.

"4. That it is, nevertheless, a serious affront and indignity offered to the catholicity of the faith of the Church of England, and *pro tanto* a denial of that faith ; and this denial having been made by the authority of the Chief Magistrate of the nation, the Laity in their sphere, the inferior Clergy in theirs, and the Bishops in theirs, are bound to repudiate and disaffirm the same ; and that the Bishops especially, as the heads of the spirituality ought, in their corporate capacity, to reinstate in its pristine position that great truth which the temporal power has endeavoured to overturn."

AZEGLIO'S ETTORE FIERAMOSCA.

Ettore Fieramosca, o La Disfida di Barletta, Racconto di MASSIMO D'AZEGLIO. Parigi, Baudry, 1846. (Hector Fieramosca, or The Challenge of Barletta, a Tale. By MASSIMO D'AZEGLIO. Paris edition of Baudry, 1846.)

HAPPY is that Church which can number faithful and devoted sons among her laity; which can enrol among her champions some gifted spirits moving in the atmosphere of literature and politics, men who, while they challenge the world's respect by knowledge of its ways, and influence over its career, are yet content in humbleness of heart to view all sublunary things in that sobered light which is cast upon them by a glance through the optic lens which religion places in their hands.

And this happiness, amidst all her troubles, the English Church does certainly still retain. The continental Church is likewise, we should imagine, gaining ground in this respect. But conversation with some earnest French Catholics, which it fell to our lot to hold not many months since, left on our minds the impression that this sort of aid was still much desiderated. The constant harping upon the names of M. de Falloux and M. de Montalembert seemed to indicate a lack of friends like them, at once so constant and so able. Nor can we discover that the labours of modern French *litterati*, whether in the paths of history or of fiction, are in anywise interpenetrated by a Catholic and Christian temper. Many flagrant instances of a tone the very reverse and opposite must be well known to the majority of our readers.

About two years since, our contemporary the *Christian Remembrancer* called attention to the tales of an Italian nobleman, high in the councils of his sovereign, the King of Sardinia, and in some sense the representative of a school of thought, which is not uninfluential in his native land, nor devoid of interest to any whose sympathies extend beyond our own immediate cares and contests. And whatever value may be attached to the productions of such a person, when bearing indirectly upon the momentous question of the relations between Church and State, will hardly be diminished by the events of Italian history during the past year, nor by the circumstance that the Marquis d'Azeglio is at this moment ambassador from his Sardinian Majesty at the court of Queen Victoria.

Azeglio is son-in-law of the celebrated Manzoni, and appears to share in the feelings and principles of his connexion. The general line of thought pursued by these writers was in the main, we suppose, correctly indicated by our contemporary, as being that of men who were high-minded, religious, and sincere professors of the

Tridentine creed, with an implicit submission to Rome in everything *de fide*, but at the same time inspired with an ardent feeling of nationality, and a belief that the temporal power of the Papacy had in many respects been far from conducive to the welfare of the Italian people. Deeply as D'Azeglio and his friends must have mourned over the course pursued by Mazzini and his party, their lamentation must, we imagine, have been in a great degree that of politicians who see in all wild and wicked excesses, not only the intrinsic evil of such doings, but likewise the necessary repression and postponement of all safe and reasonable reforms; which have thereby become associated in the minds of the well-disposed with ideas of irreligion and frantic anarchy.

It is this frame of mind which leads Azeglio to dwell with fondness on the name of Girolamo Savonarola. Savonarola was a Dominican monk of Ferrara, who caused, as is well known, great excitement in Florence towards the close of the fifteenth century. (A. D. 1489—1498). This was the era of the Medici and the period of one of the very worst phases of the Papacy. Savonarola, if we may trust Sismondi, directed his efforts solely to the restoration of discipline, and reformation of morals, especially among the clergy. When however it is remembered, that he was the organiser and leader of a political democratic party, the *Piagnoni*; that he claimed for his own impulses the character of prophetic revelations, by which he might direct the political course of his disciples; that he was finally put to death as a heretic by the Pope (that Pope however being Borgia, Alexander VI.), it may be questioned how far modern approvers of his spirit are likely to be considered by their Roman Catholic brethren as within the pale of the strictest orthodoxy. But without here attempting to discuss this question, we proceed to furnish our readers with some general ideas of Azeglio's first fiction, *Ettore Fieramosca*. We must however forewarn those, who are at all acquainted with Azeglio's later work, called *Niccolo de' Lapi*, that they must not expect to find in this earlier one, the same engaging sweetness which pervades so large a portion of that remarkable production. The story of *Ettore Fieramosca* is of a painful character and turns upon incidents which a far less seriously-minded writer among ourselves would probably have kept in the back ground or declined to use.

The historical events, on which the tale is based, took place during the first three years of the sixteenth century: when Louis XII. of France and Gonsalvo de Cordova were in fact struggling for the possession of the kingdom of Naples. The story opens, whilst the contending armies are lying very near to each other, the French having in fact confined their adversaries to the small town of Barletta on the eastward Neapolitan coast, where the great captain (as Gonsalvo was termed) was anxiously looking for

* History of Italian Republics. Chapters XII. and XIII.

the reinforcements promised by his sovereign, to release his troops from a position which was becoming somewhat inconvenient. In order to provide in some degree against the scarcity threatened by the enemy's blockade,—for such it had almost become—the Spanish soldiers had been occasionally despatched on foraging expeditions, one of which returns on the night, whereon the narrative commences. Here follows a brief picture of the inn, to which they betake themselves.

“Before the principal entrance, six slight pillars of rough bricks supported a trellis, under which several tables were placed for the convenience of the guests. The host (whose name was Baccio da' Rieti, but who, from popular suspicion was universally called *Veleno*, poison) had caused to be painted between two of the windows a large red sun, which the painter, in accordance with astronomical notions still in vogue, had supplied with eyes, nose, and mouth, and various rays of a yellow colour, very much the shape of a swallow's tail, which by daylight might be seen a mile off.”

The party are laden with a considerable booty in the shape of cattle, &c., and have likewise brought home three French officers, leaders of a detachment which had made a bold, but unsuccessful effort to deprive Gonsalvo's troopers of their prize. The prisoners are courteously treated and invited to join their captors at the evening meal. During the merriment and excitement of this supper a good deal of French boasting, and contemptuous mention of their defeats of the Italians, draw from a high-spirited Spanish youth called Inigo Lopez (the intimate friend of the hero *Ettore*) a denial of any such superiority as is claimed by the captive guests, and a formal challenge, in the name of his absent friends, to these French officers to prove their loudly vaunted courage in equal combat in the lists on the earliest day that can be fixed.

From this challenge is derived the second name of the story. The leading title is the appellation of a young Italian in the band of Prospero Colonna, of the noble Roman house of that name.

Inigo seeks his friend on the following morning to inform him of the promise made for him and his countrymen. He finds Fieramosca already risen and enjoying the fresh morning breeze, which leads M. D'Azeglio thus to exult over the inhabitants of such lands as ours.

“Poor inhabitants of northern climes! you know not the sweets of this hour beneath a bright southern sky, on the sea shore, whilst all nature yet sleeps and the deep stillness is only broken by the murmuring of the water, which, like thought, was never still since the day of its creation, or ever will be. He who has never been alone at this hour, who has not felt against his cheek the last flutter of the wings of the

early bat, at break of day on the sunny shores of Naples, knows not yet the greatest beauty of created things."

Fieramosca is standing on a balcony, overlooking the sea, his eyes riveted on a little island not far distant from the shore, on whose rocky sides stands a monastery whence he can just catch the soft sound of a bell calling to the early *Ave Maria*. Inigo interrupts his reverie and both together go to the Colonna's quarters to beg that he will obtain the great captain's permission to fix a day for deciding the "*Disfida di Barletta*" with all necessary pomp of circumstance. Prospero Colonna, in whose favour Fieramosca stands high, enters fully into the enthusiasm of his youthful friend upon the subject, gains for him Gonsalvo's safe conduct and leave to choose thirteen champions on the Italian side. Fieramosca and one of his friends Brancalone are despatched to the camp of the Duke of Nemours to convey the challenge.

On the road, Brancalone rallies his friend on his solitary habits, and declares that he and his comrades believe Fieramosca to be in love. Fieramosca in reply tells him, that not knowing whether he may survive the approaching fight, he will not conceal from so near a friend, what he has hitherto kept locked within the secret of his own breast. He proceeds to relate some passages of his former life which, with considerable compression on our part, may be stated as follows.

At the age of sixteen he had entered the service of Ludovico Sforza, then attacked by King Charles VIII. of France, and being for some time quartered in Capua, had formed a boyish attachment to Ginevra, daughter of a noble of that place. Having left Capua for a year, he had returned with undiminished affection; but seeing no prospect of an end to the war, nor of a happy termination to his suit, he had tried to avoid and to forget the lady. Failing in this essay at self-mastery, he resolved on attempting to discover whether his homage was still accepted, and fancying from Ginevra's manner that she was indifferent to him, had rushed in his distress to the Duke of San Nicandro and engaged to follow him forthwith to Rome. He had started, but the party was met at Velletri by a detachment of French soldiery, and Fieramosca, severely wounded in the encounter, was left in that town. At the end of two months, he was so far recovered as to be enabled to rejoin his leader at Rome. A few days after his arrival in the eternal city, he met a party of French soldiers escorting a litter, in which to his horror he recognized Ginevra. With some difficulty he contrived to discover her residence and then learnt from her own lips that she had become the wife of another. In the sack of Capua, which took place during Ettore's illness at Velletri, an Italian mercenary in the service of the French king had made her his prey. Her dying father, to save her from the lawless soldiery, had with his latest

breath given her to this man, with all the fortune he had it in his power to bequeath. Bitterly did Fieramosca repent him of his rash and precipitate conduct, which had left his beloved Ginevra unprotected at such an awful time. He saw her however frequently, for her husband, Graiano d' Asti, was devoid both of affection and jealousy. Ere long however he was told of her illness and the following morning of her sudden death. Overpowered by this new and unlooked-for shock, he had well nigh followed her from this world, but for the unremitting attention of an humble friend named Franciotto. The next night he had betaken himself to the Church of Santa Cecilia, to enjoy the melancholy satisfaction of assisting at Ginevra's funeral rites. The service ended, the Church was left in darkness, save where a single lamp was burning before the statue of the Madonna. The sacristan, passing Ettore, had announced that the doors would be closed immediately, and on receiving the reply, "And I remain," whispered in his ear, "If you are the duke's agent, you are too soon; but I shall leave you, the door is open; adieu." Puzzled by this strange speech, Fieramosca lifted up the pall which was laid over the coffin, and while he silently regarded the form of her whom he had loved, was startled by hearing a deep sigh, and then perceiving a slight motion in what he had deemed a corpse. Amidst his mingled sensations of horror and delight his friend Franciotto, who had been seeking him, arrived, and with this aid, the living Ginevra is conveyed to the Tiber's bank, and the quarter of the shipping. The lady was placed in a boat belonging to Franciotto, and as, in following the river's course, they re-passed Santa Cecilia, the wicked mystery was made clear. A body of men in Cæsar Borgia's livery, stood by the Church, provided with a litter and all appliances for conveying away Ginevra, who had become the unconscious object of the bold and unscrupulous wishes of that evil and abandoned spirit.

After many adventures Ginevra had at length been placed in safety, in company with a young Arab maiden, who had been, during this transit, rescued from a watery grave by Fieramosca.

The place of their retreat was the monastery of S. Ursula, which crowns a little island immediately opposite Barletta, about half a mile from the shore. This was the object on which Inigo had found Ettore gazing so earnestly on the morning of the expedition which led to this recital.

In this place Ginevra passed a quiet, but not unhappy time, distressed only by the thought that *would* intrude itself—ought she not to return to her husband, even though feeling no firm confidence that she should find in him a true protector against the dreaded Borgia, of whom Graiano d' Asti was simply the creature.

On the evening after his ride with Inigo, Fieramosca conveys the news of the challenge to his friends on the little island. Thus speaks with him the Saracenic maiden.

"Zoraïde remained in silent thought some moments, and then shaking her head, replied,

"I do not understand you. Why so much indignation and so much noise? The French say they despise you. But have they not said so far more by their deeds, coming into your country to devour your fruits, and chase you from your homes? And do not the Spaniards say the same as the French when they too come into Italy, and do just what they please? The deer does not chase the lion from his den, but the lion pursues the deer and devours him."

"We are not," said Ettore, "amongst barbarians here, where force decides every thing. It would take too long to explain to you all the grounds of the claim France makes to Naples. I will only say that it is a fief of Holy Church. And that signifies that it is at her disposal, and that being the case, she bestowed it two hundred years ago, on Charles, Duke of Provence. It is as his heir that the Most Christian* now lays claim to it."

"That is admirable. And who gave it to Holy Church?"

"A French warrior named Robert Guiscard who had taken it by force of arms."

"Now I understand you less than ever. The book Ginevra gave me, and which I have read carefully through, as you know, was it not written by Issa Ben Yousouf?"

"Yes."

"And does it not say, that all men are made in the image of God, and bought with His Blood? I can understand that there may be some amongst Christians, who, abusing their power, take away the life and property of their equals, but how such abuse is changed into a right passing from father to son, I cannot comprehend."

"I do not know," replied Ettore, smiling, "whether you do not understand, Zoraïde, or whether you understand too much. This much is certain, without this right, what would become of Popes, Emperors, and Kings? and without them, what would become of the world?"

But meanwhile the object of Ginevra's dread, Cæsar Borgia, Duke of Valentinois, was near, beyond the imagination of herself or friends. With his wonted craft and wonted courage, Borgia, though an ally of France, had ventured himself with but a single follower into Barletta, during the night on which our tale commences. Suspecting that the French cause in Italy would fail, he had come to make private terms with Gonsalvo di Cordova. The follower, Don Michele, is a fit servant of such a master. Actively engaged in discovering Ginevra's retreat he is anxious to convince the vain and foolish mayor (*podestà*) of Barletta that he is possessed of supernatural powers. He takes the *podestà* to a ruined church some three miles along the coast.

"The character of the place, its extreme loneliness, the hour (it was near midnight) were indeed sufficient to inspire terror, and poor Don Litterio, who when the sun was high had thought of it all without much

* *Il Cristianissimo*, the then recognised title of the Kings of France, as *El Católico* of the sovereigns of Spain.

disturbance, now that he was actually engaged in it, found what a difference exists between saying and doing.

"He stood gazing on the bones at his feet, and on the walls green with damp, and still retaining in many places, traces of the paintings with which they had once been covered, and with his hands firmly clasped together awaited the conclusion of all this ceremonial.

"Don Michele set down a bundle which he had carried, took out his magical books, put on a kind of black stole covered with cabalistic figures, and began with a wand, to trace a circle amid a thousand grimaces: he left an opening at which he desired the podestà to enter and to be careful to step with his left foot first. Then placing a talisman in his hands he began to mutter words in Greek, Latin, and Hebrew, calling on hundreds of demons, in the most Holy Name, alternately raising and lowering his voice, and making pauses, during which the echoes resounded through the empty building, and some stray bat would fly against the face of the podestà, who, trembling, crouched on the ground shivering with cold. He feared every instant to see issuing from some tomb, some of the skeletons depicted on the outside, and he said his prayers most earnestly beseeching the Almighty to defeat the conjurations of his terrible companion. . . ."

A spectre in time appears and points out which tomb contains the treasure, which is duly found, as might be expected, Don Michele having provided both money and apparition. But the terror of the podestà has completely overcome his avarice, and all Don Michele's efforts to rouse him to look at the gold is unavailing. He is proceeding therefore to gather up the coins himself, when a troop of wild banditti rush in and secure both the treasure and magician.

"The podestà was already so overwhelmed with fear, that this new dread produced no visible effect upon him. He remained in the same attitude, his eyes fixed, his head buried in his shoulders, and his hands joined so tightly together with a convulsive grasp that the nails had even broken the skin, calling out in an imploring voice, 'Do not kill me, I am in mortal sin.'"

We pause to insert an observation, which Azeglio has here thrown into a Note, but which seems to us so curious as to deserve more prominent notice. His words are "This plea, (*vis.* the cry, 'I am in mortal sin,') for preservation of life has, even in our own day, great weight with the so-called *brigands* of the campagna of Rome. The author of these pages knows a man, who by this means escaped a death, otherwise inevitable." (p. 112.) Is not this a very noticeable fact? It appears to be one, which is capable of being viewed in two rather contrary lights. For on the one hand it is a strange inconsistency for men leading a life necessarily fraught with heinous sins, to stop short and shrink from cutting off a fellow mortal in the like case, and yet persist in their own lawless course: and on the other hand, such a religious compunction, however

momentary and inconsistent, does yet testify to the remarkable degree in which the popular mind is *theologised* in Italy. Such ruffians are happily scarce in England, but who among them would dream of paying heed to such a claim for mercy?

But to return. Barletta is meantime in a state of great festivity in consequence of the arrival of Gonsalvo's daughter. In accordance with the chivalric notions of the time three days' truce have been granted for this express purpose by the enemy. Here is some account of the commencement of the festal doings, as a sample of the author's powers of description.

"The court yard and terraces were hung with silks of every colour, with garlands of laurel and myrtle in festoons and cyphers, and all the banners of the army waved from the windows and balconies. The crowd consisting partly of idle spectators, and partly of servants engaged in busy preparation, was in constant motion, now collecting closely together, and then again dispersing along the staircases, and in the courtyards and terraces. Soldiers and workmen, serving men and boys were incessantly passing and repassing with loads of tools, ladders, and furniture of every description to make ready for the approaching banquet, or to adorn the theatre. There were also provisions, fruits, wine, and game, which the wealthy in the city and in the army vied with each other in presenting to the great Captain of Spain. There was a coming and going a calling and shouting, in short an inconceivable confusion.

"When the great bell in the tower struck nine o'clock, the great Captain and his barons appeared at the head of the grand staircase. Gonsalvo had shown his joy at his daughter's approach by adopting for himself and his cortege the most magnificent costume.

"Over a close vest of rich cloth of gold, he wore a mantle of dark purple velvet, lined with zibeline fur. On his head was a cap of similar material, from a splendid sapphire clasp in this, sprang a long white plume, entirely composed of small pearls, strung on threads of the finest steel, which waved as lightly over his brow as if it had been made of actual feathers. His sword and dagger with their sheaths of purple velvet sparkled with gems, and on his breast was embroidered in crimson a sword, the badge of the Order of S. Jago.

"At the foot of the stairs stood a white Catalan mule, covered to the ground with trappings of purple silk shot with gold. As soon as he was in the saddle his followers mounted their horses, and the whole party rode forward to meet Donna Elvira.

"Prospero and Fabrizio Colonna, wearing a rose coloured stuff, covered with silver embroidery, rode at his side on two Turkish horses, the most beautiful that had been seen in Italy for many years. The two cousins, now past middle age, sat on their high velvet saddles, reining in their impetuous steeds with such ease, that they seemed, what in truth they were, the bravest soldiers and the greatest generals in the army.

"Amidst the multitude that followed was seen the frowning aspect of the robust Pedro de Navarro, the inventor of mines, a contrivance em-

ployed with such success in the storming of the Castel d'Uovo. Diego Garcia Paredes also, the Hercules of his day, who not being in the habit of wearing anything but mail, and therefore having no costume ready for the occasion, had contented himself with having his armour polished rather more carefully than usual, and selecting the wildest of his various chargers. It was a huge Calabrian, which had only worn a halter a few weeks, powerful, and black as a crow, without a hair of any other colour.

"Paredes alone dared have mounted such a wild beast, which, accustomed only to the forest, and finding itself now in the midst of such a crowd and uproar, chafed and foamed like a lion. But the knight's immense height, his heavy armour, and the aid of a bit half a foot long which drew blood from the horse's mouth, subdued him, and after kicking and plunging in a hundred different directions, (every one being ready to give way before him) he at last took the wiser course of not thinking himself stronger than Diego Garcia, who sat as if nailed to his saddle-bow, smiling at his ineffectual efforts.

"The flower of the Italian youth accompanied the Spanish barons. Ettore Fieramosca rode between his two dearest friends, Inigo Lopez de Ayala, and Brancalione, wearing a mantle of blue satin, embroidered with silver, the work and gift of the ladies at S. Ursula. All allowed that he was the best rider in the army. The horse that bore him this day was a pearl-coloured one, with black mane and tail, the gift of Prospero Colonna, and he had trained him with such care that he seemed to know his master's wishes without the aid of bridle or spur.

"Fieramosca was one of those who seem to have the gift of attracting all attention wherever they appear.

"His perfectly formed figure was shown to advantage by a vest of white satin fitting so closely to his person that it scarcely wrinkled with the motion of his limbs, and his graceful form and manners were so striking that as the cavalcade passed along the streets, the people looked at him only, and on him alone did they bestow their applause. The youth perceived his triumph, and blushed to find himself almost guilty of a weakness which we scarcely pardon in the softer sex.

"Lastly came the Esquires of these warriors, and as it was the fashion then for every noble to provide himself with Esquires of various nations, (the more strange and barbarous the better), so now amongst these might be seen Turkish spahis with small scale-like cuirasses, scimitars, and cangiaris; natives of Grenada armed with moorish javelins, and Tartar archers. Of these last were two followers of Prospero Colonna, dressed in the most brilliant colours, with bows and quivers of silver. There were negroes from upper Egypt, carrying long spears, and the wild countenances of all these strangers contrasted with the European faces around them, formed a picture of considerable beauty and variety."

The liveliness of this extract must be our apology for its length. The evening banquet is also glowingly described, in terms that remind one of fairy land, picturing the gorgeous dresses, the quaint devices, and all the usual concomitants of such occasions in the

fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. One touch of pathos occurs in a reference to a son of the French king, the Duc de Nemours.

"The Duke of Nemours radiant with youth and health, and with that grace so universal amongst his countrymen, offered his hand to Donna Elvira, and lead her to her seat. Who could have foretold at that moment, to that young prince, who appeared destined to a happy and glorious existence, that in a few days those brilliant eyes, those graceful limbs, would be cold and motionless, extended on a lowly bier in the little Church of Cerignola, and that the transient regret of Gonsalvo would be the last emotion he should awaken in a human heart?"

Far different on this night of gaiety are the thoughts and occupations of the unfortunate Ginevra. She has heard that her worthless husband, Graiano, of whose continued existence she had long been doubtful, is not only alive, but actually in the town of Barletta. She immediately hastens to the Church attached to the monastery, and it would be difficult, we think, to match, from any recent works of fiction, the extreme beauty and truthfulness of the scene which follows.

"There was no one in the Church, and seating herself on the lowest steps of the choir, which happened to be near, she remained long, with her head buried in her hands, and her elbows resting on her knees, to recollect herself, with a mind confused amidst so many thoughts, that she could scarcely be said really to entertain any one.

"Behind the High Altar, eight or ten steps led down into a small subterranean chapel, where five silver lamps burned day and night, before a picture of the Blessed Virgin, said to have been painted by S. Luke. The miracles which fame reported to have been worked here, had in fact occasioned the building, both of the Church and Monastery. The chapel was a hexagon in form, and on the side opposite to the steps, appeared the altar and the picture; at every angle there was a pillar, with a capital worked in bold and luxuriant leaf work, after the ancient manner: from each column sprang one of the ribs of the roof, which all met at the top, and were covered with a circular stone, like a mill-stone, with a hole in its centre, about a foot wide, covered with an iron grating, and opening into the Church above, just in front of the High Altar: a pale sunbeam came in at the stained glass windows of the Church, and found its way through that aperture, under-ground. In the darkness, but slightly illuminated by the faint reddish light of the lamps, this ray was distinctly visible, forming a narrow line of light in the air, and painting on the pavement the hues of the glass above, and the shadow of the grating through which it had entered. Ginevra advanced to kneel before the Altar, and in crossing the sunbeam's path, its light, reflected on her azure dress, shone for an instant, illumining the little chapel with a flash of pallid radiance.

* * * * *

"Memory brought before her all her past life, the innocent pleasures

of childhood, the sweet affections of youth, the first words of love, and the first sad feelings of sorrow, then all the weight of woe and misery she had undergone since her unhappy marriage: she thought what these last few years had been, a constant struggle between a few joys, (and those anything but pure,) and many bitter sorrows and regrets.

* * * * *

"And now, when shaken by so many trials, she had almost desired to follow the voice which seemed to call to her, but had not found strength to do so; now Divine Providence spoke even more loudly, and placed her, as it were, in the path she ought to follow, by so unexpectedly sending tidings of her husband. 'Every doubt,' she murmured, 'is now removed, whilst it was uncertain whether he yet lived, there might be some excuse for me, but now can I go on thus?'

* * * * *

"Ginevra possessed a strong and well tempered mind, and consequently could not long remain in this state of indecision; 'Can I,' she proceeded at last firmly, 'can I live any longer in such constant self-reproach; can I entirely relinquish the hopes, or extinguish the terrors, of a future life?—No. Then let me do as I feel to be right, without regard to any other consideration; and may the sufferings I dread, be accepted as some atonement for my faults; and thou, Mother Divine, thou wilt have pity on me in this world and in the next. Should Graiano refuse to pardon me, what can he do to me? Kill me? My immortal soul will fly to the presence of God, and will have some fruits of penance to offer for mercy and forgiveness.'

"After one last earnest prayer, she rose and ascended the steps into the Church, with a firm and rapid step, as if she hoped, by her haste, to strengthen her resolution, and shutting herself in her chamber, sat down to consider the means of executing her determination."

Fieramosca, weary of the bustle, the excitement, and even of the fascinations of Gonsalvo's daughter, Donna Elvira, (who is much struck with the young Italian,) and touched by the thought, that Ginevra is meanwhile mourning in her monastic retreat, makes an excuse, "valid," as Azeglio remarks, "in the sixteenth as in the nineteenth century," and begging a friend to assure Gonsalvo that he was suffering from violent headache, seeks to retire to his quarters. But on the way he is met by one of the bandits, of whom the reader has already heard. This man having received kindness at the hands of Ginevra, has come to inform him that her retreat has been discovered by Cæsar Borgia, and that she is to be taken thence by violence that very evening. Fieramosca in agony of mind, rushes to the shore, followed by Inigo and Brancaloneone. The three, after some delay, succeed in procuring a boat, and in manning it. They strain every nerve, and after reaching the little island, and waiting some minutes, they see a boat approach with three men and a lady in it. They two parties attack each other furiously: Fieramosca mistaking the party for Borgia's men and Ginevra, and

the other crew (in reality led by the young robber who had brought the warning to Ettore,) mistaking in the dusk the leader of their opponents for Borgia himself. On Borgia, this bandit, Pietraccio by name, had long vowed vengeance, for his own mother had been numbered among the victims of the duke.

Fieramosca is left wounded to the care of the lady, who is not Ginevra, but Zoraide, in great fear as to what may have happened to the real object of his search, and in equal dread, lest his condition should render it impossible for him to appear as one of the thirteen champions in the lists of the morrow. At length he hears that Ginevra has fled from the island, and implores his friends to do all in their power to discover some traces of her steps.

We must return to Barletta. At the foot of its fortress was a rocky hiding place, opening by two or three steps upon the sea. Above caroused Gonsalvo and his guests; below in this small chamber lay concealed one, whose presence was known to none of that numerous assembly but the great Captain only. This was Cæsar Borgia: after writing much, and reading some letters from the Pope, his father, which threw him into a deep reverie, he paced up and down his little tenement, till the sounds of revelry grew so loud, that he thought that they must be approaching closer. He opened the door, when his eye was caught by the sight of a boat, which in the darkness he at first imagined to be empty, but a moment's delay convinced him that sounds of lamentation were issuing from it.

Coming nearer he beholds a female figure. She was weeping bitterly, her hands clasped in the attitude of prayer. Borgia having lifted her from the boat, bears her to his chamber, and great is his astonishment on discovering in the almost lifeless form before him, the long sought-for Ginevra—Ginevra, who in her attempt to seek out her husband had actually, in her ignorance, brought herself to the door of her great persecutor.

The story hastens to its melancholy close. Ginevra's dishonour is sealed, and Borgia being rejoined by his follower, Michele, leaves Barletta before dawn to pursue his schemes of aggrandisement at Rome.

Ginevra herself is discovered on the following morning, extended insensible at the bottom of the boat, that had carried her so fatally the night before. At Gonsalvo's request the noble Vittoria Colonna tends her with a sister's care, and a priest, Fra Mariano, is brought to calm her troubled spirit. This priest is represented (as indeed are most of his brethren, to whom the author attributes any extraordinary share of earnestness and self-devotion) as being a follower of Savonarola.

His attachment to that enthusiast had brought Mariano into trouble. He was said to have broken an engagement to a noble Florentine lady, being won to the priesthood by the eloquence of Savonarola.

"These were the reports concerning him. But the keenest enmity could not discover a blot on his character. The severe teaching of Savonarola had found in his heart a soil prepared for the seed, and assisted by his natural disposition, a readiness to sacrifice everything for truth, had indeed borne ample fruit of charity and earnest zeal.

"The stake where his master had suffered had, as it were, consumed with him his whole party; and dread of papal vengeance had silenced all those who still detested the abuses of the Court of Rome. Fra Mariano lived tranquilly in his retreat, content, since God had not thought him worthy to suffer for the truth, that he was not compelled to witness evils which he had not the power to remedy."

His attendance on Ginevra is but short. In a few hours she is no more, but her death is concealed from Fieramosca, who finding himself sufficiently recovered to enter the lists, returns in the morning to Barletta, where he and his comrades prove triumphant. But in the evening he comes to Vittoria to inquire for Ginevra, and is informed (for the lady desired to defer the fatal intelligence) that Ginevra is again at S. Ursula. And so in truth she was, having been conveyed thither at her own request to be buried in that little chapel, where she had knelt in such earnest prayer for Divine guidance and protection. Fieramosca arrives in time to see the last rites over the object of his first and latest love. After a few moments of stupefaction he remounts his charger, though a storm is raging round, and spurring him madly along the rocky summit of the island, was never seen again by mortal eye. Relics of spurs, gauntlets, and other knightly accoutrements being found by the poor fishermen of the place, it was charitably presumed that in his bewilderment he had got entangled among the rocks, and urging his horse had fallen into the waves below.

Such is the outline of Azeglio's tale. Its leading features must strike English readers as somewhat painful and even repulsive, nor can we wish such sentiments on their part to be eschewed. But whatever the plot may appear in the disadvantageous form of an epitome, it is impossible to deny to it, as it stands in the original volume, the merit of skilful construction and the power of keeping up the reader's interest and excitement to its latest page. The characters are felicitously drawn; even Cæsar Borgia is never suffered to degenerate into the common-place villain. Who indeed that had ever gazed on his picture by Raphael, as it meets the eye, and almost speaks, in the Borghese Palace at Rome, could ever think of him as such? For better uses was given that commanding spirit, which even on the canvass looks through the outer form; and Azeglio, though dwelling much on the perturbed restlessness of the Duke's eye and gesture, yet not unreasonably imagines for him some seasons of awe and momentary compunctious meditation.

The hope of seeing his beloved Italy an united, great, and powerful country pervades the entire story. As an obstacle in the way of the realization of this vision, and one chief cause why it has

not ere now become a living fact, instead of a poet's dream, the author looks with suspicion upon the temporal power and past political influence of the Popedom. It is indeed only just and right, that in days when we hear much that is very true concerning the beneficial influence of that power, when (as even Mr. R. C. Trench has been compelled to admit) it is so generally confessed "that Papal Rome of the middle ages had a work of God to accomplish for the taming of a violent and brutal world, in the midst of which she often lifted up the only voice which was anywhere heard in behalf of righteousness and truth ;"* it is only right, we say, to listen to reasonable representations which would urge us to reflect upon the weighty and important exceptions to the beneficial character of that temporal might and sway. The abstract question is not however of necessity deeply touched by such considerations. The circumstance that Anselm was a saint, and William Rufus a man of almost fiendish passions, does not of itself prove the justice of all the claims made by the Archbishop, and by the Papal See through him. Neither on the other hand do our author's pictures of the evil use made of that power by Popes Alexander VI. and Clement VII. of necessity convince us that the Continental Church could have (humanly speaking) survived so many shocks without the union of a sceptre with its crosier. But it is not, as we have already implied, our purpose to enter upon this large subject. Whatever be the objections to the reasonings and to portions of the plot of this tale, and that of *Niccolo de'Lapi*, we cannot but feel for their author much sincere admiration and respect. Living in the great world, he is not ashamed to be religious ; and a genuine modesty adorns his genius with an ornament than which none can be more graceful. While the most popular fictions of France are the compositions—often loathsomely horrible, often flagrantly immoral—of such men as Dumas, and the Socialist, Eugene Sue, it is refreshing to be able to refer the student of Italian to tales so admirable as those of Manzoni and his son-in-law, Massimo d' Azeglio.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES.

Stories of Holy Men and Women. By the Author of "Hymns and Scenes of Childhood." London : Masters.

THE author of this little work is well known as particularly happy in her mode of writing for children. It is a task of infinite difficulty, but one in which this last attempt proves her to be really successful. There cannot be more useful reading for young persons than that

* Trench's Sacred Latin Poetry, p. 163.

which gives them in language at once pleasing and suited to their comprehension the history of those who have so truly wrought for the Faith in this world that now, when resting from their labours, their works do follow them; especially the author has skill not only to win admiration for their holy examples, but to excite also the desire of imitation. We heartily wish all success to this little book; and we would merely add a caution to the author to be very careful in her choice of subjects when she writes for the young: a mere detail of facts will sometimes convey a bad impression, however good a lesson may be drawn from them. In a work exclusively intended for the innocent minds of little children, we should have preferred to see the histories of Afra and Theodata omitted.

Mr. JACKSON, of S. James', Westminster, has published a Confirmation Address, entitled *The Spirit of the World, and the Spirit which is of God* (Skeffington and Southwell.) Viewed dogmatically it is wanting in exactness, and scarcely fit to be put forth as a model; but if intended merely for private circulation among his flock, it will command that respect which is always given to earnest and affectionate pastoral exhortation.

A Plea for Parochial Boarding-Schools, by Mr. J. C. Cox, of S. Nicolas, Guildford, (Rivingtons,) touches a very important truth, viz., that our ordinary parish-schools are quite inadequate for forming character; and that if we desire to elevate the moral and social condition of the people, it must be done by bringing at least a few under a better system of early discipline than what they are likely to meet with at home. The main objection (beyond the mere fiscal one) to his plan of receiving a limited number of boarders into our parochial schools, is the incompetency of the ordinary run of masters to effect the object desired. We should have more hope from the establishment of a distinct order of schools on the collegiate model, just outside our large towns, where boys could be educated for about £1 or 15s. per month.

MR. IRONS' volume comparing the two judgments of the Arches Court and the Privy Council (Masters) reached us as we were going to press. We have seen enough, however, to pronounce it a very valuable publication; and if any one desires a *conspectus* of the whole case, he cannot do better than procure a copy of this work. Mr. Irons here quite recovers the ground which he *appeared* before to abandon, as well (we must be allowed to say) as his own temper. He admits that no previous cases of State oppression at all parallel our present position; that "our prospects are dark, and that our dangers must be arrested *now or never*."

The BISHOP OF RIPON's *Pastoral Letter* to his clergy is also a very important gain on the same side.

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THE ECCLESIASTIC

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COLLEGES : THEIR STATUTES AND THEIR DUTIES.

A Letter to the Provost of Eton College, on the election of Scholars to the two Foundations of King Henry VI. By GEORGE WILLIAMS, B.D., Fellow of King's College, Cambridge. J. H. Parker and J. Deighton.

THOUGH a slender pamphlet, and relating but to the institutions of a single founder, this letter touches the whole principle of Mediæval Foundations. To discover palpable evils in the administration of these bodies, as well as manifold departures from the expressed will and direction of founders, is an easy task. To throw in a little ridicule* also upon the notions of preceding generations, and a little abuse and misrepresentation on those who now enjoy their bounty, is a temptation which few who write or speak on this subject can altogether resist. Very different, as our readers will expect, is the character of Mr. Williams' pamphlet. Severe and unsparing as regards all actual malversations, the writer depicts very faithfully the spirit in which their reformation should be attempted. The time chosen for publication too is most seasonable. The public mind, which is hardly reached by abstract arguments, is easily wrought upon, when cases of wrong, or supposed wrong come before their eyes : more especially if the sufferer happens to be in a lower rank, and the oppressor in a higher. Now

* Oftentimes this is based upon a misconception of what their intention really was. Thus the popular idea at Oxford is, that Archbishop Chichele, the munificent founder of All Souls College, made an express provision against his Fellows having too much learning. The statutable provision is, that they be "bene nati, bene vestiti et modice docti in plano cantu." In popular quotations the three last words are omitted, and an emphatic contrast supposed between the words "bene" and "modice."

all these conditions have met recently in the case of Whiston *versus* the Dean and Chapter of Rochester. The claim of that gentleman for redress has not indeed succeeded; but the spark fell upon materials ready for ignition; and after smouldering awhile, the fire has burst forth in the form of a Royal Commission to inquire into the Colleges of Oxford and Cambridge. There is not any doubt, we apprehend, that it was Mr. Whiston's pamphlet which kindled Lord John Russell's latent animosity to the Universities into the energetic form of a royal inquiry. A Whig and an Arnoldian, he could not but hate an educational system whose pride it has been to train its youth in submission to a traditional faith. In this he is encouraged by a small, but active liberalizing party in Oxford, as well as by a hostile Germanizing spirit in a high quarter; and the occasion is found not so much in any abuse that has been proved to exist at either University, as in those which Mr. Whiston has brought to light in the kindred foundations of the cathedrals.

It is a subject on which we have spoken more than once: but the assault with which the Universities are now threatened renders it most important to distinguish between actual and imaginary defects, as well as to propound just views for the correction of what is amiss.

The charges brought against the Universities, and specially against Oxford—though we repeat, the hidden spring and source of the movement is a long-cherished hatred of the spirit of the place,—as far as we can gather from what has been written and spoken, are three in number.

1. The refusal to throw open all endowments to competition.
2. The regulations by which the tutorial system is governed.
3. The inadequacy of the results as regards education in comparison with the means possessed by the several colleges.

We will consider these objections in their order.

1. There is a great set made against what are called close foundations, i.e., the maintaining and continuing those restrictions which were imposed by founders upon their benefactions. This is readily to be accounted for. In the arena of the University, as of the world at large, there must of course be many disappointed competitors. It is a sore trial to the self-love of an ambitious man to see preferred before him, an individual not coming from a distance, and invested by fame with the prestige of high distinction, but one known to him, and possibly on some imaginary or accidental ground despised. Few there are who can forgive such an affront. They are always ready to retaliate on *the system* which has excluded them. Two* such disappointed spirits are now

* One of these gentlemen, we are informed, before he took the bolder line of advocating "University Reform," was accustomed to vent periodical attacks upon the college which rejected him, till at last he was silenced by the information that his exami-

clamouring through the public press for University Reform, and the age which prides itself so much on its intellectuality, lends a ready ear to these complaints. But we are prepared to maintain that there is no ground, either in justice or expediency for departing from the exact letter of statutes generally, as regards the election of scholars or fellows. It may be, as Mr. Williams points out in his letter to the Provost of Eton, that many unworthy elections take place: but this arises not from an undue scrupulosity in electors adhering to their Statutes, but from a culpable neglect of them. Professing to observe these Statutes, they in fact disregard them. Thus of the three first conditions required by King Henry VI. every one is disregarded. His foundations are not restricted to "poor scholars;" and for the election to King's, no inquiry, save in extreme cases, is made whether the candidates be "*bonis moribus et conditionibus perornati*," and "*conversacionis honestæ*," nor yet whether they be "*habiles ad studium . . . lecturâ, plano cantu, et Donato competenter instructi*;" but they are elected almost as a matter of course: or when any departure from this rule is made, the election is determined by mere scholarship. We will state this in Mr. Williams' own words, begging our readers to remember, that what is here said of the Eton Statutes, applies to most of the so-called close colleges in the Universities, at least in Oxford. The foundations are for the most part limited to schools or counties, but always conditionally upon the diligence and good morals of the candidate.

"The Statutes require aptitude for study, which is to be tested by proficiency in reading, music, and grammar. I shall not stop to ask why the second item is disregarded, but only express my regret that it is so. But, since the Statutes only require a competent knowledge in these particular branches of learning, it is clear that the boys ought not to be classed according to scholarship merely. Regard is also to be had to other considerations, some of which have been above mentioned, and others will be noticed below. They are to be examined as to their competency in learning, according to a general standard fixed by the Examiners; if they come up to that standard, they are to be preferred according as they answer to all the conditions; if they do not, they must be absolutely rejected. No one can pretend that this has of late been the practice in the elections for Eton or King's; the order of statutable qualification has been disregarded from partiality to the best scholars; and the requirement of competent learning has been dispensed with, in favour of the idle and incompetent. I shall move the pity of an enlightened age for the Founder, and perhaps provoke the good offices

nation papers had been preserved, and that if he continued to complain of injustice, the college would be compelled to publish them, in order to prove his intellectual unfitness for the Fellowship which he sought. We mention this just to show that it is not always, as some would represent the matter, a contest between intellect and dulness.

of the Royal Commissioners to reform an institution that retains so much of the barbarism of the dark ages; but the truth must be spoken. Our Founder's object was not to reward first-rate ability; he expressly says it was not in one of our Statutes; it was not remarkable talent, but good principle, patient diligence, plodding industry, that he designed to encourage. No drones, as he calls them, were to find place in his hive. Laborious students, not clever idlers, are the staple of which his Scholars are to be formed;—Men, not so much of brilliant parts, as with a fair amount of ability, and a conscientious desire to apply it to the ends which he had in view, namely,—‘*ad laudem, gloriam, et honorem nominis Crucifixi, et gloriosissimæ Virginis Mariæ matris ejus, sustentationem et exaltationem fidei Christianæ, Ecclesiæ sanctæ profectum, divini cultûs liberaliumque artium scientiarum et facultatum augmentum.*’ The method of election contemplated by the Founder was obviously never intended to encourage that spirit of rivalry, which is the bane of the modern systems of education, and so very injurious to the moral character of the young; which so often rewards the less deserving, and acts as a discouragement to humble merit; and I cannot but regret that this spirit of competition has been introduced so extensively in the election examinations.”

Another departure from the statutes of the founder which Mr. Williams notices, is the neglect to maintain a choir at Eton, from the boys of which, as well as that at King's, no less than from King Henry's College, Fellows ought, under certain conditions, to be elected. With great truth does he remark, that “the most salutary reform, and the only one that could be with safety adopted, would be a nearer conformity to the statutes.” And he avows his conviction that—

“The principle of close exhibitions is both wise and pious, deducible as a necessary consequence from the maxim laid down by the highest of all authorities, that ‘if any provide not for his own, and especially for those of his own house, he hath denied the faith, and is worse than an infidel.’ The places and parishes in which the spiritual and temporal possessions of the two Colleges lie, most reasonably appeared to the Founder to possess the first claims on his bounty; next, the counties in which the Colleges are respectively situated, and, afterwards, any county in England. This order is most distinctly marked by *primo, deinde, postea*. The evident meaning of the third and fourth Statutes is, that, after the general competency of the candidates has been ascertained by examination, they should be placed on the indentures, in an order determined by these considerations.”

Most thankful are we to Mr. Williams for this explicit avowal. Though not prepared, with Sir Robert Inglis, to maintain the exact status quo of the Universities, we deny the right of visitors, or the legislature, or any authority whatever to dispense with the observance of those conditions under which Founders have bequeathed their endowments, unless it can be shown that positive evil accrues

from their continuance. In the instance before us, no such allegation is ventured. Certain persons think doubtless conscientiously that they could appropriate the funds to greater advantage ; but as such a proceeding is not allowed in reference to the disposition of private property, so neither is it consistent with justice or equity to deal otherwise with foundations that have descended to our guardianship. The most that even this world can demand is, "to do what it will with *its own*." To seize upon the property of our ancestors and to alienate it from the objects prescribed appears to us under present circumstances nothing short of positive robbery, such as should, if it does not, justify the heirs-at-law of the several founders and benefactors in resuming the grants of their respective ancestors. There is of course, we admit, a power residing in the supreme authority of any nation to determine that certain specified appropriations of money are injurious to the general welfare. Although the recent tendency of legislation has been to enlarge the bounds of toleration to the utmost conceivable limit, still we suppose the establishment of Idolatry, for example, might even now be objected to. But to interfere with property that is fulfilling a useful end in strict conformity with the wills of the testators, is in fact to go back to the age of penal laws (for it is in fact a confiscation of that property to the national treasury) ; and it is to aim a blow at the security of all property. If College property is not to be respected, why should Church property, which has a much more distant title ? And if it is expedient that the bequests of Stapledon and Eggesfield and others should violently be diverted, simply because they have been long enough in the present channel ; or because a certain party at the present day who grudge their own money have schemes of their own, which they are anxious to promote, what claim can the descendants of William's Norman Barons show why their feoffs should not be confiscated and re-distributed for the benefit of the million ? Or, to come to later times, why should the representatives of Dutch and German favourites be exempted from the operation of the same principle ? With much greater justice might the legislature seize upon the estates of Blenheim than interfere with the property of a single College in Oxford. In the last century indeed a faithless Parliament proceeded to the very utmost limits of that right which power is supposed to confer in passing the infamous Mortmain Act. But to contemplate an *ex post facto* enactment of a similar tyrannical restriction which should reach back to the times of Henry II. (from whence our present College endowments date) would be an instance of the most monstrous iniquity. Practically there may be defects in the administration of this or that foundation (though we believe them to be but few) ; but the statutes themselves will in almost every instance be found (as in the case of Eton and King's Colleges) to supply the remedy. And to this we trust the

Colleges—and their visitors—will look most jealously. Misappropriation on their side would be infinitely a greater sin, than on the side of a creedless Parliament. The words of the Apostle are surely applicable in such a case—"Thou therefore which teachest another, teachest thou not thyself? thou that preacheest a man should not steal, dost thou steal?" Further, there is an argument which should weigh with politicians, that if endowments are thus to be diverted from their original purpose, there is very little probability that any fresh ones will be given. And with the present disinclination to bear taxation or to maintain the necessary machinery for religious and educational objects, it is hard to say what other resource we can look to.

II. We come next to the arrangement of the Tutorial system and its relation to the rival system of Instruction by professors. One great object of the reforming party is to destroy, as far as possible, the former of the two, and to substitute compulsory attendance on courses of professors' lectures. Such originally was the aim of the party in question; to which they have since added a kind of compassionate idea that the Colleges will not be able to supply the necessary tutors for the examinations under the statute. Now, in reference to the two objections to the present state of things, out of which these proposals professedly take their rise, we would observe in the first instance, that the latter by implication destroys the weight of the former. The Professorial system, it is complained, has not had fair play given it; the attendance at college lectures being compulsory, that upon professors' optional. Now, supposing this to be a fair statement of the case, its operation would only continue adverse to the popularity of the Professors so long as the lectures of the College tutors supply all the instruction that is required for the Schools. The moment this begins to fail either in quality or quantity, so soon will the demand for the professors commence. The real reason why men do not frequent the professors, is, that they get what they want more conveniently at home. The Tutorial system has fairly ousted the Professorial, and is quite entitled, we cannot but think, to the place that it has won. In the first place, it is the only one which can pay any regard to the discipline or moral habits of the students. A professor ordinarily is not acquainted with those who attend his lectures. If he secures their bodily presence with some degree of regularity it is as much as can be expected. What their manner of life may be at home he is of necessity quite ignorant. The Universities (in our judgment very wisely) have determined for many centuries to prefer that kind of personal responsible training which is implied in each individual being placed under the discipline of a College and under the care of a special tutor, to leaving students to roam from lecture room to lecture room; and we apprehend that they will not be willing, without much stronger cause than has yet

been shown, to depart from the long established rule. If they are wise, they will not wish to stimulate the intellectual at the expense of moral habits of patience, and industry, and order. Again, the professorial system is by the same rule unable to adapt itself to the individual wants and characters of students, and so must either sacrifice the few to the many, or the many to the few.

Further, it is far too dependent on the popularity, the ability or the energy of the one who happens to occupy the chair. Let the patronage of the professorships be vested where it may,—in government or convocation, or in trustees—a small proportion only of the body at any time existing will be really efficient and attractive. An indifferent appointment in the first place may chance to be made. A man may not have the necessary learning; or, possessing that, he may lack the faculty of communicating it. He may be personally unpopular, or indolent, or fail in health. It is a fact we believe, from whatever causes arising, that those who have resided longest in the Universities, will, without exception allow, that no professor has ever maintained his popularity beyond a period of ten years. His knowledge within that time has become public property; and meantime much of that energy which he once possessed has passed away. The Tutorial staff on the other hand is continually being renewed; and though occasionally the succession may, we quite admit, be too rapid, what is lost thereby in depth, we are persuaded is very sufficiently compensated by that youthful vigour of body and elasticity of mind which so soon give way before the habit of repeating certain fixed courses of lectures: to say nothing of that mental torpor which usually supervenes upon the married state, which is allowed to professors but denied to college tutors—and still more upon the inroad of advancing old age. There are at Oxford about thirty-six Professors and Readers in the various branches of learning pursued in that University; all of whom with the exception of Dr. Gaisford are at this moment, we believe, ready and anxious to be useful; and yet as a matter of fact there never are, at any one time more than five or six who can be said to have any influence upon the studies of the place. In this remark we except the faculty of divinity, which shall be considered by itself. It is not that the range of study is limited, but the popularity of the professor departs. In the last twenty years, for example, the popular favour has fluctuated between geology and theology, ancient history and modern history, Hebrew and chemistry, logic and moral philosophy, experimental philosophy and political economy. In the last century every one flocked to Blackstone's lectures upon the Laws of England; and the professors of Greek or astronomy may very possibly have their turns next. Once more, to show that there is not any peculiar system of patronage which is in fault, we will instance the five professors of theology. Of these not one is at this time attractive or capable of exercising any amount of influ-

ence upon the youth of the University. With the exception of Mr. Hussey, in fact, they are rather below than above par. And yet here we have every variety of appointment. In the Regius Professor the University was only too thankful to receive from government a pains-taking man of moderate abilities, and no theological views either good or bad. The Margaret Professor is appointed by the Graduates in theology, who is Dr. Faussett; Dr. Hawkins, the Exegetical Professor, was nominated by the Board of Heads of Houses; Mr. Hussey and Dr. Ogilvie received their appointments from a government friendly to the University, on the recommendation of certain officials who happened to be in their confidence. We do not think that it would be possible upon the whole to entrust these nominations to better hands, and yet it must be admitted that the fruit falls lamentably short of our expectations. There are no candidates for examination in theology: neither can it be said that the study of theology is advancing in the University. The professors at all events are not doing anything to raise up a living school of theology in England. In this branch of learning at least, the professorial system seems to have had a very fair trial in Oxford for the last few years, obviously under much more favourable circumstances than if it had to deal with undergraduates—and certainly the result is not so encouraging as to induce us to consent to give in exchange for it that more paternal and responsible system, under which our young men are now trained. It is a fact we believe beyond dispute, that Wells and Chichester with their very limited resources are at this time raising up more real *students of theology*, than is Oxford with her five endowed professors. And why is this? Simply because teaching there is individual and personal—in other words collegiate and not professorial.

How then does it happen, it will be asked, that in spite of all this accumulated experience, of which you speak, any are clamouring for the revival of the professorial system? We believe that there is but one answer, though we are aware that the statement of it will be very violently resented in certain quarters. The clamour proceeds from a party who are jealous of that tone of mind which is popularly considered inseparable from Oxford as it now is, which was unmistakeably indicated a week or two since, by the hooting of Prince Albert by the undergraduates in the theatre, and the enthusiastic cheering of the Bishop of Exeter and Dr. Pusey; and which we are glad to learn is now spreading to Cambridge. The result of the Professorial system, there is no denying it, is independence. The student is under no responsibility to the professor. He enters his class by inscribing his name in a certain book, and paying a certain fee. If the lectures are good, he carries away what he can by notes: if not, he either yields a listless and constrained attendance, or under a laxer system absents himself altogether. Mind

scarcely speaks to mind, much less to conscience. The tutorial system on the other hand, even if it be supposed to fail, (which we quite deny,) in stimulating the intellectual faculties, is at least conducive to habits of industry and order, and moral discipline; and, when religiously carried out, provides an effectual substitute for parental control.

Now the party in question are wise enough to see, that the more the professorial system is introduced, the more chance there is of liberalizing the University. Of the Oxford professorships, eleven appear to be in the patronage of the Crown; several others are in the hands of bodies who at this time would religiously exclude that kind of teaching which is hostile to the lovers of the German platform. Questionable as is the policy of such a motive, it is impossible to suppose that they are uninfluenced by it.

In these remarks, we have no desire to deny the usefulness of professors. They are in many ways most important helps to learning; but they are no substitutes for college tutors and lectures. And it is remarkable how completely this is demonstrated by the practice prevailing at both Universities. It is by no means true, as has been stated, that men are prevented attending the professors by the frequency of college lectures. They do attend other lectures in great numbers, (it is one of the evils against which the University authorities have to contend;) but they do not seek the instruction required in the promiscuous classes of a lecturer, but in the individual teaching of a private tutor. That is, a sense of their own wants drives them in the very opposite direction to that taken by the theorists against whom we are contending. We consider this fact is itself well nigh conclusive of the question at issue.

III. Lastly, it is charged upon the Universities that the amount of education afforded is not commensurate with the means which they possess. We quite admit this: we assert, that if all the societies in the two Universities were as jealous for the glory of God, and the good of His Church, as men should be who are enjoying the foundations of Merton, and Wykeham, and Chichele, and Waynfleet, not to mention such later founders as Sir Thomas White, more would certainly be done than is at present the case; and we shall presently state what we consider the Colleges referred to are bound to do. But we would remind the party who are now anxious to reform the Universities, that *they* have no right to appeal to this motive. Their great object is to secularize the Universities: to eliminate out of them that body of dogmatic teaching, and that spirit of allegiance to the Church as our common spiritual mother, which the statutes of the Founders show that they proposed as the great motive of action to all who should share their endowments. The fault of these colleges is, that they rest upon the letter of their statutes, which do not require them to educate any that are not upon their own foundation, and forget the great animating principle which

has been so solemnly enjoined upon them. For the last few years a very earnest effort has been made in Oxford to revive the spirit of an affectionate and religious devotion to the wills and minds of the great mediæval founders. Did this same party encourage it? On the contrary, their whole influence was used to cast contempt upon it, and bring it into disrepute. And now, when it is too late, men begin to discover that there is no other motive sufficiently strong to produce that love of God, and that conscientious and religious consecration of the entire faculties to a high end, which would at once reform everything that is amiss at either University.

We have admitted above, that what are called "the close colleges," were not originally founded for the purposes of general education. This should be thoroughly understood. They were foundations for the continual celebration of Divine Service; and were made the guardians of certain estates and manors for the perpetual benefit of the persons who should reside upon them, by educating their children, and providing for their pastoral care and instruction, but all in subordination to the great motive of advancing the glory of God, and the increase of His Church.

But now comes the further question. If not required by their statutes to provide education for all comers, how *are* they actually fulfilling what their founders would have them do? In one respect, they are not only absolved from complying with what their statutes ordain, but are forbidden to do so. We mean from formal periodical prayer and the offering of the great Eucharistic sacrifice for the souls of their founders. Such an interference on the part of the supreme executive and legislative authorities must doubtless be considered an extreme measure. But the case was an extreme one, and we conceive sufficiently justified the act. Such a power must reside in, or at least will be always claimed and exercised in great emergencies by, the popular will, which is ultimately in all cases the court of final appeal. It is in this way that revolutions are effected; and conscientious men learn to acquiesce in their results. But it behoves all friends of order and religion to beware how they give their sanction to such extreme steps. They are no precedents for ordinary times: but shake fearfully the whole social fabric. And if they are capable of being justified morally, it is only on the plea of a necessity which is above all law.

In every other particular the statutes remain as they were. Are they in the main obeyed? Without entering into any disputed questions of words, or on subtle points of casuistry, we are met at once on the threshold of our inquiry by the plain and patent fact, that all Fellows are intended to reside and prosecute their studies at the Universities; whereas in practice, we know a considerable proportion are serving cures in the country, or otherwise employed at a distance. How far there may be in some cases, a dispensing power, either in

the Heads or Visitors, we will not stop to inquire. Beyond such recognized non-residence there is, it cannot be denied, a vast amount of non-residence among Fellows of Colleges, which the statutes in no way contemplated, and do not justify. It is the one difficult point to deal with, when inquiry is made respecting the state of the Universities. And our difficulty consists in this : not in the costliness of the remedy that would be required for an abuse which is so far-reaching ; for there is no sacrifice that we would not advocate in order to promote a higher and more conscientious sense of duty amongst the beneficiaries of Oxford and Cambridge ; but, in the conviction that in the present state of things, no measure that could be named would act so prejudicially on the discipline of the place, as the enforcement of residence upon all Fellows. The congregation of a number of individuals to live together in a college, without something of the severity of a monastic rule would be a positive evil. The statutes themselves contemplate a mode of life, and a system of organization which it is impossible to revive. Fellows have long since ceased to consider themselves amenable to any rule beyond that of their own individual conscience. And the age will not tolerate the idea of grown-up men living under discipline. Luxury to a certain extent has invaded even halls and common rooms ; and as regards the private entertainments, and general expensiveness of living maintained by individual members, there is absolutely no check. To reside at the University without any stimulus to exertion, or without any positive employment beyond perhaps keeping the college accounts, is a severe trial to a man's character. We have known many men sensibly injured by being called into residence to act as Bursar, or Dean of their college. In the country perhaps, a man is a good deal in advance of his neighbours, has restored his church, maintains daily Service, is diligent at his schools and among the sick. He comes into residence, and you expect to find him on the side of strictness in the University. But no : by degrees he conforms himself to the most approved type of indolence ; drops the white neckcloth ; ceases to observe fasts and abstinences, keeps a horse, is seldom found at chapel, and becomes in short a mere clerical idler. It is almost impossible that it should be otherwise. He has no habits of study ; he has never been instructed in *plano cantu*, or perhaps his college, (like All-Souls,) though required to maintain a choir, has really none. It would be folly to attempt to act upon the letter of these statutes, while to destroy their spirit is the object of a large combination of parties—heads of houses, Arnoldites and Evangelicals at home, as well as of Lord John Russell and the Chancellor of Cambridge, who are both under the guidance of Chevalier Bunsen, among politicians. That same religious spirit which animated the great authors of College statutes, is, we are persuaded, the only safeguard for Fellows residing in the University without de-

finite employment. The world will not allow that spirit to be revived, and therefore the world must not think of enforcing residence.

But what ought the Colleges themselves to do? This is the question with which we are most concerned. They ought we think undoubtedly to seek under certain limitations to be relieved of the obligation. It is in every sense expedient, that the whole body of Fellows should not reside; and it is also certainly most expedient that the consciences of men should not lie under the burthen of statutes which they do not observe. But then we consider further, that persons have no right to escape from an existing obligation without some penalty or compensation; if they are relieved from one duty, they must expect to have another imposed upon them. And there is no doubt as to the terms on which the public will be willing to commute the obligation of residence. The public asks only for education; and would, we doubt not, be quite ready to give a full and honourable acquittal to Exeter and Balliol, and Trinity, and Oriel, and Queen's, and University, &c. in consideration of those Colleges having voluntarily opened their doors, for the purposes of education, and at their own cost built rooms and provided all other necessary accommodation, physical and intellectual, for large bodies of students. And as regards the few remaining Colleges, as All Souls, Magdalene, New College, Corpus Christi, and (in a certain sense,) Merton and S. John's, they would be quite ready to come to the same terms. "Fill your walls with students, and then we will not ask more of your fellows to reside than see well to do so for their own advantage, or are needed for carrying on the education of your undergraduate members."

It may be thought perhaps by some, that these Colleges have only to pass a Resolution at their next meeting to receive independent members upon their books, and all will be done. But in point of fact this is not so. The statutes in some cases at least are understood* to forbid the admission of any other members besides those on the foundation. It is a case then, we maintain, which calls loudly for the interference of Visitors. Since the days of Archbishop Laud, whose influence for good was felt to the very extremity of the English Church, the Visitorial Office has been well nigh in abeyance. High time it is, now, that we should call it again into active operation. It is just that authority which could set reforms that are really wholesome in motion: though in a certain sense external to the College, the visitor, as his name implies, is directly called upon to inquire into and correct all abuses. We should much like to hear of a consultation of Visitors; it is greatly to be desired that they should confer together upon the nature of

* Thus Magdalene College recently refused a large bequest of money for founding additional Fellowships on the express ground that their statutes forbade any augmentation of their Society.

the trust which has been confided to them, and upon the remedial measures which the times seem to demand.

Upon the whole then we conclude that upon the strict letter of the statutes, the objection last referred to cannot be maintained. It was not the intention of Chichele, and Fox, and Wykeham, and Waynfleet, to make their Colleges large educational establishments; but seeing that All Souls, New College, and Magdalene do only very imperfectly fulfil the *real* intentions of their founders, it is only in accordance with all the principles of equity that they should undertake some other work for which they are fitted, and which shall fall in with the general purpose intended in their foundation,—the advancement of God's glory and the profit of His Church. The obligation is, in one point of view, moral, as opposed to legal; though a legal exemption cannot be at all sustained, so long as the statutes are not acted upon, in all points lawful, as a whole. But we should prefer resting it on moral grounds. We desire to appeal directly to the consciences of those who are living upon the bounty of such men as Walter de Merton, and Archbishop Chichele. Of these surely we have a right to demand sacrifices. We do not ask them to do this, in order to stave off an inquiry, or as a stop to Government, but we ask them to do it in spite of Government.

We forbear pointing out what an opportunity might here be found for restoring the Order of Poor Scholars; but we will conclude with a portion of a lamentation recently expressed by Mr. Sewell, in the whole of which we quite concur,—“Oxford with its vast endowments for the poor, incompetent to frame a measure for bringing the poor within its shelter! Oxford, with the accumulations of centuries of charity, with its thousands upon thousands of annual revenue derived from the sale of the Scriptures of God, frittering away those sacred funds in cutting sixpences from its own taxation, building picture galleries without inquiring the cost, hoarding wealth to tempt spoliation, and then when the wisest of the day beseech of it an extension of its blessings to the poor, pleading poverty!”*

* “The legislation of the University of Oxford and the Hebdomadal Board.”—J. H. Parker.

MARRIAGES, AND THE MARRIAGE SERVICE.

(Continued from Vol. IX. page 343.)

THE Church having thus solemnized the union of the betrothed parties, proceeds now to ratify the marriage by the celebration of the Holy Communion, and by pronouncing the special sacramental benediction. This conclusion of the marriage office is of course performed in the chancel, and as the service has hitherto taken place in the nave by the church doors, an introit is rendered necessary, which is thus provided by the English order. "Then the minister or clerks going to the LORD's table, shall say or sing this Psalm following." The original rubric of Edward VI.'s first book, was, "Then shall they go into the quire, and the ministers or clerks shall say this Psalm following." The word "quire" was changed for "LORD's table," when in the next Prayer Book the Altar was brought down into the nave, and though now the chancels are ordered to be as they were in times past, and therefore the two directions, as far as we are concerned, are identical, yet every such use of the word "choir" would be valuable, as an authority for the appropriation of that part of the church for the performance of the service. It is very sad that the selection of the second book of Edward VI., instead of the first, for the basis of the subsequent reviews, should have almost invariably left us to defend all good customs and practices by inference rather than by authority. We may gather one point from the direction in question, viz., that the choir are intended to accompany the Priest to the church doors for the commencement of the service, instead of remaining in the stalls. The same also appears from the original rubric in the old manuals. "Hic intrant ecclesiam usque ad gradum altaris, et sacerdos in eundo cum suis ministris dicat hunc psalmum sequentem." The English office contains two psalms, either of which may be used at the discretion of the Clergyman. But the former, *Beati omnes*, should always be selected, as it possesses the authority of universal custom for its use in the marriage service. It has been supposed by some to have been composed originally for an Epithalamium, and having been used by the Jews upon the occasion of their nuptial festivities, to have been adopted into the ritual of the Catholic Church from the first. Its use by the Church of Constantinople is somewhat different from our own: the response, "Glory be to Thee, O our God, Glory be to Thee," is by that Communion inserted after each verse. We can discover no trace of any such doxology in the west, although every order of marriage that we have seen contains the Psalm. The reformers may have appointed another, for the sake of variety; but probably

from a feeling that there might be cases when the former would be inapplicable, as when the woman was past child bearing ; an hypothesis certainly confirmed by the insertion in the office of a prayer to be omitted in that case. The order of the procession from the church doors will be, first the Priest, then his assistant clergy and the choir, then the bridegroom and bride, who follow in silence, listening to the voice of the singers. How much we lose of impressiveness, what opportunities we throw away of working on the feelings by the cold dreary recital of such a psalm by the Priest and clerk. On arriving at the chancel, the Priest and his attendants proceed to the altar, and kneel down, to say the Kyrie Eleison, while the choir branch off to their places, and the man and woman prostrate themselves at the entrance of the screen. It is evident that they were not introduced at once into the chancel from a subsequent rubric, which assigns their position in the presbytery. In the English office, the Kyrie Eleison is placed after the Priest's turning round to the people, but that was evidently an accidental transposition. There could have been no possible reason for making the Priest turn westward to say the Kyrie, when in every old service it precedes that movement.*

The next rubric presents at first sight a great anomaly. "The Psalm ended, and the man and woman kneeling before the Lord's table, the Priest standing at the table, and *turning his face towards them*, shall say." Why is the Priest to turn towards them? Now it will appear from an examination of the old manuals, that the reformers contemplated no innovation upon the common practice. The same order is distinctly given word for word in the Hereford Manual. There is a different rubric in the Sarum Manual, but as far as turning round to the people is concerned, its intention must have been the same. It is as follows: "Tunc prostratis sponso et sponsa ante gradum altaris roget sacerdos circumstantes orare pro eis, dicendo;" then comes Pater Noster with the "*sed libera nos a malo*," as a response as usual; then the verses and responses, as we have them, and this benediction which we have not: "Oremus. Benedicat vos Dominus ex Sion, ut videatis quæ bona sunt Hierusalem omnibus diebus vitæ vestræ: et videatis filios filiorum vestrorum et pacem super Israel." The Hereford order is not quite the same, reversing the benediction and verses, and directing in the very words of our own office. "Tunc genuflectant vir et mulier coram altari: et sacerdos stans super gradum altaris verso vultu ad eos dicat: Benedicat vos, &c."† By comparing these, it will be seen that the reformers have given us the rubric of one

* The Kyrie Eleison is expressly ordered to be said, *sine notâ*—i.e., in Mediæval language, *sine cantu*. The object of this direction was obviously to gain expression by the sudden change from the joyous strains of the Psalm to the penitential tone of the Kyrie. Such hints may well be followed in our own service.

† Maskell, Mon. Rit. I. 50, Note 16.

ancient manual with the arrangement of another. But there is no real discrepancy between them. The Salisbury rubric does not indeed direct the Priest to turn round, but it directs him to call upon the bystanders to pray for the new married persons, "dicendo: Paternoster, &c." And he could not have done that without looking towards them. So that in any case the Priest must turn round, and we are to regard that gesture as commending the persons to the prayers of the congregation. The words which he utters are of course benedictory, (indeed the whole remainder of the service is benedictory,) and the answers which the people make are intercessory in accordance with the summons made to them. The Priest ought to accompany his verses with such a manner as will indicate that he is not uttering prayers, but benedictions, and extend his hand, as in the act of blessing the kneeling persons. Without this, the people will fail to understand his intention in turning westward, and will think it irreverent: with it, all will perceive the construction he puts upon the words. Thus we would have the Priest, after the Kyrie, approach the man and woman, and in a solemn under tone, invoke the blessing of God upon them, which will certainly illustrate the nature of his prayer. It is gratifying to find that what, as it stands in the Prayer Book, bears every appearance of Protestant irreverence, is in truth the legacy of a Catholic age. If the Clergyman, from any local circumstances, or from the arrangement of his Church, or otherwise, is unable to carry out the service as we have described it, it would be better to disregard the rubric altogether, and *not* turn his face westwards at all after the Psalm, till he comes to the final blessing.*

After the verses follow several prayers for a blessing upon the new married persons. These, with the exception of that beginning, "O God, Who by Thy mighty power hast made all things of nothing," occupy their proper position in the office. With regard to the final blessing, "ALMIGHTY GOD, Who at the beginning did create our first parents," Mr. Palmer says that it is to be found in the ancient manuals of the churches of Sarum and York, though not exactly in the place which it now occupies.† But in saying this, he must speak in reference to the former prayer of benediction, "O God, Who by Thy mighty power," which has been withdrawn from its own position after the Sanctus, and inserted in the midst of these prayers. These prayers are all benedictory, and should be said over the kneeling couple upon the same principle as

* It may be mentioned further, that there is another reason, besides the loss of the benedictory character of this part of the service, why the Priest should not turn westward, viz., that the rubric, as it now stands, harmonizes literally with the position which he is directed generally to assume at the Altar. He is required to stand "at the north-side," i.e. of course in front of the Altar, with his face towards the south-east. In other words, in so far as the ancient use was departed from, he is to turn "to the people."

† Orig. Lit. ii. p. 222.

the LORD's Prayer and verses. In the first collect, (in the original divided into two,) is to be observed the substitution of the example of Abraham and Sarah, for that of Tobias and Sarah, the daughter of Raguel. It may be a subject of regret that the reformers should have made this change, as there is not a church in the west which, on its order of matrimony, does not allude to that most exalted instance of God's blessing upon the marriage tie: "*Sicut misisti sanctum angelum tuum Raphaellem ad Tobiam et Sarah filiam Raguelis, ita digneris Domine mittere benedictionem tuam super istos adolescentes.*" The following prayer is to be omitted, when the woman is past child-bearing. Mr. Palmer finds the original of it in the collect which next ensues in the Sarum Manual, but the resemblance is not very striking. It is there accompanied by no such appropriation as is to be found in our own office, nor do we find any reference to such a contingency throughout that manual. In the Leofric Missal is a prayer given by Mr. Maskell "in sterilitate mulierum," which however does not occur here, but in the post Communion, and it is indeed properly a prayer, and not a benediction.

The following "O God, Who by Thy mighty power hast made all things of nothing," is the most remarkable of all these prayers, as containing the Sacramental benediction. It was accompanied by a very expressive ceremony, which the reformers discarded, who thereupon transferred it from its original place after the Sanctus, to the position it now occupies. It does not seem, however, that there is any rubric forbidding the use of this prayer in its proper place. It is indeed inserted before the final benediction, but without note or comment; and when there is a communion, it is very advisable to incorporate the two services as much as possible, so that this special benedictory prayer might very properly and effectively be introduced before the prayer of access, "We do not presume:" the blessing, "ALMIGHTY GOD, Who at the beginning," would then be given, the last turning before the Communion Service, and thus the ancient order would be literally followed, the sermon or exhortation being delivered in its proper place after the Nicene Creed.

The Sacramental benediction is contained in the clause, "O God Who hast consecrated the state of matrimony to such an excellent mystery, that in it is signified and represented the spiritual marriage and unity betwixt CHRIST and His Church." These words are expressly portioned off in the old books, thus:—" *Hic incipit benedictio sacramentalis.* Deus qui tam excellenti mysterio conjugalem copulam consecrasti ut Christi et ecclesiæ sacramentum præsignares in fœdere nuptiarum: *hic finitur benedictio sacramentalis;*" and they are so called, as the rubric informs us, "Quia in ista benedictione agitur de unitate Christi et ecclesiæ quæ figurata in primo matrimonio." Hence this benediction was never given in second marriages; all other benedictions,

on entering the Church, at the roodscreen, after Communion and elsewhere, were given indiscriminately, but this was appropriated to first marriages, because such only could be said to typify the indivisible unity there is between CHRIST and His Church. "Qui adhæret pluribus dissolvit unitatem vel fœdus unitatis, et ideo illa benedictio quæ agitur de unitate non dicitur in secundis nuptiis." And there was also another reason. It was received as an axiom of the Canonists, "Caro benedicta trahit ad se carnem non benedictam;" independently, therefore, of the defect in the sacramental symbolism above pointed out, the benediction would be redundant, inasmuch as one of the parties had already been blessed. And this principle led to some curious questions, of which the following instance may be thought interesting. The penalty inflicted on Priests who should pronounce the sacramental benediction on widows or widowers, was suspension from their benefices, till such time as they were absolved by the Supreme Pontiff. There was therefore an immense number of Priests who resorted to the Holy Roman See for Absolution. To relieve them of their burthen, Pope John XXII. allowed them to receive absolution from their own diocesans: reiterating, however, the Canon, that the Sacramental benediction was not to be twice given to the same person, and attaching the same punishment to disobedience. But there was this exception made, that persons who came to be married for the second time, one or both of whom had not received the benediction on their first marriage, should then be entitled to it; and the interpretation given by the York rubric of this was briefly as follows:—If a husband whose deceased wife was a widow when he married her, and who had not then received the benediction, because she had received it upon the occasion of her first marriage, marries with a widow, who in her turn, had not been blessed, because her first husband had been a widower, and received the benediction at his first marriage, then the benediction ought to be bestowed on their marriage, because neither of them had personally received it in their former marriages.

These cases may in themselves be uninteresting, and only interesting on account of their remote contingency, but their grave consideration in a service book affords a valuable testimony to the reverence with which the Church regarded the Sacrament of Marriage. Fathers, and councils, and rituals, have more or less, at all ages of the Church looked on second marriages with disapprobation. S. Ambrose says,—"*Primæ nuptiæ a Domino sunt constitutæ; secundæ vero permissæ. Primæ nuptiæ sub omni benedictione celebrantur; secundæ vero carent omni benedictione.*" Martene declares that the Church, though always acknowledging the validity of second marriages, and considering them true and undoubted sacraments, yet suffered them only in compassion to the weakness of humanity: "*ut certa incontinentiæ signa ægre tulit:*" and again

in very strong language, he thus expresses the opinion of many of the Fathers. "Immo ex antiquioribus Patribus non pauci bigamiam fornicatione et adulterio adnumerant."*

The strictness of the Eastern Church, however, far exceeds that of the Western, on the subject of second marriages. They who entered on a second marriage were prohibited from receiving the spotless mysteries for two years, and those who entered on a third for five years. A fourth marriage was altogether forbidden. The Euchologion contains a separate office (*εἰς δεύτερον*) for second marriages, and an extract from one of the prayers in their proper services will show very strongly the feeling of the Eastern Church against them. We give Mr. Neale's translation—“Thou that knowest the weakness of man's nature, its Maker and Creator, that didst forgive Rahab the harlot, and didst receive the repentance of the publican, remember not our sins of ignorance from our youth; for if Thou, LORD, wert extreme to mark what is done amiss, O LORD, who may abide it? Do Thou, LORD, who hast brought together into one house Thy servants, M. and N., unite them in love to each other; give them the conversion of the publican, the tears of the harlot, the confession of the thief; that through repentance of all their soul, working Thy commandments in unanimity and grace, they may be thought worthy also of Thy heavenly kingdom.”

As a mode of marking practically this displeasure at second marriages, the parties are not crowned, which is a ceremony so universal in first marriages, as to give the name to the whole rite.† But indeed it were needless to multiply arguments in proof

* Lib. I. ix. 1—4.

† Marriage among the Greeks is called “coronation,” from the ceremony employed by them of crowning the new married persons with crowns or garlands. “In Russia, the crowns are of gold, or silver, or tin, according to the wealth of the Church. In Greece they are of olive branches; the following is the form given by Goar in the Euchology. After certain prayers, the priest takes the crowns and crowns first the bridegroom, saying “M. the servant of GOD is crowned for N. the handmaid of GOD in the Name of the FATHER, and of the SON, and of the HOLY GHOST.” This he saith thrice, making the sign of the cross. Then he crowns also the bride, saying, “N. the handmaid of GOD is crowned for M. the servant of GOD in the Name of the FATHER, and of the SON, and of the HOLY GHOST.” This thrice in like manner. Then he blesseth them saying, “LORD our GOD, crown them with glory and honour.”—From this ceremony is derived the name given to marriage. Hence *αστεφανῶντα νυμφεύματα* are marriages clandestinely performed and *στεφανοῦσθαι* and *στεφάνωμα* are merely synonyms for marriage.” (See Mr. Neale's Introduction, p. 1031.) The symbolism of the practice is thus to be explained. They who are admitted by the Church to the holy estate of matrimony, are supposed by her to have hitherto overcome the temptations of the flesh, and to be worthy of the conqueror's reward. Thence impure persons even when married were never crowned, and the ceremony was not used in second marriages with a similar import, because as Bingham says, (Lib. xxii. 4, 6,) though they were not absolutely condemned as unlawful, yet they were not reckoned so honourable as their first. It appears to have been, like many Christian observances, of heathen origin: harmless in itself, and perhaps unmeaning, but turned into gold when touched with the wand of Christianity.

of the universal abhorrence of the Church to second marriages: but the temper of the times has changed; Christians of all denominations have come to regard them in a different light, and we cannot see that Roman Catholics are one whit less culpable in this respect than others. There may be great force in Mr. Newman's ridicule of the English Church as the exponent not of Catholic truth, but of the national spirit. We ask how it is that ancient canons are utterly disregarded by his whole communion, when the force of custom happens to square with their convenience?—or does he consider it the legitimate result of developement to sanction the introduction of novelties in morality as well as novelties in faith?

But to return to the prayer, "O God, who by Thy mighty power," it was placed, as we have said, after the Sanctus—where it may still be used if such a transposition be not considered too violent a change from established custom. It was accompanied by a ceremony which most of the western rituals contain. The new married persons are made to kneel in front of the altar, while four clergy in surplices hold a pall over them during this prayer, after which they are uncovered, and the holy Communion proceeds. The reformers thought fit to dispense with this rite, but although they abolished the ancient form, yet in translating the sacramental benediction, they take care to preserve the full force of the expression, keeping it as in the original totally distinct from the preceding and succeeding clauses. It must remain with the priest to decide whether he shall omit the clause or not in solemnizing second marriages. The office gives no directions at all about such marriages; it must be left therefore to his own judgment to make such alterations in his manner as may be proper.

The position of the married persons during the holy Communion would be different from that which they have hitherto occupied if the ancient usages were revived. There were three distinct stations for the performance of the service according to the old ritual. The first in the porch, "ante ostium"—the second at the entrance of the roodscreen, "ad gradum altaris" where the LORD's prayer sentences and benedictions were given—the third on the south side of the presbytery or sacarium where they were posted during the holy Communion. The rubric which assigns this last position is as follows:—"Finitis orationibus quæ dicebantur super eos prostratos ad gradum altaris: et introductis illis in presbyterium scilicet inter chorum et altare, ex parte ecclesiæ australi, et statuta muliere a dextris viri videlicet inter ipsum et altare: incipiat officium." This was just in front of the sedilia. This is one of the passages which a learned writer in the *Ecclesiologist* examines with a view to distinguishing by a more accurate term that portion of the chancel which in common language is called the sacarium. "The presbytery is the space," he says, "included between the steps immediately to the east of the choir proper, and the screen behind the high altar."

Into the sacrum, then, or presbytery, or sanctuary, or whatever other name it may bear, the new married persons were introduced during the first part of the liturgy. And this would be a very impressive form to carry out, as it would make the Holy Communion a personal object to themselves, and would relieve the service of a great difficulty which occurs when the bridegroom and bride are anxious to communicate but other members of the bridal party refuse. The priest would be able to separate the parties themselves by this means, while the non-communicants wait without in the nave.

The Communion Service would proceed as usual till after the Nicene Creed. Here would follow the exhortation or the sermon. It would very materially assist the solemnity of the service, if a sermon were sometimes delivered instead of the oft-repeated familiar homily given in the Prayer Book. Great delicacy would doubtless be required by the preacher in exactly adapting his advice to the position of the parties in society without offending them; but when done judiciously, the effect would doubtless be very beneficial. We may remark here an inaccuracy, which must have been purely accidental, in the wording of the rubric before the exhortation, in Edward VI.'s first book. The sermon or exhortation is directed to be said after the *gospel*, which must of course have been a mistake, and it is worth noticing, because it shows that the Reformers were not particularly careful in their directions about the order of their prayers, being more intent about the matter; so that we are perfectly justified in making transpositions when there seems just cause for such a course, and good warrant in the custom of antiquity. For instance, who would deny that the exhortation should be read after the Nicene Creed, when there is a celebration of the Holy Communion? and yet literally this would be contrary to the rubric, which says, "After which," i.e., after the blessing . . . "the minister shall read as followeth." Concerning the exhortation itself we have nothing to remark, except the avidity with which the Reformers pounce upon the marriage of S. Peter. The rest of the Communion Service as far as our use is concerned, must remain unaltered, with the exception of the Preface. There is a proper gospel appointed in the old manuals, but it does not occur in our book. The preface invariably used in the "*missa ad faciendum sponsalia*," is the same as is used for Trinity Sunday. Mr. Maskell gives it in his additional notes to the second edition of his *Ancient Liturgy*. It is nearly the same as that in our own Liturgy, but anciently it was used in "*Die S. Trinitatis, in omnibus dominicis usque ad Adventum*," i.e., all the "Sundays after Trinity," "*et in omni missa sponsalium*."^{*} Then follows the Sanctus, after which, "*prosternunt se sponsus et sponsa in oratione ad gradum altaris, extenso super eos pallio quod teneant quatuor clerici per quatuor cornua in superpeliciis, nisi alter eorum prius fuerit desponsatus*

* The frequent allusion to the doctrine of the Most Holy Trinity in the ancient Marriage Office is very observable.

et benedictus; quia tunc non habeatur pallium super eos nec dicitur sacramentalis benedictio." Then follow several prayers and the benediction, beginning "O God, Who by Thy mighty power," which it is expressly ordered the Priest shall say, "conversus ad illos." This use of the pall or veil seems to be common to the whole of Western Christendom. S. Ambrose frequently alludes to it, but chiefly in his book, "De Virginitate,"* where he says, "Utinam possem revocare nuptias, utinam possem flammeum nuptiale pio integritatis mutare velamine." And so again in his nineteenth epistle, "Cum ipsum conjugium velamine sacerdotali et benedictione sanctificari oporteat." The use of the veil must therefore have been long anterior to the fifth century, since S. Ambrose alludes to it as an established custom. And were other testimony wanting, it would be sufficient to show that almost every western ritual includes it, which the most cursory glance over the various offices given by Martene would decide. This veil was of purple, in allusion we suppose to the modesty of a right marriage. There was another ceremony in use which consisted in winding the stole round the hands of the man and woman after the giving the ring, which does not appear to have been employed with the pall. The use of the veil in our own marriages is by all means to be encouraged, but modern custom has effected a very great change in obliging the bride alone to wear it, and even her not during the benediction only, but throughout the whole service. However, it is far better that she should be so veiled, than in a bonnet. If the priest is to give the blessing by imposition of hands, it is important that no solid substance should cover her head.

It cannot be necessary here to set about proving the propriety of celebrating the Holy Communion on the solemnization of marriage. The practice has been universal from the earliest times.—In the western Church there was a Missa especially appointed for the *Ordo ad faciendum sponsalia*; in the east, the rubric simply ordains that the marriage service shall follow the Liturgy; but everywhere there was the ratification of the marriage vow by the offering of the Holy Eucharist. Tertullian in a well known passage thus alludes to it, "How can I sufficiently set forth the happiness of that marriage which the Church brings about by her procurement and the oblation confirms?" In the former books, the rubric which now recommends the new married persons to communicate, made it imperative upon them "the same day of their marriage." But the Presbyterians at the Savoy conference objected that all were allowed by Holy Scripture to marry, whereas all were not allowed to come to the Lord's table, but only those that were prepared, so that if this rubric were enforced, many must either forbear marriage, or come unbidden to the Communion. They farther added, that marriages were usually accompanied by improper revellings by which the Lord's supper would be desecrated.

* Quoted by Martene.

To this the Bishops answered that "This rubric enforced none to forbear marriage, but presumed, as well it might, that all persons marriageable ought to be also fit to receive the Holy Communion. And marriage being so solemn a covenant of God, they that undertook it in the fear of God, would not stick to seal it by receiving the Holy Communion, and accordingly prepare themselves for it : and therefore it would have been more Christian to have desired that those numerous festivities might be repressed, and the Communion more generally used by those that married, of which the happiness would be greater than could be easily expressed." It seems that the Presbyterians were at a loss for a rejoinder to this admirable reply, but nevertheless, with a spirit of conciliation which we who are suffering from its effects cannot but deeply deplore, the rubric was adapted to their scruples ; and the consequence has been the utter disuse of the Holy Communion at the marriage service ; a consequence doubtless anticipated by the puritan faction ; for it was not the desecration of the Sacrament which they regarded with dislike, but the principle of ascribing to it any grace or value ; the object of the Church in requiring all to communicate was to ensure that all should be fortified with power from God to perform the duties and overcome the temptations of the married state and maintain unbroken the marriage covenant. The puritans cared not for the irreverence of following up the Holy Communion with nuptial festivities, but they knew that it was an argument which would have weight with their opponents, while their real hostility to the doctrine of sacramental grace if it had been put forward prominently would have received no consideration. So they kept their true motive in the background and simulated a false reverence for that which in their heart they profaned. If we would witness the legitimate result of the principles thus actuating the Presbyterians, we have only to turn to their proceedings when unrestrained by any Catholic antagonists. The Genevan schismatics in the independence of their heretical heart would not content themselves with silence upon the subject, or with leaving the question to the conscience of each, but they actually issued a positive prohibition in their "Order" against communion at marriages. Wheatley remarks, "the passage of Tertullian cited above shows what opinion the primitive Church had of a marriage so decently solemnized ; and no office, I believe, but the Geneva order ever forbade, and no Christians, I believe, but the English puritans ever found fault with the administration of the Eucharist upon the wedding day, and neither of them I dare say will influence the good dispositions of considerate men ;"* from which it follows by an easy deduction, what, in Wheatley's opinion, was the amount of Christianity in those who composed the Genevan order ; unfortunately the good dispositions of considerate men have been affected by the course

* Chap. x.

taken at the Savoy conference. The practical result of acquiescing in the scruples of the Puritans has been that the custom of celebrating the Holy Communion on such occasions has been discontinued; and in attempting to rouse our people to the value of the ancient practice, we are not sparingly accused of needlessly reviving obsolete and useless observances. Certainly it was not to be expected that in an age which could be content with a quarterly celebration of the Holy Communion in the generality of the parish churches throughout the land, there would be found many to prize a special oblation on their marriage day. Happily, with the revived frequency of general Communion, special celebrations are becoming more common. But there is still, and we fear there will be for a long while, a very wide spread protestant feeling against them. Even good and sincere Christians and Churchmen are very tardy in admitting their propriety; and it seems to them a strange affectation of superior holiness to desire them. But these things must be done by degrees—we cannot expect all at once to raise the tone of the popular mind from the depth of puritanism to the height of Catholic reverence and love. Still everything seems to show an upward tendency; there are very striking and very cheering testimonies around us of the growth among all classes of true principles, and among other tokens, we hail the increased desire for Communion at the marriage solemnity. Doubtless, with our children or our children's children this will be no extraordinary event; and we are fain to chronicle each Catholic service not so much for its own intrinsic value, but because it bears witness to the strength of the movement out of which it springs.

Upon an attentive comparison of the voice of the ancient English Church with her modern, or Post-Reformation expressions, one cannot fail to observe a very striking deterioration of tone. The disuse of the word sacrament, and of the ceremony of the Pall, the silence kept on the nature of second marriages, and the option given to the new married persons to receive the Holy Communion or not, all are, among many other points, notes of a lower view taken of this holy sacrament. And we cannot be wrong in attributing to this fact the enactment of those impious laws under which we are now labouring, the effect of which is to legitimatise sin and set a premium on impurity. If the Reformers had always maintained that high view of holy matrimony which the Church previously had delivered to them, we should not now have to complain that marriage is regarded by the mass no longer as a religious union but as a civil contract; how could it be otherwise understood, when to go before a registrar and make a formal declaration of mutual affiance is sufficient to constitute marriage? For according to the Act of 6 and 7 William IV. this is all that is required. Within a certain time after the notification to the registrar, and by him to the guardians, it is accounted a valid marriage if in some part of the cere-

mony and in the presence of the Registrar and witnesses, each of the parties shall say, I do solemnly declare that I know not of any lawful impediment why I A. B. may not be joined in matrimony to C. D.; and each of the parties shall say to the other, I call upon these persons here present to witness that I A. B. do take this C. D. to be my lawful wife (or husband). This declaration is to be made in any building registered for the (so called) solemnization of marriages, but if any persons shall object to marry under the provisions of this act in such registered building, they may if they prefer it, be married at the Superintendent Registrar's office, in his presence and in the presence of three witnesses including some other registrar, with open doors, and between the proper hours, using the above words. It is almost impossible to conceive a more iniquitous act. By it, any two persons can be married without the knowledge or consent of parents, guardians, or friends, notwithstanding all impediments, hindrances, and canonical objections. The parties may be minors, within the degrees of affinity, or already married or precontracted, and there is no security that such impediments shall be discovered in time to prevent the marriage. For the alleged precautions are utterly insufficient, and such as will fail of their object, not from any negligence on the part of the officials concerned, but from their very nature. This will be easily seen from a brief analysis of the law, 6 and 7 Will. IV. c. 85.

The act commences by stating that all marriages which up to that time might be solemnized by licence or after banns might still be performed in like manner upon production of the registrar's certificate. In such cases one of the parties must give notice to the superintendent registrar of his or her district, or if they live in different districts to the superintendent registrars of such districts, severally, of their intention to be married on such a day, stating their respective names, surnames, professions and conditions, their late dwelling place for at least seven days, and the Church or other building wherein the marriage was to be solemnized. This notice is to be copied into a book to be called the marriage notice book, which is to be open to all who wish to inspect it, without fee, provided they apply at reasonable hours. It is also to be read by the Clerk of the Board of Guardians on their three next weekly meetings; or it must be read thrice within twenty-one days, if there be no weekly meetings. The registrar is then to deliver up the notice to the party making the application, who is thereupon entitled to demand marriage upon the production of such notice, of the Minister of the Church or other registered building named in the notice, so long as the superintendent registrar, one other registrar of the district, and two creditable witnesses are present. This is in outline the plan of the late act. Now what are the precautions provided by this system to secure the discovery of legal impediments to marriage? Are they any equivalent to the ancient

publication of banns? We do not hesitate to say that they are utterly futile. But we will recount them and they shall speak for themselves. They are principally these. First, notice must be given of a marriage intended to be had within three calendar months with the particulars of the parties contracting: this notice is open to the inspection of all who wish to see it. But how palpably inoperative this is—Who ever goes to inquire at a Registrar's for the notice book?—Have any of our readers ever thought of doing so?—What means are provided of apprising those who may be aware of impediments that such and such an union is about to take place? When the banns are published in Church all present hear the names three successive Sundays, and the whole parish are immediately acquainted with the projected marriage, but it is absurd to suppose that a notice entered in a register, whether that register is open or not to the public, will ever be generally known. In the one case the notice is brought to the public, and the public receive it: in the other the public are to be brought to the notice, and the consequence is that they know nothing of it.

Secondly,—The notices are read at the weekly meetings of the guardians. Now what substitute is this for the publication of the banns in the parish church? Is it to be supposed that the guardians can be acquainted with every name among the thousands comprised in the Union of all their parishes? But we will give Baron Alderson's words at the late trial of Mr. James, at the Liverpool assizes. Upon the question in the examination in chief by the Counsel for the prosecution—

"Was the notice read at the three weekly meetings of the board of guardians?"

"His Lordship asked,

"Are these meetings public?"

"They are, my Lord.

"Every body may go in?"

"No.

"Then they are not open to every person?"

"The Marriage Notice book is open for inspection,

"For whose inspection?"

"The public, at proper hours.

"How are other people to know who are to be married? If a man knows a thing he may know it. But if he does not know it how can he find it out? The banns were published in Church where everybody has a right to go, and this is a publication where nobody but the Guardians have a right to go. That is one of the evils of the change."

It is plain that a fraud has no chance of being detected by such means.* But there is a third precaution, and that is the declaration

* We have inquired of a "Guardian" of a Union, situated in one of the largest cities in the kingdom, whether much attention is paid to the notices when they are read. (Now the act provides that they shall be read after the reading of the

to be made by the parties severally, that they do not know any impediment to their union. Now in the first place it is only a declaration and not an oath. A great additional security is given to the old licence system by the oath that is required. But very few dishonest persons would stick at a mere declaration. Besides this, probably they do not know what they are to do when they are going to be married, and this declaration is put before them for the first time at the place of union when it is too late to recede, so they swallow the lie and salve their conscience afterwards, if indeed they care about it. And in all probability they do not know what constitutes legal impediment. They may not be aware that minors cannot marry without their parents' consent, or they may not be acquainted with the degrees of affinity. So that this declaration does not by any means provide a sure check upon illegal unions. The "*English Churchman*" recorded as an instance of retributive justice, that the first person married under the new machinery, was the son of a strong advocate of the measure. The young man married his father's servant clandestinely: a practical example of the monstrous inefficiency of all such precautions. Similar cases are very frequent among the poor. The parish Priest is constantly hearing of clandestine marriage, and the question naturally occurs, what defence has he at his disposal against the destructive facilities held out by the Registrar's office? He has one and one only—A constant inspection of the marriage notice book. This is his only weapon—the only possible means he possesses of obtaining timely information of clandestine contracts. Upon the discovery of the names of parishioners in the notice book, he will take care to acquaint the parents of the contracting parties, and remonstrate with the parties themselves. In this course he will probably meet with opposition from the registrar; but he must insist on the inspection to which he is entitled. It is of course the interest of that official to promote these civil unions, (for one cannot call them marriages.) He receives a fee for every contract which he witnesses—ten shillings when the marriage is by licence, and otherwise the sum of five shillings. He receives also a fee of one shilling for entering the notice, and the same for his certificate after the twenty-one days.* When he discovers therefore the object of the Clergyman in inspecting the notice book, he will pro-

minutes of the last meeting.) His answer was that nobody ever attended to them; that sometimes they were not read at all, and that most of the Guardians went away before the mere routine business of reading minutes of the last meeting came on, only as many remaining as would constitute a board. What a system for the protection of morals!

* Thus it will be seen that the whole expense of contracting a legal union amounts to seven shillings. For seven shillings any man may be authorized to live in sin. What abuse of the system of indulgences ever amounted to this? what rapacity of mediæval churchmen ever devised such a trap for men's souls as is now put forth at noon-day in this enlightened, moral, Protestant, country?

bably endeavour to oppose him. But the act distinctly provides that the marriage notice book shall be open at all reasonable times without fee, to all persons desirous of inspecting the same, and it is his duty to make use of his power. He may thus often be the means of preventing illegal unions, and of inducing those against whom no real impediment can be urged to seek the ministration of the Church, and the blessing of their appointed Priest upon their marriage.—If Clergymen do not inspect the books no one will. Society can only look to them for the discovery of clandestine marriages.*

It has been urged that no more has been granted to the poor by this act than has long been enjoyed by the rich. And perhaps there may not seem much difference between the licences of Doctor's Commons, and the certificate of the registrar. Theoretically there is a difference: it is the Archbishop who grants the licence, whereas the certificate issues from the State, but practically a layman grants both one and the other, and therefore they may appear equally objectionable. And on this is grounded a defence of the act; it was very unjust, it is said, that the rich should possess greater liberty of marriage than the poor. But surely, the way to have made an equality between them should have been by abolishing the ecclesiastical licence, not by instituting civil certificates. We are quite willing to allow that the old system of licence is a very bad one, no doubt the form most approved by the Church is marriage by banns, and we should be very glad indeed to see every means of concealing matrimonial engagements done away with. But it is an erroneous assumption that the new act only grants to the poor, what at a greater cost the rich have long enjoyed, as will be seen by the following fact. In the civil system there are two distinct forms corresponding to the modes of marriage by licence or by banns in the ecclesiastical system. The superintendent registrar can grant a licence for marriage as well as the Archbishop of Canterbury: and the marriage notices supply the place of *banns*, not of licences. Why should the act have empowered the registrar to grant licences at the rate of £3. each, if it had only been then intended to raise

* That evils exist in the marriage system beyond those introduced by this law is undeniable: and we would especially call the attention of the Clergy of large towns and the neighbourhood, or of towns consisting of two or more parishes to one in particular. It is well known that no Clergyman can marry any persons, except by licence, whose banns have not been published in their own parishes. Now this regulation is evaded to a very great extent wherever there are means of obtaining marriage elsewhere. And nothing is more common than to have the banns published at some large Church among a multitude of others where none of the friends of either party can hear of the publication; then when the appointed day comes the Curate marries them without further consideration. The extent to which this is practised is incredible; the Clergyman relies on the clerk and of course the clerk knows his own interest too well to say—such and such a couple are out of the parish, they cannot be married here. The system has gone on for a long time and nothing but unremitting vigilance can break it up.

the poor to a level with the rich ?* Without doubt the ostensible object of the act was to recognize the scruples of such persons as could not conscientiously conform to the rules of the Church. And if that object had been had in view only, we should not have complained of any excessive lenity to sectarians. But on the one hand some plan should have been adopted by which all the publicity that was gained by the system of banns should have been secured : and on the other hand, the privileges and independence of the Church should have been respected, neither of which points has been regarded. All publicity has been lost in the establishment of the notice book, and the Church is compelled to recognize the registrar's certificate. If a parish priest is bound to marry two persons producing their certificate of the publication of banns, he is equally bound by this statute to marry them on producing the registrar's notice. The marriage notices are to be in every respect in lieu of banns. A greater injustice we can hardly conceive. For there can be no cause whatever for persons whose consciences take no offence at the marriage service, to object to the publication of banns. It was provided that the Registrar's *licence* should not hold good in churches or chapels belonging to the Church of England. Why was not the same proviso made with regard to the ordinary marriage notice ? Why were the Archbishop's pecuniary interests to be consulted, and the scruple of conscientious clergymen treated with disdain ? The truth is, that under pretence of doing justice to dissenters and infidels, a most wicked stroke has been aimed at the interests of the Church. Not only has the ancient mode of publication by banns been superseded, but the new method is forced on the acceptance of the Clergy. Not content with instituting a system by which any wicked persons may without fear of detection accomplish a godless union, they force the Church to recognize the machinery by which those godless unions are brought about.

We have dwelt so far upon the dangers to be feared from the system legalized by this act, and its injustice to the Church. But let it not be thence inferred, that these are the only, or even the chief objections to the said act. They are, after all, matters of discipline. The fundamental objection lies in the ungodly principle—that marriage consists only of a mutual compact entered into between two persons. The best that can be said of persons joined under the registration act is, that they are living under a state of concubinage. We who are taught so often to caution our people that so many as are coupled together otherwise than God's word doth allow, are not joined together by God, neither is their matri-

* The only difference between the licence of the Registrar and that of the Archbishop is, that the former cannot be a title to marriage in any church or chapel belonging to the Church of England. So that the interests of the see of Canterbury are kept inviolate.

mony lawful, cannot look upon a civil contract in the light of a religious ordinance. There may be many who cannot regard marriage as a sacrament. We can easily conceive how good and religious men may question the bestowal of actual grace upon a man and woman united by the Church in the mystical bond of holy matrimony. When baptismal virtue is questioned, and the Eucharistic presence denied, we may scarcely expect to find the idea of matrimonial grace conveyed in the sacerdotal benediction very generally received. But we cannot understand how any Christian man, in whose bosom glows one particle of moral purity, or even decency, can bestow on the unhallowed contract of two persons in the presence of a legal functionary, the august title of holy matrimony: and but that the whole principle of British legislation has latterly been to level all distinctions of religious right or wrong, and swamp beneath the tide of liberalism the very landmarks of the Christian faith, we should wonder how any body of Christian statesmen could have been found to enact a statute which aims a blow at the foundations of social happiness, and the best interests of religion. It is too much to hope that this generation will ever see the repeal of this and other statutes of a similar stamp; e.g. the birth registration act, commonly called the Baptismal registration act. But we must trust to the revival of a Convocation for measures which a temporizing government will never grant. Meanwhile it is our duty as parish Priests, each in his own sphere, to counteract the baneful influence of these enactments. We have pointed out in reference to this subject several weapons by which we may attack the evil spirit. By personal influence, the strongest and noblest of all our available resources, by sermons and catechisings, by adorning the marriage service with all the aids and appliances of ceremonial beauty, and by evincing such supervision over our flocks as will put us in possession of contemplated unions in time to frustrate the wickedness of civil contracts, disclose canonical impediments, and direct, instruct, and exhort those who seek the blessing of God upon their marriage. These are the means which every clergyman has in his own power; and these if all the Clergy of the Church in these realms would use manfully, latitudinarians might legislate, government might tyrannize, sectarians might spread dissensions, and all in vain. She would rise, as she is rising from the dust, to fill her own throne, and guide her own people, for they that be on our side are more than they that be against us.

HYMNS AND HYMNODY.

1. *Sacred Hymns and Anthems.* Leeds: Morrish.
2. *Church Hymns; with an Introduction.* By HENRY STRETTON, M.A., Perpetual Curate of Hixon. London: Rivingtons.
3. *Hymns for the Service of the Church.* Birmingham: Wrightson and Bell. London: Masters.
4. *The Church Hymn Book and the Church Tune Book.* London: Rivingtons.

It is curious to remark how entirely, within the last few years, feelings and sentiments have changed among us with regard to the use of metrical hymns in the Church's service. There were days, and those not far distant, when a stiff and sullen Anglicanism proscribed all metrical hymns whatever, as savouring of the conventicle; and if it ever deigned so far to concede, as to allow the introduction of hymnody into the daily offices, restricted the subject to metrical versions of the Psalms, the unhappy Sternhold and Hopkins, or the still more miserable, because less bold and spirited, Brady and Tate. The need for a Hymnarium was ignored, its propriety and decency questioned, its utility forgotten. Some four or five metrical compositions—Bishop Ken's Morning and Evening Hymns, C. Wesley's "Sacramental Hymn," Doddridge's "Hark! the Herald Angels sing," for Christmas, and the well known Easter hymn, "JESUS CHRIST is risen to-day," composed *practically* the Hymnology of the English Church, being the only metrical compositions besides Psalms admitted into the services of those who shrank from fraternizing with the meeting house. The *theoretical* Hymnology of England, viz., the Veni Creator in the Ordinal, was (and unhappily too often is,) converted into a mere Responsory.

But all this time men desired and longed for the opportunity of hearing God's house resound with the strains of Christian hymns; of expressing at once, and by one sound, their belief and their joy in believing; not to mention their wish to vary the monotony of a somewhat stiff Liturgy, and an unpliant ritual, with some more arbitrary forms of worship. Dissent provided, and still provides this for all who go astray to her. Every meeting-house, from Bethel to Dan, high and low, rich and poor, resounds with the lusty bawling of semi-Christian hymns; Catholic in theory, heretical and sometimes almost profane in practice. The Anabaptists invoke their patron (as we presume) in the earnest supplicatory measure, called "*S. Plungent's*;" the Ranter and Jum-

per commemorates his troubles and experiences to the tune of "*Wrestling Jacob*," while the pastoral Independent wanders in spirit by the purling streams of a schismatical Elysium to the soothing strains of "*Shepherd's Crook*."* Such are a few specimens of the hymns and tunes which sprang out of a misdirected longing for Catholic practice. But our attention has of late been directed to the introduction into our offices of hymns fit for the service of the sanctuary; and Mr. Stretton does not hesitate to speak of "the formation of the earnestly desired and long prayed for Church Hymn Book." At the present time, every Church has its own Hymnarium, and metrical compositions are everywhere sung in Churches, selected according to the individual taste of the Incumbent, or often of the parish clerk. There is no authorized hymn book,—and indeed, till lately, there has been no hymn book at all—which should serve the purpose that the old Hymnology did in the time of Paul of Samosata, or the earlier heresy of Artemon,† as a witness to, and a defiance of, the true faith; or be the vehicle of such important positive theology as some of the early compositions which have come down to us.‡ We have really stood aghast at the vulgar, irreverent, and often unorthodox character of compositions which have been set forth for singing in churches, where one might have hoped to see a better order of things prevail. It would be tedious to give a list, or even specimens of such impertinences. The most cursory perusal of Simeon's or Watts's Hymns—sources from which a large portion, if not the greater part of the metrical hymns used in most churches are borrowed, will supply amply that which will amuse, and still more often shock or disgust the reader. Thus in one of the selections alluded to, the following line occurs—

"They shall as a *right* Thy righteousness claim."

In another we are invited to sing of the time

"When we can *read our title clear*
To mansions in the skies."

And in another to address our Blessed REDEEMER in terms of familiarity, which even the French, with their "*Votre nom soit sanctifié*," and the Portuguese, with the polite and fashionable phrases in which they address the KING of kings, would reject with somewhat of dislike; nay, even the Oratorians would, we venture to say, repudiate—

* We find these among a collection of Tunes dedicated to the Archbishop of Canterbury, then Bishop of Chester!

† Euseb. H. E. v. 28.

‡ E.g. the hymn preserved by S. Basil. (Routh. Reliqu. Sac. iii. p. 229.)

"Thou lovely chief of all my joys,
 Thou Sovereign of my heart,
 How could I bear to hear Thy voice
 Pronounce the word, Depart!"

Not only has the neglect of the Church Hymns, and the absence of an authorized Hymnarium, led to the use of objectionable lucubrations such as these, but considerable errors are abroad respecting the periods in the service at which it is allowable to introduce the hymn. We constantly find hymnody, or rather metrical psalmody, introduced at the commencement of the offices, and after the second lesson; not to mention the occasional propensity to use a hymn or metrical psalm in the middle or at the end of that portion of the English ritual, which having *quoad verba* retained more, perhaps, of what is truly Catholic than any other portion of the English Prayer Book, is nevertheless condemned to be gone through in the most miserable, chilling, and repulsive manner—the Burial office.* For all these portions of Divine service appropriate Antiphons, Psalms, Canticles, or proses, are already appointed; and the propensity to metrical psalmody in such places only shows how natural is the impulse which leads man to "break forth into singing" at those periods, and how truthful the goodly order of the services of the Catholic Church.

The only places where hymns are needed, or indeed can with strict propriety be introduced, are two. The first is after the three Collects both at Matins and Evensong; where the rubric directs that "in quires and places where they sing, here followeth the Anthem." Unhappily this rubric seems to allow the possibility of places existing where they do *not* sing; but it certainly does away with the notion, that a set, or paid choir, is necessary for hymnody; "quires" being distinguished (as a species) from the generic term, "places where they sing." The hymn introduced here takes the place of the anthem in more artistically trained choirs, as in Cathedrals and Collegiate Churches; and may well be called by the same name, the anthem. The other place where the use of hymnody in some shape is admissible, is at the end of Matins, or of the Litany, immediately before the commencement of the Communion Office; the place which in the First Book of King Edward, and the unreformed service books, was occupied by the introit. The hymn may also be introduced in the corresponding place at Evensong, viz., after the conclusion of the offices, and immediately before the Sermon. A complete Hymnarium, therefore, will contain a set of hymns for

* This sweeping accusation must be limited, in order to do justice to some excellent Priests who have endeavoured to bring about a better state of things. In the parishes of S. Thomas of Canterbury, and S. Paul, Oxford, S. Mary, Stoke Damerel, and one or two others, the bodies of departed Christians have been committed to the earth with that goodly amount of Catholic ceremony, which "our pious reformers" always contemplated and provided for.

the *ferie* ; two for each day ; four for each Sunday and festival day, viz., an anthem and an introit for Matins, and an anthem and hymn before Sermon for Evensong : two for each vigil or eve ; and a collection of hymns for special occasions, such as the dedication feast, a national fast, or thanksgiving, and the like.

It is the general practice to sing a hymn after the Nicene Creed to fill up the interval in which the preacher is supposed to be removing his vestments, and putting on what the Puritan in the "Pleasant Dialogue" would call his "swouping black gown." This practice, though occasionally under present circumstances convenient, as allowing the assumption of special vestments for the celebration, is quite incorrect ; and we may observe how one error follows upon another. The absurd and uncanonical custom of laying aside the ministerial vestments in preaching leads to forcing upon us a breach of that continuity which should exist between gospel, creed, and sermon.

The books whose names we have placed before the reader are intended to supply the want of some provision of this kind, a want which has, we have seen, led to such irregular and often such disastrous attempts to supply it.

Mr. Stretton, in the preface to his "Church Hymns," after an apology in favour of the Church hymn, in which we may detect a little too much of the Anglican tone, proceeds to draw attention to the distinction between the psalm and the hymn which it is needful not to lose sight of. The character of the psalms as a whole, and the fact that they are appointed a special place in the daily offices, should lead us to be very cautious in introducing metrical versions of them into the hymnarium. The psalm and hymn are distinguished from one another in the passage we have above alluded to from Eusebius ; and kept asunder by S. Isidore of Seville, as well as by the constitutions of Ælfric, which mention the psalter as quite distinct from the book of hymns. It seems therefore most correct to abstain from making any use of metrical versions of the psalms ; though it may be, under present circumstances, judicious on the part of the compilers of Church hymn books, to introduce some few of those metrical psalms to which our people are most accustomed, and which so many of them retain in their memory.

But the fountain from which our Church hymns must be mainly drawn is that rich store of Catholic hymnology which is preserved in great part in the Breviary, and which has been handed down to us and swelled by the contributions of divines of all ages from the time of Prudentius, the father of Christian poetry. It is truly delightful to find that the compilers of all these selections of hymns have not forgotten the living cisterns from whence it behoves us to draw. We feel indeed the reality of Catholic Communion with Saints departed, when we are called on to join in such solemn strains as those which year by year and day by day have risen up to

the glory of God, whether from the lips of holy monks and virgins dedicate to God, or in the sweet voices of the youthful servants of the sanctuary. We may instance as pre-eminent among these that solemn penitential hymn of Thomas de Celano, the well-known *Dies Iræ*; the "*Salvete flores martyrum*" of Prudentius, for the Holy Innocents' day; the "*Jesu dulcis memoria*" of S. Bernard; the "*Te Deum Patrem*," well known to all who have been present at the "lauds" on the feast of SS. Philip and James, at the College of S. Mary Magdalene, in Oxford; the "*Adeste Fideles*," and "*Pange lingua*," not S. Hilary's, but the hymn appointed in the Breviary for Corpus CHRISTI Day. Nor do we regret to see that our own age contributes something to the collection. Our Easter Hymn, "*Jesus CHRIST is risen to-day*," and a few selections from the Christian Year, with other works of our own poets, justly stand side by side with the treasures of centuries passed by, and vindicate our claim to Communion with the dead in CHRIST.

We may now turn to the manner in which the compilers of each several hymn book have performed the task before them. The Hymnarium of S. Saviour's supplies us with the requisite hymns and anthems for the ferial offices on each day of the week, and for the festivals; and we are glad to see that the "greater antiphons" for Advent are not forgotten. But we fear we must insinuate that the task has been a little overdone. In a hymn book intended for the use of the English Church, as a companion to the Book of Common Prayer, there does seem in the present state of things to be unreality in introducing hymns for minor festivals unmarked by any change in our services, such as the festival of S. Mary Magdalene, the Visitation of the Blessed Virgin, the commemorations of Virgins and Just Men. Nor are we sure that the character of our offices warrants the use of an anthem before the commencement of the service on Ascension Day. The antiphons which the Latin services appoint to commence every office find their counterpart in the sentences with which our services begin;* and there seems no reason, nor any precedent either, for commencing the services of Ascension Day, and that day alone, with an anthem. With respect to the versification, little need be said. It is on the whole very satisfactory, and we doubt not that a second edition will pare off a few roughnesses of expression, and some one or two unhappy phrases which occur here and there in the book. We would advise especially the entire omission of the hymn for the evening of the second Sunday after Epiphany. Every one must perceive the objectionable tone of the following verse, with which it commences:—

* Mr. Stretton appears to think that the compilers of the Prayer Book purposely contrived that our Church should "remarkably deviate from the Church of Rome in this respect." Unless he means to limit this observation to the *sentiment* of the opening antiphon, we must differ from him.

"O King of love, Thy blessed fire
Doth such sweet flames excite,
That first it raises the desire,
Then fills it with delight."

Whether ancient or modern, this mode of addressing the SAVIOUR savours more of the meeting-house than the Catholic Church.

Mr. Stretton's "Church Hymns" are not open to these objections. In fact, so far from having any superfluities, we regret to find that he has provided no hymns for the daily service of the Church.

"It may have been" (he says) "just possible to have provided two suitable hymns for every morning and two for every evening, as well as for the principal festival days; though, it is to be feared, the additions would have been very unequal to the general character of the hymns in this book. But, besides that there is no good reason why a congregation should not sing the same hymns morning and evening, but rather the contrary, inasmuch as both hymns and tunes thus become the more familiar to them; the great labour of preparing a choir for the constantly recurring service is thus materially reduced."

We confess our repugnance to any thing which looks like ignoring the Daily Services. Yet no one can take up Mr. Stretton's book without being struck with the fact that Sunday and festival offices alone are provided for in it. It is certainly very desirable to familiarize the choir and congregation with the hymns employed in service. But this argument, if it proves anything, proves too much; and if carried out would lead to a great reduction in the number of festival and Sunday hymns comprised in Mr. Stretton's own collection. While we familiarize, we must be careful not to fatigue. To use the same unvarying hymn in the daily office both morning and evening would be to sacrifice the only means in our power of diversifying our otherwise somewhat monotonous daily service. Nor is the apology drawn from the difficulty of finding suitable hymns one whit better founded. It is not necessary to supply two hymns for each ferial office. One will be quite sufficient; and surely there cannot be any difficulty in providing twelve hymns for the required purpose. No less than twenty-six hymns are to be found in the ordinary offices of the Breviary; some of these would certainly be inappropriate in our English services; but surely out of all of these, not to mention what has been given us by Bishop Ken and others from among ourselves, forty-eight appropriate stanzas might be culled; and Mr. Stretton will certainly not maintain that it is only "just possible" to adapt these for use, and to provide translations of the Latin hymns which shall not be unworthy of a place in the selection he has so judiciously made.

Of the versification of the Church Hymns and the taste displayed

in their selection, we must speak in terms of the highest commendation. The honoured names appended to many of them in the list of authors given at the end of the work are quite sufficient to overlay the casual occurrence of those of Doddridge, Watts, and Cowper.

But the error we may observe in this compilation is, that an attempt has been made to furnish not only a help to the devotions of the sanctuary, but to provide a set of hymns which shall "be interesting in subject and harmonious in rhythmical flow, and for the most part of familiar images and thoughts, and while possessing a charm for the ears and sensibilities of the uninstructed, would not at the same time prove unacceptable to the minds and tastes of the more refined;" in short, to exhibit at once and together a hymnarium and a Christian Year, two elements which appear to us to be quite incongruous; and in attempting the fusion of which, Mr. Stretton has sunk the Church Hymn Book in the "selection of devotional Lyrics for the festivals of the Church." Incongruous these elements are, we say, because owing to the entirely unmusical* character of our Saxon English, there is always the utmost care requisite in providing verses to be set to music; and a song or hymn which, if read, appears at once pleasing and devotional, will, if one attempt to sing it, be converted into a painful and often ludicrous mélange of consonants and vowels; and on the other hand, a hymn which is scarcely rhythmical, like the S. Saviour's version of "Adeste Fideles," is often very pleasing when sung. While therefore, as a "Christian Year," we bestow much praise on Mr. Stretton's collection, we almost fear the result of setting some of its contents to music.

We come next to the Birmingham Hymn book. This, while it is as perfect and complete as that of S. Saviour's, is not open to the objections, whether as regards sentiment, versification, or reality, which we brought against the latter. Indeed we can most unhesitatingly recommend its adoption in any case where a set of hymns at once orthodox, poetical, and not ill-adapted to music, are required. The only difficulty which it will present is, we apprehend, to be found in the introits, which instead of being metrical hymns, are short passages of scripture. How these prose hymns are to be sung it is not easy to comprehend, unless they are to be recited to a Gregorian (or an Anglican) chant. For to perform them in the shape of an anthem would require musical power such as few country Churches could hope to acquire. The book would probably be better adapted for *general* use, were the option of a metrical introit given.

Those who are accustomed to look upon four verses of four lines each as the strict canonical quantum for a hymn will be rather sur-

* The reader will remember that we do not mean by this word to imply that our language is *unmelodious*.

prised at the length of many of those which are given in these books. We find in several instances as many as eleven or twelve verses appointed to be sung. The horror which we seem to have of a hymn of this length is probably attributable to the manner in which this part of the service is too often slurred over in our Churches. The excruciating effect of a dozen verses sung, as many of our readers have no doubt heard them sung, would tend to destroy all feeling of devotion. Yet this weariness does not come in where a simple air is employed and all the worshippers induced to join in it. The lusty bawling of the conventicle is often extended over twelve or fifteen verses, without fatigue on the part of the congregation; and indeed one of their favourite hymns,.

" Behold a stranger at the door,
He's often knock'd, He's knock'd before,"

consists, as far as we remember, of twenty-five quatrains. Still, though it is quite clear that a devotional and hearty manner of singing the hymn will allow its length to be extended much beyond the conventional four verses, we must acknowledge that even Catholic hymnody must have its limits. Mr. Stretton apologizes for the great length of the hymns in his book; and defends his omission of the Procrustean operation usually performed by every compiler. Theoretically he is quite right; but practically we could wish that he had at least given some hints to those who were to perform the curtailment for themselves. People will not submit to hymns of twelve or twenty verses; and the result will be, that in cases where Mr. Stretton's book comes into use, the hymn will be in danger of being mangled and curtailed at the discretion of the parish clerk or schoolmaster. Therefore, though it may be advisable to give the *whole* of a composition, some suggestions should be added to guide the selection of portions of it for use.*

It will not be out of place here to make a few remarks for the benefit of those who may be desirous of making any collection for themselves of Church hymns for actual use. Of the source from which a great proportion of such a collection may and should be drawn we have already spoken. But a question occurs whether it be allowable to employ the productions of schismatical or heretical authors in the service of the Church—always of course supposing such productions to be of a perfectly unexceptionable and devotional character. Many such are to be found, and we cannot ourselves think that the faith, or rather infidelity, of the writer, should condemn the offspring of his intellect to unconditional excommunication. They may well be treated as the captive woman who was fair to look upon, and to be desired in marriage; she might law-

* E.g. as the hymn "Stabat Mater" is divided in the Offices of the "Seven Sorrows of the B. V. M."

fully be espoused to one of the people of the LORD; but her raiment was to be changed, her head shaven, her nails pared, and so was she to be taken to wife.

No difficulty of course can occur as regards the subjects of the hymns for each festival. The tenor of the services will furnish a rule for selection of hymns for ordinary Sundays; and in providing those for the ferial offices, we must be careful to commemorate the old and the new creation, that is, to let the hymns for each day refer to the work of that day as recorded in the 1st chapter of Genesis, and to the corresponding day in the Holy Week. Wednesday, Thursday, Friday, and Saturday especially should not be forgotten.

But the question which is above all difficult of solution, is that which turns upon the metres to be employed in writing or translating hymns, and the tunes to which they are to be sung. Our natural love and reverence for the Catholic hymns of older times would lead us to wish to preserve as much as might be their rhythm and cadence; and to make our Churches resound with those same solemn strains, whose sublime and almost unearthly tones give proof of spiritual communion with a higher world; such as S. Augustine wept at,* and S. Katharine of Bologna repeated in an ecstasy of holy joy. How to effect this is more than has yet been discovered. Our language does not admit of those metres in which so many of the earlier hymns are written, and to which their appropriate tunes are adapted. The Sapphic and Choriambic metres are not for us; such hymns as "Nocte surgentes vigilemus omnes," or "Custodes hominum psallimus angelos," must be altered for us from their pristine form; and the trochaic metre, though admitted into Latin poetry, retains in our language its liability to the accusation Aristotle brought against it, of being too tripping a measure.† Would a hymn seem reverent or indeed anything but ludicrous, written in such lines as those of Mambrun,

Heu! quid jaces stabulo,
Omnium Creator,
Vagiens cunabulo,
Mundi Reparator?

The chief metres hitherto employed in Church hymns and well known under the names of long, common or short metre, are entirely iambic. It is the first only of these three metres properly known as the dimeter, which is employed in the Latin hymns which have come down to us. In order therefore to suit an ancient tune to the great proportion of our modern English hymns, it must

* Conf. ix. 14. Quantum fleui in hymnis et canticis Tuis, suave sonantis ecclesie Tunc vocibus commotus acriter! Voces illæ infuebant auribus meis, et eliquabatur veritas in cor meum, et exestuabat inde affectus pietatis, et currebant lacrymæ, et bene mihi erat cum eis.

† Poet. 4. Τὸ μὲν πρῶτον τετραμέτρῳ ἐχρῶντο διὰ τὸ σατυρικὴν καὶ ὀρχηστικωτέραν εἶναι τὴν ποίησιν, λέξεως δὲ γεννομένης αὕτη ἡ φύσις τὸ οἰκτεῖον μέτρον εἶδεν.

be so modified and changed as to suit the second and fourth lines of their stanza ; while a still more woeful alteration must take place in order to adapt it to the more intricate species of verse of which we find some specimens in the books before us. The character of the German language has rendered it much easier to preserve in it the ancient Latin rhythm ; such hymns as "Warum liegt im Krippelein," and "Ein fester Burg ist unser Gott," bear witness to its superior pliancy, and have caused the retention amongst the German Lutherans of many genuine ancient melodies which the very nature of our poetry would almost compel us to sacrifice.

Our custom has been to have a stock, larger, or smaller, as the case may be, of standard tunes, which are used often with little care or taste, for many different hymns. Mr. Stretton very properly maintains that each hymn ought, if possible, to have its own peculiar tune, so that music and words might never be displaced, but might mutually suggest and bring to mind one another.

This idea has been partly carried out at S. Saviour's, at which Church a selection of appropriate tunes is used which we have already noticed. But the book which stands fourth on our list, the "Church Hymn Book and the Church Tune Book," is an effort on a grander scale ; supplying a large collection of hymns of all lengths and metres, for each festival of the Christian year : every hymn being provided with its tune, and the tunes being distinguished by the names of saints, or other like appellations. Now, though we hail any attempt to supply us with the hymns we require, and still more with an effort to attain so much completeness as the present shows, and to do away with the difficulties of English Hymnody, we cannot speak in unqualified terms of the numbers of the Church Tune Book now before us. A much larger number of hymns is given than the necessities of the case can ever demand, (18 for Ascension, and 13 for Pentecost) ; and some of the metres are infinitely perplexing, and would, we feel confident, prove an insuperable *cruz* in the way of a country congregation. Nor is it possible to speak in favour of all the tunes. Not to mention the confusion that will be excited by the use in this selection of such names as Oxford or S. Helen's, which are already employed to designate well known melodies, the character of the tunes themselves is in many instances far from coming up to that high standard of Church hymn music which the "Prospectus" sets forth. They give one the idea of awkward adaptations or imitations of ancient chorals. We are confident that they would be found heavy and tame ; and some of them too difficult for use, in the greater proportion of our congregations in the country.

Mr. Stretton has appended to his hymns a list of appropriate melodies, which is likely to be more practically useful. Too much care cannot be taken in setting words to music. Everyone knows the ludicrous effect often produced by an injudicious selection of a

tune where an accent or pause falls in a place where it does not suit the verse.* The difficulty of providing against this in many of our popular "psalm tunes," and their very unecclesiastical character should make our *index expurgatorius* a rather large one. These came down to us from the Puritans; and even Fuller (Ch. Hist. ix. 44,) says of them in his caustic manner, "These hymns, if no better divinity than music, might much be scrupled at." Perhaps Mr. Stretton's list contains nearly all the popular hymn tunes which can be strictly considered fit for the service of the Church. These are mainly adaptations, and some ancient traditional ones of the earlier Catholic sequences and hymn tunes.

PAMPHLETS OF THE MONTH.

We quite unintentionally omitted to notice Mr. Cavendish's Letter to Archdeacon Hare in our last number, and certainly regret that we have delayed to offer our best thanks to an influential layman so zealous in the maintenance of truth. However we have now the advantage of noticing it in connexion with the Archdeacon's reply contained in a postscript to the Second Edition of his letter to Mr. Cavendish. We are glad to find the Archdeacon agrees with us so far as he does, though we have some grave points of difference; and we are more glad that he has considerably abated that truculent ferocity of language which used to distinguish his compositions. We are glad to find him quoting with approbation some of those remarks of Dr. Pusey, to which we drew attention last month, and really think that he and Mr. Cavendish are doing something very like playing at hide and seek, so entirely does each appear to miss the point of the other's remarks.

We shall be very much misunderstood, if we are thought to express any doubt that, so far as there is real difference, Mr. Cavendish is in the right and the Archdeacon in the wrong, only we do think that Mr. Cavendish has not kept so close to the points of the Archdeacon's objections as he might have done. It will be our endeavour to suggest to him some corrections in this respect; though we must own to very small hope of setting matters *altogether* straight between the old tutor and his noble-hearted pupil.

For the Archdeacon's conduct is inexplicable to us except on one hypothesis, not very likely to be admitted by him—it is this, that his mind is so saturated with intense hatred of the Bishop of

* For instance, let any one endeavour to conceive the horror of having a dead stop made in the middle of the tune, "And take Thy pil || grim home," or of hearing it (as has been done) expanded into two lines of eight syllables each!

Exeter, that he cannot conceive the possibility of his lordship being in the right, and so readily swallows the vilest food which may serve to nourish this absorbing prejudice, that he actually commends to his old pupil Mr. Goode's tissue of trumpety sophistry, and scandalous misrepresentation in the following strain :

" May I not still hope, my dear friend, that even you will at length open your eyes ? To be sure this cannot happen so long as you call the Bishop of Exeter's letter to the Archbishop 'unanswerable ;' and Mr. Badeley's preface 'equally unanswerable : ' as to the latter, it is not likely that any one will think it worth while to expose the hasty groundless assertions contained in it. But so far is the Bishop's letter from being unanswerable, that it has received a very able answer from Mr. Goode,—which perhaps has caught too much of its tone, as was scarcely avoidable—but which at all events has thoroughly demolishd the chief part of its assertions and arguments."*

When a learned and generally clear-headed man can speak thus of Mr. Badeley, and thus of Mr. Goode's trash, there is but little hope of dispelling the thick fog of inveterate prejudice in which he must be enveloped. The worthy Archdeacon's aversion to certain persons is so insuperable that he cannot see the sun in the heavens if it happens to shine upon them.

What right has he to speak of the Bishop of Exeter as an inquisitor, and of answers wrung from Mr. Gorham by a long subtle inquisitorial examination, &c., &c. ? What but the grossest prejudice can prevent him from seeing that the difference is *merely technical* between an examination instituted on the ground of open and notorious contravention of the Church's doctrine ; and a proceeding taken directly against such open and notorious contravention ? We entirely agree with the following statement.

" When a man is a candidate for Orders, the Bishop has a right and is bound to examine him, for the sake of ascertaining whether he holds the faith of the Church, and is duly qualified for her ministry. But when he has once attained an ecclesiastical status, he should not be deprived of it, or of the rights pertaining to it, except on account of some overt voluntary act. He becomes responsible for the opinions which he publishes or *preaches*, but not for those which he keeps in his own breast. To make him legally responsible for the latter violates the first principles of justice, and is a crime which has only been committed by the worst of tyrants, unless within the pale of the Church."†

But what on earth has it to do with Mr. Gorham ? Did he keep within his own breast such blaspheming of the Sacraments as scandalized his parishioners ? Did he abstain from charging his orthodox brethren, and so we suppose Archdeacon Hare among them, with disseminating soul-destroying heresy ? and have we,

* Postscript, page 88.

† Postscript, page 70.

who simply believe that the plain statements of our Prayer Book are in accordance with Scripture, no right to be protected from such calumny? Will Mr. Gorham thank Archdeacon Hare for the following?—

“ If Mr. Gorham had of his own accord published a book [exactly what he has done] promulgating all the same opinions that he has expressed in his examination, or if evidence could be produced that he had preached all the same doctrines in his sermons,—then, as his act would have been overt and wilful, it seems to me that, if the case had been conducted with legal strictness, if the passages most repugnant to our formularies had been adduced in the pleadings, and definite issue had been joined on them, the result would probably have been different.”*

We trow not. The fact is that were the Bishop of Exeter disposed to be inquisitorial, Mr. Gorham is not the only person he could have laid hold of, nor need he have waited so long to catch him. Mr. Gorham had long been a notoriously violent denouncer of the orthodox Clergy, he had obtruded his heresy upon the Bishop's notice, and then the Bishop is called upon to countersign an assertion that he had not published anything at variance with the doctrine of the Church. The Bishop did no more than his bounden duty: What would Archdeacon Hare have done under such circumstances? And will he either join with us in endeavouring to abate the tyranny, by which other Bishops are in the habit of summarily depriving *unbeneficed* Priests of their livelihood on mere private suspicions, without the slightest pretence of anything approaching to charges of heresy, which could be legally substantiated; or else enlighten our stupidity as to any difference there may be between the “once attained ecclesiastical status” of a curate, and that of an incumbent, save and except that which is expressed by the very important letters, *E. s. d.* Why may a Bishop withdraw his licence from a Curate merely for not conforming to his Lordship's private crotchets? Why may he reduce a lawfully ordained Curate to beggary and disgrace without any process at all, if it is so very shocking that he may examine one who has the good fortune to be presented to a living, even when his examination is liable to be legally investigated? We wish Archdeacon Hare, or any other champion of religious liberty would enlighten us on this point.

We could produce an act of tyranny from the Archdeaconry of Lewes, *very far* exceeding even *Mr. Hare's statement* of what has been done to Mr. Gorham.

But we return to Mr. Cavendish. The Archdeacon thinks that the inconsecutiveness, the inconclusiveness of the resolutions to

* Postscript, page 88.

which that gentleman's honoured name was appended had been *fully demonstrated in his letter*.* Hence, it is natural to suppose, he could not but feel regret on finding that Mr. Cavendish would still be prepared to sign them at this moment, had he not already done so. But the Archdeacon was never more mistaken in his life: he has indeed raised a few unimportant *verbal* objections to the said resolutions, but he has not fully demonstrated, nor given anything approaching to a proof that they are otherwise than fully sufficient for the purpose for which they were intended. He conveniently ignores the notorious fact that the same power which pronounces this judgment, suspends the action of the Church's Legislature, and then proceeds complacently to argue as though a judicial act under such circumstances had no further importance than it would have under different circumstances.†

We suppose it is true that some of those who signed these resolutions did attribute an importance to the fact of its being possible for such a construction as appeared in this judgment, to be put upon our formularies with any appearance of plausibility, which to others appeared greatly exaggerated; and hence the expression, "Whatever at the present time be the force of the sentence;" whereas no one doubts that, had the spirituality free power of legislation, the *present force* of such a sentence *could* be no more, than to commit a cure of souls to an individual heretic who already had another cure of souls, and under our present difficult circumstances, would have been permitted to retain it, had not the Bishop been called upon to certify his orthodoxy; a thing which it was utterly impossible for a conscientious Bishop to do. We really do not see that the Archdeacon has so much as a shadow of ground for supposing that they who signed these resolutions must therefore be incapable of distinguishing between judicial and legislative functions.

He objects to the second resolution, that the Article of the Nicene Creed was not mentioned in either court till the end of Mr. Badeley's speech, and that it was reasonably dismissed as ir-

* See page 79.

† This point is brought out with great force by Archdeacon Wilberforce, in his recent Charge. "The Church, it is true, possesses legislative functions, which might supersede the judgment by altering the law. The 139th Canon declares that the Sacred Synod of this realm is the Church of England by representation. But so long as the legislative function is in abeyance, what is there higher than the judicial, by which the will of any community can be expressed; and what the Court of Arches does, it does for all Courts subordinate to it; its will is their law, because all cases in the Province are liable, on appeal, to be taken into it. Now, if her Courts recognize this sentence as binding, and the Church sits still, and by no legislative act declares her disapprobation, how can she be understood to dissent? And how can those who affirm that the Church hath authority in controversies of faith, deny that their position is altered by her conduct?" And again, "What the Judges declare, that is the meaning of the law, until their decision is reversed. And therefore it cannot be said that our formularies remain unchanged, when their meaning has been altered."

relevant, because original sin is not mentioned in it, and in a legal sentence, *constructive* heresy is as contrary to justice as constructive treason. We proceed to examine the grounds of this assertion. If the Nicene Creed were to be construed as an independent isolated instrument, (as, for example, a man's will would be construed,) then we must admit that the article "I acknowledge one Baptism for the remission of sins," would not exclude any one who believed that anything which he chose to call Baptism, e.g., an inward cleansing, was, in any sense, one, and conduced in any way to the remission of any sort of sins: but this view of Creeds is too absurd to be argued against: no one can be *dispassionately* convinced that this method of treating them is fair and just, either legally or morally; however hot-headed partisans, in which class we venture to include Archdeacon Hare, may allow themselves to have recourse to such shuffles.

We much wonder whether the Archdeacon has read Mr. Chambers's Examination of this Judgment, if he has, and thinks that as worthless as he does Mr. Badeley's Preface, we have nothing left but to conclude that his wish is father to such thoughts, and to give up arguing with him as utterly hopeless.

We are, and we venture to say that Mr. Cavendish is, as far as Archdeacon Hare can be from wishing to ground a *legal* judgment on anything but *law*; our difference is, that we assert that the Church of England has other law, besides the *bare letter* of the formularies contained in the Book of Common Prayer, &c.; in other words, that if that Book be viewed as part of a statute, which it is, we are then enabled to determine its meaning on strictly legal principles; those very principles on which judges always determine the meaning of any other act of the legislature, whether simply temporal, or temporal and spiritual conjointly.

And this we think Mr. Cavendish has not pointed out so clearly as he might have done. In spite of Mr. Goode's powers of demolition, the Bishop of Exeter is right in saying that the Act of Uniformity has a bearing on this question. If a minority seek to effect important alterations in any other act of Parliament, besides that which recites the Book of Common Prayer, &c., so that the meaning of its words is canvassed and understood by both parties, and the lawfulness of that meaning, so ascertained, is denied by one party, and yet re-enacted in spite of such opposition; we believe all lawyers would hold that statute to be binding against such opponents, so that, after having failed in the attempt to alter its wording into agreement with their notion of what ought to have been enacted, they have no right *non-naturally* to interpret the wording so retained, in accordance with the notion so rejected.

We are satisfied that the Judges would not have deemed it expedient to *ignore* this argument, if they could have *refuted* it. It is very easy for one who has an unlimited command of vituperative

language to say, that "in that calamitous period which followed the Restoration, the rulers of our Church indulged their *bitterest animosities*, and *revenged* themselves on their adversaries, sacrificing the peace and well-being of the Church to the *gratification of their vengeance* ;"* the fact being, that they merely put things back as they were before the overthrow of Episcopacy ; so that the Presbyterians whom Cromwell had thrust into the livings of the ejected Clergy, had to retire and make way for the return of those whom they had violently and unjustly expelled. A conscientious conviction that they were bound to maintain the faith once delivered to the saints will account for the proceedings of the rulers of our Church in that calamitous period, quite as well as the very charitable hypothesis that they were indulging their bitterest animosities, and gratifying their vengeance ; and though we do not claim perfection for them, any more than for any other body of Bishops, we have no doubt that the former motive influenced their conduct to a very much greater extent than the latter. It is alone entirely sufficient to account for their conduct, if we take into consideration how much that ought to have been kept unaltered had, long before that time, been sacrificed to the insatiable spirit of innovation ; so that Bishop Andrewes† could say, "*sustinemus multa quæ non docemus et toleramus quæ tollere non possumus.*" Some‡

* P. 73.

† Ad Molinæum. Ep. 3, p. 199.

‡ Mr. Dodgson, in the very able commencement of his pamphlet, ("The Controversy of Faith,") takes quite a different view :—"There are many who have from the first condemned and deplored the recent judicial proceedings in the case of Mr. Gorham, as resuscitating the violence of a wornout controversy, and disturbing the peace of the Church. The sentiment is an amiable one, but unwarranted by the facts of the case. The controversy on the subject of Baptism had been for a long previous period in a course of revival and growth, rather than of extinction. And while it was not only sowing dissensions between pastors and their flocks, and amongst the members of those flocks, but arraying even the Teachers of Truth against each other, pulpit against pulpit, and man against man, we might well indeed have inquired, 'Is it peace?' The late proceedings did not cause us to exchange peace for war, but only one mode of warfare for another infinitely less offensive. They found men carrying on the controversy in every way which could be imagined the most unprofitable and the most unfair. Loose and indefinite notions ventilated in ordinary conversation, partial and disjointed discussions of detached portions of the subject, the anonymous dogmatism of the periodical press, shallow sophisms and ignorant mistakes, unjust charges and offensive personalities,—all these thrown together into one common undigested mass, perplexing, misleading, irritating the minds of men. They gave us instead a full, precise, patient, and deliberate investigation, carefully conducted and scrupulously watched on either side, and carried on with the seriousness, the temper, and the courtesy, which befitted so grave an occasion and so sacred a subject. And when the alternatives are compared, few, I imagine, would hesitate in deciding which of the two was the most calculated to advance the cause of peace as well as of truth. That many of the evils which I have enumerated have not been, by this means, everywhere abated, may, with I fear too much truth, be averred. Men there unhappily are, and always will be, who prefer the excitement of a quarrel to the dull task of a sober disputation. But quiet and thoughtful minds have gained much by the change of circumstances. Instead of throwing aside the subject in hopeless bewilderment and disgust, they have now something substantial and trustworthy to turn to. The whole controversy, in its

may lament that, when truth seemed to be gaining ground more than heretofore, and this in the face of the very untoward events of the last five years, any question of doctrine was unavoidably brought to a legal issue, but this will not convince us that law ought to be *perverted* for fear of consequences; and the high character of our judges cannot deprive us of our wits, or prevent us from seeing that they lay down principles of interpretation; and then proceed immediately to set their own principles at nought; and we must tell Archdeacon Hare that the *legality* of the judgment has not been "established" by anything that he has said; it has been simply *assumed*, and is the principal point in dispute. In Church questions, we see recognized principles of law *departed from* on grounds of supposed expediency. This is the character of the *judicial* acts we are to expect, and our chance of remedying their evil by legislation is almost infinitely diminished by the Supremacy of the Prime Minister, and his claim to the *irresponsible* disposal of the highest Church patronage.

Mr. Cavendish* very properly insists upon the fact, that the eternal interests of the poor of the flock, whose faith most materially depends upon the oral teaching of the Church, are to be considered before the comfort and interest of the Clergy whose non-natural interpretation is misleading them. But we see no evidence at all in his letter that he would *ground* a legal judgment on such considerations; they would have *some* weight in determining whether the law was to be administered with strictness or with laxity; just as Archdeacon Hare considers, that on this point the difference between extorted admission and voluntary promulgation of error ought to have weight. But their weight in determining the conduct which a given judgment obliges us to pursue is quite irrespective of any bearing we may think they ought to have had upon the judgment itself.

length, breadth, and depth, is before them. They can compare the principles, weigh the contending proofs, and measure the arguments of either party against those of the other. Nor is this all. The course of this investigation has elicited many avowals and concessions, which have not only served to disabuse the minds of ignorant men as to the real subject of the controversy, and the relative positions of the parties engaged in it, but to remove also much misunderstanding between the parties themselves. We shall no longer, it may be hoped, hear of those literal interpretations of our formularies, which, having been explained on the one side, have been admitted by the other to be at least fairly within the scope of the language of the Church, entitled 'Popish figments' and 'soul-destroying heresies.' We shall no longer hear men professing that they 'deny Baptismal Regeneration,'—and on that ground claimed by schismatics and heretics as making common cause with themselves—who have been anxious to declare that they hold, in some legitimate sense of the words, that persons duly baptized are 'by baptism regenerate.' Men have been brought to observe more carefully than before the precise language which the Church has prescribed: and thus the limits of the controversy have been more accurately defined, and the real point at issue between Churchmen disentangled from many views which belong only to Dissenters, and which, it is admitted, no Churchman can hold, without forfeiting his proper and distinctive character."

* Letter, p. 9.

We do not think Archdeacon Hare deals quite fairly with Mr. Cavendish. He says, "I cannot think without deep pain that you should call a *regard* to the comfort and happiness of a number of excellent men devoted to their ministerial duties 'morbid sentimentality.' " What Mr. Cavendish had called morbid sentimentality, was *such* regard for their comfort as puts out of sight the harm they are doing by their false doctrine; and this expression, although too strong on Archdeacon Hare's view of the whole case, is perfectly natural, if he believed, as we do, that it would have been very possible to condemn such a degree of error as amounts to either fatalism or Pelagianism, and is in fact another Gospel, not that of the New Testament, without involving in the condemnation any who can with any truth be described as Archdeacon Hare describes the Evangelical Clergy. Such as he describes are, in fact, just the persons whom Dr. Pusey, and no doubt also Mr. Cavendish, is most anxious not to cut off. He says, "In an extreme case of a wilful denial of our Church's doctrine, discipline, I doubt not, might still be enforced by law." This is just what we do doubt. Mr. Gorham's is an extreme case, and the principles on which it has been decided that he may be admitted, are such as will admit a Socinian, or one who denies the inspiration of Holy Scripture.

To go now to the third resolution. Archdeacon Hare denies that the judgment *equally* sanctions the false doctrine and the true. This, from one who is so sensitive of the importance of strict adherence to *legal* technicalities! As to its *legal* effect, it *must* equally sanction all that it admits at all; for in the nature of things, such a judgment does not admit of degrees. However much the judges may contrive to express their own conviction that white means white, still if they allow a man to say it means black, he has to the full as good a *legal* right to say so, as we have to say it means white; and this does *render* (i.e. encourage people to believe, which is all that any words can do) the benefits of holy Baptism altogether uncertain and precarious. And notwithstanding that our formularies remain just as they were, they *mean*, to all *legal* purpose, what this judgment says they mean, until the Church legislature says otherwise: just as the Factory Act has now a meaning which is opposed to the notorious purpose of the legislature, *until* Parliament re-enacts its notorious purpose in words which cannot be evaded. Before, they were satisfied with their words, on the supposition that they meant what was intended; now, they know what their words do mean, and are answerable for the cruelty and injustice (if such it be) of that meaning, until they make a fresh enactment. There is a conscious, wilful, and deliberate abandonment of the purpose they had in making the Factory Act; and just so, if the Church *allows* this judgment to be recorded as interpreting her formularies, without any attempt

to re-enact what she intended to be their meaning, there will be a conscious, wilful, and deliberate abandonment of the essential meaning of an Article of the Creed : it will be allowed to mean something contrary to what it was intended to mean. And this will be the case, if it be *proved* that this judgment is legally valid and correct ; which, we take the liberty of repeating, has not yet been done. Our mind is so strangely constituted, that we actually deem it to be within the verge of possibility, that Archdeacon Hare is considerably more hasty and intemperate than Mr. Badeley ; otherwise he must needs see, that in whatever proportion it can be shown that our existing law fairly admits such an interpretation as has been put upon it, in just such proportion it is shown that our existing law is insufficient for the maintenance of the Catholic faith, and our need for the restoration of legislative power is increased. We see no cause to alter our impression that the judgment is on legal grounds unjust ; but if Archdeacon Hare, or any one else, should succeed in convincing us that we are herein mistaken, the resolutions which are so obnoxious to him will be just as necessary and just as applicable as they are now. They deal not with the judgment, but with its effects. They do not declare the judgment to be unjust, but hurtful ; and if justly hurtful, why so much the more deadly is the mischief. We should like to know who has asserted that Mr. Gorham could be rejected except on the ground of some adequate legal disqualification ?* We do not remember to have met with any such assertion. We must say, that when these resolutions are said to contain " a vast exaggeration of our present evils, and not one merely, but exaggeration upon exaggeration, and threat upon threat,"† this is language more worthy of an angry schoolboy, than of a peace-making archdeacon : it is in truth nothing more nor less than simple nonsense, to call it a threat, when people of mature years and devoted life express their mournful conviction that the very life of the Church, to whose service they are devoted, is in danger. If so be one discovers a leak in a ship, and tells the passengers that they will sink unless they work the pumps, this we suppose is a *threat* that he will drown them all ! Truly we have yet to learn the meaning of our mother tongue, if this be so.‡

Again : it is mere child's play to inquire how a divine foundation can be destroyed : we might as well ask S. Paul how the work of God could be destroyed. Every one sees what is meant, namely, that our misconduct may render it of no benefit to us. If we remove ourselves off the foundation, the effect is the same to us as though the foundation were destroyed : and as to the principle of authority, we are asked what is it ? is it the private judgment of the authors of these Resolutions ? We think Mr. Cavendish has

* Postscript, p. 88.

† Hare's Letter, p. 34.

‡ Page 26.

given a sufficient answer to this, and that his old tutor has not raised any considerable objection to his answer in his Postscript.

We now take leave of Archdeacon Hare, and turn to another Archdeacon, whose Charge accords far more nearly with our notion of soberness and truth than the Letter we have just been considering. Archdeacon Harrison deals very satisfactorily with several important points which are of public interest at the present time. The first we shall notice is that of marriage within the prohibited degrees. He is fully qualified by oriental as well as other theological learning, to pronounce on the meaning of the Levitical Law, and on its bearing upon us Christians: and after stating his grounds "as briefly as might be," but at too great length to be quoted here, he says: "I believe that our Church, in her authoritative synodal acts, had undoubted warrants of Holy Scripture in pronouncing certain degrees, among which is that now under discussion, to be prohibited by the laws of God; and that the most plausible objections alleged now-a-days against such her solemn decisions, are utterly futile and actually suicidal."* He adds that he has drawn up a petition, the signatures attached to which, by the great body of the Clergy of his Archdeaconry, fully bear out as regards them, the Archbishop's statement as to the Clergy generally, that this is a question "on which there is little difference of opinion" amongst them. He then very justly remarks how strangely a tendency to party spirit finds room for its exercise, even where it must have seemed to be absolutely excluded, and warns his hearers, that while men are talking *for* the omnipotence of Parliament, and *against* the omnipotence of Popes, they may be forgetting that there is One "in regard to whom it does indeed concern us to know whether He hath spoken, and what He hath said; and that it may be, that if they will neither own authority in His Church, nor are themselves either qualified, or disposed to ascertain by careful study what He hath written, they may become unawares the followers and servants of him 'who exalteth himself above all that is called God,' or that is worshipped, and be making the Word of God Almighty bow down to the will of men."

In p. 21 and the six following pages of this Charge, are some very just and important remarks upon the Act which allows the Registrar's Certificate to take the place of Banns, which we commend to the attention of the Clergy.

We then come to the state of the question of Education. We extract Archdeacon Harrison's concluding remarks upon what Archdeacon Hare calls "the pertinacious clamour against the Educational Committee of the Privy Council,† on account of a matter so petty and insignificant, that one must needs think the bulk of the clamourers have no notion what it really is, and merely

* Charge, p. 19.

† Letter, p. 51.

clamour because their neighbours do," and sincerely hope that it may come to the knowledge of the latter that men think differently, who are at least his equals in every thing except the power of calling names.

"The question that has been raised, (says Archdeacon Harrison,*) let me plainly state, is not between the Clergy and the Laity, far from it; nor even between the Church and the State; for the Committee of Council is not the State, but simply the responsible administrator of the bounty of Parliament; nor is it a question between the Committee of the National Society and the Committee of Council on Education. The discussion is now removed from that arena; but it is a question between the friends of religious Education on the one hand, and on the other hand a *centralizing power*, which seems to them to threaten the permanence and purity of that Christian Education which they desire to impart to the children of their people, in conformity with the principles of the Church; a power which they fear is—insensibly, or rather visibly—tending directly to the establishment of a supreme Minister of Public Instruction, on the ruins of the Church System of Education, and eventually to the production among ourselves of those disastrous results to Church and State, which have been seen and read of all men, in fearful characters on the face of the kingdoms or the anarchies of Europe it must not be taken for granted by superficial observers, that mere refinements and details are made subjects of controversial discussion, or remote and improbable contingencies the groundwork of needless alarm. It may be thought, for instance, by some persons, to be amply sufficient, that in the trust deeds of schools there should be the provision, that all matters connected with *religious* instruction should be under the control of the clergyman, subject to an appeal to the Bishop. And this principle would seem at first sight to be fully and beyond all question secured in the Minutes of 1846. But if any one looked to the authoritative explanation of those Minutes, he would find it stated there, that 'in Church of England Schools this religious instruction would, *for the most part*, be under the superintendence of the parochial clergyman; but whenever the *managers* of a school are disposed to permit the apprenticeship, in a Church of England School, of a scholar whose parents do not belong to the Church of England, their Lordships have no desire to fetter their discretion in that respect, and would *acquiesce* in any reasonable arrangements between the *managers* and the *parents* for the religious training of their children. Though their Lordships, it was added, have not by any of their Minutes attempted to *enforce*, they are nevertheless desirous to *promote*, by their *sanction* and *encouragement*, such arrangements in Church of England Schools as may provide for the admission of the children of persons not members of the Church of England, without any requirements inconsistent with the rights of conscience.' A statement like this gives importance to what might otherwise have seemed unimportant in the question of management clauses; for a matter assuredly belonging to religious instruction would have been

* Charge, p. 41.

treated, it would seem, as one which lay simply between the managers of a school, Dissenting parents, and the Committee of Council on Education. And how easily 'sanction' and 'encouragement,' on their Lordships' part, may glide into *enforcement*, the documents of that controversy have already shown."

Archdeacon Hare may think this and many other such things petty and insignificant matters; but we are quite sure he will not convince reasonable men that they are other than huge and very significant matters, by charging them with "hasty flaring up and blazing at the touch of a spark,"* and other still more furious and insulting language, which Archdeacon Harrison quotes (p. 37), and on which he adds:—"I venture to say, with all brotherly respect and concern, that the manner in which, on this and other matters of which he has treated, he deals his censures about him right and left, is hardly 'the true remedy for the evils of the age;' and that the fulfilment of 'his desires of unity and peace,' sincere and earnest as I doubt not they are, is not likely to be promoted by the use of language so unmeasured, and so calculated to irritate and offend, as that in which he indulges."†

We earnestly recommend to the attention of our readers, Archdeacon Harrison's admirable statement of the Scripture doctrine of Baptism: we could not do any sort of justice to it by extracts, and it extends to near twenty pages.

These are followed by some extracts from a fearful article in the last Number of the *Edinburgh Review*, the Archdeacon's remarks on which are evidently suggested by the "general satisfaction" view of the late judgment. He says,

"Here then at length we see before us,—and not remotely—nay, rather close at hand—the prospect opening of that fearful final conclusion, to which the intellectual world is hastening, in which nothing is to be concluded, and according to which it is to be ruled that nothing can be concluded, with any consent of human minds. There *is* no certain sense of Scripture, we are to understand; there *can* be none; and there was *meant* to be none. That which will have become recognized and admitted in regard to the Church's Formularies, will be found to apply equally to the Word of God Himself. If the one are ambiguous, so is the other; if the one are supposed to have been intentionally left so, the same is to be supposed of the other. And concerning the Inspiration of Scripture, it will then be discovered that the articles are wholly silent; for indeed it was presumed; *that* therefore was left, it will be triumphantly argued, to the liberty of private judgment."

We hope Archdeacon Hare will not say to all this, that "of all objects of fear an imaginary one is the most terrific,"‡ and that God may protect his brethren from listening to him if he does, and incline them to hear the calmer and wiser counsel of his brother

* Page 51.

† Note, p. 99.

‡ Letter, p. 52.

Archdeacon.* “My Rev. Brethren, that which must be the object now of our wise and watchful care, our fervent and faithful, yet, at the same time, tender and charitable zeal, is not this single doctrine or that, but the whole deposit of the Christian Faith and of Revealed Truth in its integrity; ‘that good thing’ which S. Paul gave in charge again and again to his son Timothy; the same of which S. John speaks as the word which they had heard from the beginning; it is none other than that of which S. Jude gave all diligence to write unto his beloved brethren, even of ‘the common salvation;’ it is that for which he exhorted them that they should ‘earnestly contend,’ even for the faith once—(*ἀραξ*) *once for all* delivered unto the saints.” We are much struck by the conclusion of this very able and most truly Christian charge, but cannot transfer any more to our pages, and hope our readers will be induced by the above specimens to read the whole of it.

The last charge of another Archdeacon, viz., Archdeacon R. I. Wilberforce, needs no commendation from us; his services have been so eminent in maintaining the true doctrine of Baptism, as well as that of our Blessed Lord’s Incarnation, with which the former is intimately connected, that his charge is sure to be read if we only inform our readers that it is in print. We therefore just mention that he maintains the unwelcome, but unhappily no less true assertion that a judicial decision what our formularies mean does fix their meaning until the legislature of the Church declares otherwise; he shows that if this judgment is put in force that will be the meaning of our formularies, which ought to satisfy neither party; not those who deny Baptismal Regeneration, who for years have declared this doctrine to be a soul-destroying heresy, and have made its rejection the very characteristic of their creed. “Ought men,” he asks,† “to be satisfied to belong to a Church which uses expressions obviously calculated to teach heresy, because she is not rigid in excluding those who assert the truth? If the Church’s words taken in their natural sense denied our Lord’s Divinity, would it be enough that she was not ‘minute and rigid’ in silencing those who maintained His Godhead? Surely those who think that Baptismal Regeneration is an untrue and dangerous dogma, ought not to be contented unless it is distinctly repudiated.”‡ Not those who believe in this article of the Christian Faith, for the negative force of a judicial explanation is far greater than its positive force, and they cannot now affirm that they teach it as they formerly did on the authority of the Church.§

In his concluding paragraph, he says, “What should be our

* Charge, p. 85.

† Page 20.

‡ Page 21.

§ We observe that Mr. Jordan of Enstone is honest enough to acknowledge this—he maintains that the judgment is one which no religious mind can be satisfied with, and calls upon his evangelical brethren never to rest till they have succeeded in calling convocation into action, and altering the Prayer Book so as *plainly* to accord with what they believe to be the truth; we agree with Mr. Jordan in his view of the judgment, vastly absurd as we think the Scriptural arguments by which he endeavours to show that his view is the truth.

conduct, brethren, in such an emergency I do not feel entitled to suggest; until it be seen whether any practical course is pointed out by those who with a higher place possess a heavier responsibility. Among our many Bishops at home and in the colonies, there will not be wanting surely some Athanasius in the hour of the Church's danger. So much only I beg you to remember, that so soon as the decision of the Privy Council is obeyed, our Church is already committed to sanction heresy, and can only be freed by some new law, or some new sentence."^{*}

Now surely it is of no use, it is worse than useless, to storm and fume at assertions such as this; nor is it of any avail solemnly to repudiate them, *unless they can be disproved*. If Archdeacon Hare will do this for us, we will undertake to bear with unflinching patience a whole shower of his choicest vituperative epithets. But we are persuaded that we shall get the Church's legislative power restored sooner or later; though *at what cost* this will be effected is quite another question. Mr. Gladstone's valuable Letter to the Bishop of London, on the Royal Supremacy, which has just reached us, is an effort in this direction which will not easily be set at nought. We are not able to give such an account of it as it deserves. In it he examines the following questions—

I. Did the statutes of the Reformation involve the abandonment of the duty of the Church to be the guardian of her Faith?

II. Is the present composition of the appellate tribunal conformable either to reason or to the statutes of the Reformation, and the spirit of the constitution as expressed in them?

III. Is the Royal Supremacy, according to the constitution, any bar to the adjustment of the appellate jurisdiction in such a manner as that it shall convey the sense of the Church in questions of doctrine?

"All these questions," he says, "I undertake to answer in the negative, and so to answer them in conformity with what I understand to be the principles of our history and law. My endeavour will be to show that the powers of the state, so determined, in regard to the legislative office of the Church, (setting aside for the moment any question as to the right of assent in the Laity) are powers of *restraint*; that the jurisdictions united and annexed to the crown are corrective jurisdictions; and that their exercise is subject to the general maxim, that the laws ecclesiastical are to be administered by ecclesiastical judges." Mr. Gladstone says that if his main propositions are overruled by opposite authority and evidence, he shall retire from the contest, with earnest desires, but with the faintest hope that any means may yet be discovered of prolonging the existence of the national establishment of religion, without violating the integrity of the Christian Faith, polluting the conscience of the Church as its appointed witness, and destroying alike its

authority and its capacity for a due discharge of its work : but in the mean time he contests the propositions of such writers as Mr. Allies with an unshrinking confidence ; and, as far as a hasty perusal enables us to judge, we think he is in great measure, if not entirely, successful in proving what he undertakes to prove. He does not ask what have been the glosses of lawyers, or the reproaches of polemical writers, but contends that the statutes of the realm, as they are above the sacred majesty of the Queen, so are likewise above their ministerial interpreters ; and that the statute contains no trace of such a meaning, as that the Crown, either originally was the source and spring of Ecclesiastical jurisdiction, or was to become such in virtue of the annexation to it of the powers recited. He denies that the Pope was the source of ecclesiastical jurisdiction in the English Church before the Reformation, (p. 17,) and observes that the Reformation statutes did not leave the Convocation in the same position relatively to the Crown as the Parliament, noticing (p. 30) some very remarkable distinctions. He gives considerable reasons for doubting whether the appellate power in matters Ecclesiastical is part of the Royal Supremacy at all (p. 73,) and also for affirming the position that Ecclesiastical causes ought by law to be determined by ecclesiastical judges.

And he truly observes, that they who believe the Establishment to be also the Church of CHRIST, cannot be expected either to acquiesce in the present state of things, or to leave the Church, till a change seems quite hopeless ; since they owe her allegiance, so that whatever permits will oblige them to depart. We must conclude with a passage he quotes from the Count de Maistre,* too remarkable to be omitted :—" Si jamais les Chrétiens se rapprochent, comme tout les y invite, il semble que la motion doit partir de l'Eglise d'Angleterre. Le presbyterianisme fut une œuvre Française, et par conséquent une œuvre exagérée. Nous sommes trop éloignés des sectateurs d'un culte trop peu substantiel ; il n'y a pas moyen de nous entendre, mais l'Eglise Anglicane, qui nous touche d'une main, touche de l'autre ceux que nous ne pouvons toucher ; et quoique, sous un certain point de vue, elle soit en butte aux coups des deux partis, et qu'elle présente le spectacle un peu ridicule d'un révolté qui prêche l'obéissance, cependant elle est très précieuse sous d'autres aspects, et peut être considérée comme un de ces intermédiaires chimiques, capable de rapprocher des élémens inassociables de leur nature."

We must now pass on, for "ecce iterum Crispinus." Mr. Goode's so called "Reply to the Bishop of Exeter," not from its own merits, but partly from the unaccountable notice which has been taken of it, and partly from the injury it inflicts upon respectable authorities, has called forth at least two

* Consid. sur la France, c. ii.

answers, besides those we have already noticed. That by Mr. Watson, of Cheltenham, extends to the length of 127 pages. It is on the whole a very able exposure of disgraceful evasion and sophistry, but strikes us as principally remarkable for the very successful way in which it justifies the Bishop of Exeter for quoting the first edition of the Archbishop's book. "Is the Bishop of Exeter to blame for this?" asks Mr. Watson. "What says his Grace in the preface to the ninth edition, February 1850? 'I take the opportunity of the republication of a work written thirty-five years ago, to repeat what was stated in the original preface,' &c. It is but the effect of a common sum in subtraction to look in Ed. 1815 for words, which in 1850 it is said were written thirty-five years ago. If his Grace had reprinted in this edition the *whole* of the Preface to the Second Edition, a *part of which* he had been in the habit of printing with the different editions up to the present; the Bishop of Exeter would then have known that there were alterations and new matter introduced in the second edition, which were intended 'to fill up what would otherwise appear deficient in a system of preaching, which confined Regeneration to Baptismal privileges,' and it would have been his lordship's duty to have examined what correspondence there was between Ed. 1817 and 1850. But is it true, as Mr. Goode says, that the editions of 1817 and 1850 are identical, with the exception of the insertion of the note, p. 171, and of the extracts from Bradford, and the omission of the words, 'it absolutely nullifies the Sacrament of Baptism?' By no means." Mr. Watson then occupies several pages with a comparison of passages in edition 1817, and edition 1850, in which the two editions differ whether by addition or curtailment, some of the differences being of considerable importance; and this sort of falsification or carelessness amounting to falsification, is a specimen of the ability by which such a man as Archdeacon Hare can tell Mr. Cavendish that the Bishop's arguments are "demolisht."

Again, the awful addition of the word "of," in the text, Tit. iii. 5, by which Mr. Goode charges the Bishop with "manufacturing" a statement, &c., is shown to be the received rendering of the passage, and to have been adopted by Calvin himself. We agree with Mr. Watson,* that Mr. Goode can hardly be acquitted of detraction in making the statement he does of Archdeacon Wilberforce's doctrine; nor can we call the suppressions which occur in his citation of Bishop Taylor, as exposed by Mr. Watson, p. 108, other than utterly disingenuous.

We find, in p. 111, that Mr. Goode insultingly says of the Bishop's remark on Bishop Pearson: 'I beg to ask where your lordship picked up this piece of information?' when it is picked up

from the context of Pearson himself. He also perverts the Bishop's words, in order to enable him to make a show of a "reductio ad absurdum," which the words the Bishop used will in no way admit of. But we must not trouble our readers with any further exposure of the impertinent mis-statements by which the Bishop of Exeter's arguments are said to have been "demolished." They who wish it may find plenty more in Mr. Watson's book; we will only refer to a statement of the truth as regards the verdict, or rather falsidict given in *Latimer v. Bishop of Exeter*, to which Mr. Goode insultingly alludes, it occurs at p. 177 of Mr. Watson's Reply.

Much of the same ground is gone over by Mr. T. K. Arnold, who has added an important exposure of Mr. Goode's apparently utter ignorance of the statements of the *Lutheran Divines*.

We cannot close the article without a few remarks upon our present prospects. Among favourable symptoms, we may note in the first place the granting of the rule by the Court of Exchequer, which, even if the decision should be adverse to the Bishop, will admit of the case being carried by appeal to the House of Lords. On the other hand, should the court decide in favour of the Bishop, the judgment of the Privy Council will be superseded, and that of the Court of Arches stand. It is true that the Bishop even then would not be safe, a suit having been already commenced against him by the government in the Court of Queen's Bench. But here the penalties would be merely temporal; and we have very little doubt that the noble-hearted Bishop, backed by the Church's highest Court of Appeal, would unhesitatingly prefer a prison to the institution of a Clerk convicted of heresy.

But now regarding things as they are, rather than as they may be, what may be said to be the actual results up to this time of the struggle in which we are engaged? And first, we are glad to admit that the decision of the Privy Council ought not in any degree to prevent Bishops from requiring the admission of the doctrine of baptismal regeneration from candidates for holy orders. On the contrary, the abeyance of all subsequent discipline throws the entire onus of keeping the Church free from heresy upon Bishops and their examining Chaplains. A paragraph has lately gone the round of the papers, asserting that the unsoundness of Mr. Gorham on the question of Baptism was discovered by the Bishop from whom he sought orders, but was overlooked on the usual charitable (!) hypothesis, that it was merely a youthful indiscretion. This is so well shown by Mr. Dodgson, that we make no excuse for a long quotation. Speaking first of the Judicial Committee:

"It (he states) is not concerned with the question whether the opinions under its consideration are 'theologically sound or unsound;' nor whether 'other opinions opposite to them may or may not be held with equal or even greater reason.' It is simply a question as to the construction of language, to be determined 'by the same rules which have long been

established, and are by the law applicable to the construction of all written instruments.' Secondly, in this construction, they are to be 'assisted only by the consideration of such external or historical facts, as they may find necessary to enable them to understand the subject-matter to which the instruments relate, and the meaning of the words employed;' nor must they be 'influenced by the authorities by which the eminent men, who propounded the Articles and Liturgy, may be supposed to have been influenced.' And finally, 'in all cases, in which the Articles, considered as a test, admit of different interpretations, it must be held that any sense, of which the words fairly admit, may be allowed, if that sense be not contradictory to something which the Church has elsewhere allowed or required.'

"Now let us observe how these rules must work in arriving at the final decision.

"The form of the language employed in our authorized documents may, from the mere 'impossibility' of framing it otherwise, admit of two directly opposite interpretations. Of these, the one may be theologically sound, the other unsound; but the Court has no concern with that question. The one may be historically demonstrated to be Primitive and Catholic, the other unknown to the first ages of the Church; but the Court may not be assisted by such external and historical facts. And, even if they believe that the framers were guided at the time by the authority of the Primitive Church, the Court must not be influenced by the authorities 'by which *they* may be supposed to have been influenced.' Finally, the Uncatholic interpretation may be more forced and less probable, even according to the rules of verbal construction, than the Catholic one; but the Court in inquiring into its admissibility, has not to decide the question whether another opinion opposite to it may or may not be held *with greater reason*. If both be admissible as grammatical interpretations, both must be pronounced to be doctrines allowed by the Church.

"Startling as this result may be, it is not so startling as that which lies but one step beyond it; namely, that on every point, on which the language of the Church admits, by legal construction, of two possible opposite meanings, she must be considered as not intending to teach *any doctrine at all*. And this conclusion is virtually declared also by the Court in its judgment. 'If there be any doctrine, on which the Articles are silent, or ambiguously expressed, so as to be capable of two meanings,' and if, also, 'the expressions used in the rubrics and formularies are ambiguous, we must suppose that it was intended to leave that doctrine to private judgment.'

"Here, then, it is first declared to have been, under the circumstances of the case, 'perhaps impossible, even if it had been thought desirable, to employ language which did not admit of some latitude of interpretation:' and next, that *because* such ambiguity is found, it must be supposed to have been *intended*.

"If the principles thus laid down by this Court, as directing and controlling their decisions, may be considered, as well they may, to afford but slender security for the conservation of Catholic Truth in our Church, much comfort to Churchmen must needs arise from the

fact, which I next propose to notice, namely, that our Bishops, in the exercise of their proper independent functions, must be presumed to take other and very different principles for their guidance. Can a Bishop, in inquiring into the fitness of a candidate for Holy Orders, be indifferent to the question whether his opinions are theologically sound or unsound? If the same words seem to admit of two different interpretations, can a Bishop exclude from his consideration all those 'external and historical facts,' which may 'assist' him in determining which of the two is Primitive and Catholic? And viewing, as he is bound to view, the framers of our formularies as exponents of Catholic doctrine, not of private opinions, can he refuse to be 'influenced by the authorities by which they may be supposed to have been influenced?' And if at length it clearly appears that the one interpretation is ancient and Catholic, and the other comparatively novel, can the Bishop of a Church, which has cast out Romish novelties, not because they are Romish, but because they are novelties, consent to place the two upon the same footing, and thus virtually to declare that the Church holds *no* doctrine on the point in question?

"Here, then, is a clear distinction between the legal functions of a Court, as defined by itself, and the duties which a Clergyman, whether Bishop, Priest, or Deacon, owes to the Church as a Divine Institution. And that this distinction is entirely recognized by public opinion, we have seen remarkably proved in our own times. Whatever differences of opinion there may be upon the Judgment which has been recently pronounced, no one has dreamed of impugning the honesty of the eminent men who pronounced it. But when, a few years since, the publication of the 90th Tract for the Times gave men reason to suppose that *Clergymen*—whose province it was not to seek out the limits of legal licence and impunity in the holding of opinions, but 'by manifestation of the truth to commend themselves to every man's conscience in the sight of God'—were attempting to apply the very same principle of a mere legal construction to our doctrinal formularies, the bare supposition of such an attempt was met by an almost universal outcry of indignation.

"Adverting, then, to the two separate jurisdictions of which I have been speaking—that of the Bishop in his examinations for Orders, and that of the Court of Appeal in such cases as are brought before it,—I repeat that the very fact that principles, which are recognized as the basis of the decision in the one case, are avowedly excluded from the other, renders it not only possible but highly probable that the two decisions may be adverse to each other: even as it frequently happens in a Court of Justice that the verdict must necessarily be for the one party, if certain evidence be let in, and for the other, if it be shut out. Hence it is clear, that neither decision can, in any sense, be held to overrule the other; and that therefore, on moral and rational, no less than on strictly legal grounds, the discretion vested in a Bishop with respect to the admission of candidates to Ordination, must be considered as in no respect fettered by the Judgment, which has been pronounced regarding the institution of Mr. Gorham."

Next, the still advancing progress of the controversy, in charges,

sermons, and pamphlets,* is in itself a great gain. And here we do not limit the remark to those which have appeared on the orthodox side. Thus Lord Congleton is compelled to admit that the denial of regeneration to infants in Baptism, must lead by strict logical consequence, to the denial of infant Baptism altogether. Thus by the pressure of a similar necessity, a Mr. Best of Sheffield, has invented a theory, which we believe to be as novel, as it will by all parties be considered untenable. Like Lord Congleton, he is forced, much against his will, to admit baptismal regeneration to be the doctrine of the Church; and then adds this extraordinary limitation, that regeneration implies forgiveness of sins, but not the gift of the HOLY GHOST! In other words, we have one of the "Evangelical" party become the advocate of Justification by Baptism! While, intermediate between writers such as these and those who receive the entire dogmatic teaching of the Church, it is something to have such writers as Dr. Croly, and Mr. Vaughan of Leicester, come forward as champions on the right side.

These are strong reasons why we should not despair: yea, they are grounds of hope, that if we can of God's mercy rid ourselves of this most dishonest judgment, the Church will have before her a future of great promise. Still as yet that judgment remains, and the court that ruled it. And while they do remain, the Church is both tolerating heresy, and the probable source of further deviations from the truth. How long a Church may continue in such a state by compulsion, without forfeiting the promises of God, is a question that will be very differently answered by different individuals. Mr. Gresley looks forward to "a few more such cases" as indispensable preliminaries to our success. If this be merely to say that we should not venture to put limits to the long-suffering of God, the statement may be allowable; but he should be careful, we think, not to appear to justify the apathy of the indifferent: if Bishops and Priests are not aroused now to the dangers of the Church, we can scarcely see what further warning is to be expected. Or, rather, if we turn a deaf ear now, may not God most justly reply hereafter, "Because I have called and ye refused, . . . I also will laugh at your calamity, I will mock when your fear cometh?"

* Among many that have interested us, we may specify "A few Remarks on the Gorham case, by a layman," published at Philadelphia. It quotes largely from two previous articles in the "Ecclesiastic."

REVIEWS AND NOTICES.

Philip the Second. A Tragedy. By N. T. MOILE. London; Lowe.

There is much real poetic talent displayed in the composition of this tragedy, and we are therefore the more disposed to regret that it should be expended on so ill-chosen and unworthy a subject. All gifts of the intellect are designed to work for the glory of God or the good of man, and we cannot see that either of those ends are promoted in a poem which from its very power and beauty excites our compassion for the victims of *unlawful* affection, and displays before us the triumph of the passion of revenge, over the holy tie that should bind the father and the son in love. The portraiture of evil can never be advantageous, except it be shown to us in all its native hideousness with a view to excite our abhorrence, and even then the experiment is a very doubtful one. There is a far safer and more legitimate exercise of talent, in seeking rather to allure men to that which is good by causing the fire of genius to light up the beauty of holiness. We sincerely trust that the author will cultivate his great natural powers; but we would earnestly recommend him in future to choose for his theme instead of the crimes of a Spanish king, some of the holy and noble deeds of Christian men of old, for which we think his high-wrought tone of feeling and graphic style peculiarly fitted.

Faith and Practice. Being sundry thoughts in Verse. By a Country Curate.

THE title given to this little volume of very tolerable verses seems to us much too comprehensive and important. The entire Faith and Practice of Christians would indeed require a far more extensive and powerful enunciation than we could expect to find in a work like this. For all else, so far as it goes, we will gladly recommend this pleasing little book. The actual poetry is not very striking, nor the doctrinal teaching strongly marked; but every line breathes so pure and excellent a spirit, that we cannot but reverence therein the evident traces of that deepest wisdom which is attained by the practice of holiness. We doubt not it may be a soothing pleasure to many to find in these little poems the echo of those thoughts which are stirred in the heart by the contemplation of holy things. We could wish, however, that the author had abstained from treating in mere verse of a matter so infinitely holy and awful as the Blessed Eucharist. It has ever seemed to us the great evil of sacred poetry that it induces the too familiar handling of High Mysteries; although in this individual case there is evidently the feeling and desire of deep reverence.

Cabramatta, and Woodleigh Farm. By MRS. FRANCES VIDAL, Author of "Tales of the Bush." London: Rivingtons.

THERE is perhaps no class of books in which our English literature is so deficient as in works suitable for servants and persons in a similar rank of life. It is not so much that this branch of useful writing is altogether neglected, as that the Church has allowed it to be monopolised to a pernicious extent by authors antagonistic to her principles. We are certain that to this passive inaction, which has opposed little or no resistance to the heretical teaching so zealously diffused by cheap publications designed for the middle and lower classes, may be attributed mainly the vast amount of sectarianism which prevails among them. It is certain that Church principles are to be found far more widely spread among the very poor who are dependent on the oral instruction of their clergy. We are therefore disposed to consider any work valuable which affords suitable reading for persons in that rank, even if it had no other merit than that of affording them amusement, without conveying along with it the usual quantum of poisonous doctrine. Mrs. Vidal's book, however, has much better claims on our notice. It is adapted, we should say, solely for the class we have mentioned, and may be very practically useful to them. Her remarks are full of plain, honest, good sense, and there is a tone of excellent feeling throughout the work. It is also satisfactory to find that where she does bring forward religious matters, her views appear to be sound and orthodox. We prefer her first tale (*Cabramatta*) to the second: both because it gives an interesting picture of peasant life in Australia, which we lose in *Woodleigh Farm*, where the scene is laid in England, and because the latter contains certain passages we could have wished omitted. They are those in which all the blame of the faults and even crimes of the servants in a large establishment would seem to be thrown on the laxity and carelessness of their master and mistress. However beneficial it might be to the rich to be impressed with a deeper sense of the evils their example may work, it yet seems to us a dangerous doctrine to place before their inferiors, who like all other baptized Christians, must stand or fall on their own responsibility alone. The tale is, however, well told, and contains much that is good and useful.

Parochial Sketches, in verse. By the REV. R. W. WILSON EVANS, B.D., Author of the "Rectory of Valehead," &c. London. Rivingtons. 18mo., pp. 260.

WE always meet Mr. Evans with greater pleasure in verse than in prose. Possessed of right feelings, he seems constitutionally unable to carry them out to definite results. In poetry this defect is not perceived; but bring him to the plain prose of dogmatic statements, and his weak points become apparent. In the same way, though we have never been at Heversham, we feel quite certain that Mr. Evans' prac-

tice as regards the Order and Services of the Sanctuary would be found to fall far short of what his books seem to sanction and recommend. Here happily we have nothing to do but to approve. The "Sketches" are not likely indeed to emulate the popularity of Mr. Evans' first work, but they will be acceptable, we are sure, to a large circle of readers,—to all indeed who can admire an ardent love of nature, combined with a fund of genuine religious feeling.

We have never read anything more utterly false than the so called *True Idea of Baptism*, by LORD CONGLETON, who, it appears, is an anti-nomian dissenter, and wishes the Church to abandon the practice of Infant Baptism. His lordship is of opinion that "the possibility of the new life (that everlasting life) being lost is no small error," since "the result of the benefit being a thing that it is possible to lose, is, that the baptized are *put under a covenant of works*," &c. &c. Confidence of assertion is usually proportioned to the density of a man's ignorance, and we have no fear that any decently educated Churchman should be led astray by Lord Congleton's absurdities: nor have we much hope of converting one who, with so small a knowledge of the Inspired Word of God as his lordship possesses, has the Antichristian self-confidence to treat with contemptuous neglect the concurrent testimony of the Saints of all ages to its true interpretation. We beg to ask his lordship, whether those who find texts for him ever directed his attention to S. John xv. 1, 2; 1 Cor. iii. 17; vi. 15; ix. 27; x. 1—12; xii. 13; Gal. iii. 26—28; Heb. iii. 12—19; iv. 1, 11; v. 9; &c. &c. for we should transcribe best half of the New Testament were we to attempt to show his lordship the extent to which it teaches that the regenerate *are* in such sense under a covenant of works, that unless their will co-operates with the grace of God so as to bear good fruit, they will become "*twice dead*," S. Jude 12. If he is not "*wise in his own conceit*," but only misguided, and will condescend to learn from those who really have searched the Scriptures to some purpose, we would refer him to Mr. Dodgson's *Controversy of Faith*, and Archdeacon Harrison's recent Charge for the true meaning of some of those texts which he utterly misunderstands.

Uncleanness: the ruin of body and soul, (Masters,) is the title of two sermons, which in these squeamish days it must have required not a little courage to preach and to print. We will only say of them that they greatly enhance our respect for the writer, as well as for the system which is reaching to so deep-seated an evil as that of juvenile impurity.

With several of the answers to the inquiry, *What has hindered the Anglican movement in the Church of England?* (Baldwin,) we quite agree. Bad sermons, and indistinct utterance of prayers, have been but too common faults with High Churchmen. In some respects, however, the line which the writer recommends would be to the full as offensive as that which he condemns; in others it is altogether without warrant.

MR. RICHARDSON, Head Master of Appleby Grammar School, can afford to make merry with Mr. Goode and the Gorham heresy. In this frame of mind we are as far as possible from sympathizing with him, and are sure it must render his *Letter to Mr. Goode*, (London, Ollivier,) distasteful to all religious persons. The indifferent, however, who have reached those

"templa serena
Despicere unde queas alios, passimque videre
Errare, atque viam palantes querere vite,"

and from the height of their philosophy, view the whole controversy as a matter of mere literature, which in no way concerns the welfare of souls, will find in it a very real exposure of the incredible absurdity of many of Mr. Goode's arguments.

The Church Musician, (Edwards and Hughes,) is a periodical much of the same kind as "the Parish Choir." It is conducted evidently by persons well skilled in Church Music, but appears wanting in that temper which should distinguish whatever professes to be an organ of the Church. There is a very offensive and unworthy notice of Mr. Helmore's Psalter.

MR. SEWELL has published a very striking volume of Whitehall Sermons, entitled "*The Character of Pilate and the Spirit of the Age*." (J. H. Parker.) It is a most providential circumstance that at this very critical time the congregation of Her Majesty's "Chapel Royal" should possess so able and faithful a Preacher.

A new edition of a book that has done good service to the Church has just been published by Rivingtons,—*Mant's Commentary on the Prayer Book*.

MR. THOMAS CARLYLE, the author of a little Tract *On the Sacrament of Baptism*, (Bosworth,) is, we presume, an Irvingite. His statements on the doctrine of Baptism are nevertheless sound and forcible.

MR. GRUBBER'S *Complete Statement of the Church's Doctrine of Holy Baptism*, (Masters,) is a most useful "Tract for the times." The author first states the doctrine in the Church's own words, and then illustrates it by a comment on the different passages of Holy Scripture which refer to it. We strongly recommend it for circulation in neighbourhoods where unsound views prevail.

MR. GOODE'S EXAMINATION IN THE COUNCILS.

A Letter to the Bishop of Exeter. FROM WILLIAM GOODE, M.A.
Hatchard. 1850.

Guardian Newspaper, for May 1, 1850.

WHEN any one is put forward by a body of men as the depository of their traditions, and the exponent of their minds, to test his competency becomes a matter of some importance to the public at large. Such is the position which is occupied, or at least claimed, by Mr. Goode, in the Puritan party. The Bishop of Exeter recently exposed certain gross misquotations, by which the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, as well as his Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury, have been imposed upon. So palpable was the unfairness with which the passages were selected, that most persons would have shrunk from the discredit of having selected them. But Mr. Goode is so anxious to establish his claims as the great advocate of his party, that he comes forward to assert his pretensions in the very spirit of the well known constable—"Me, an't shall please you: I am Anthony Dull." Mr. Watson has very properly remarked on the reckless boldness with which Mr. Goode exclaims: "be it remembered, the citations are only a few, which his Grace happened to select out of a multitude, that had been brought before the public." P. 58.

It is in this character then, of Advocate-General for the Puritan party, that we are to accept Mr. Goode. And since this position may give consequence to his words, and lead men to refer to him as an authority, we think it necessary to test the accuracy of some of his statements, that our readers may know to what weight his testimony is entitled. It is not our present intention to reply to his arguments, which have been sufficiently dealt with by Mr. Watson and Mr. Kerchever Arnold. Their pamphlets may satisfy those who need such explanations, how futile are his objections to the unanswerable reasoning of the Bishop of Exeter. The reader's patience would be more tested than the edge of the writer's weapon, if in this manner "thrice he slew the slain." Our object is rather to gather up the indications which this controversy supplies of Mr. Goode's competency as a theologian. Such a process of verification is indispensable, before any writer can take rank as a standard authority. Mr. Goode has no more ground to complain of it, than a candidate for the honours of Romish canonization of the preliminary inquiries of the Vatican. And that we may deal with him with perfect fairness, he shall be allowed,

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according to a custom, with which many of our readers are no doubt acquainted, to select for himself the subject of examination. We will try him in a department, which he states to be among "the very elements of ecclesiastical literature." Such is his own description of the Councils of the Church, in which he tells the Bishop of Exeter, that ignorance would be "a discredit to us all," p. 9. And he undertakes to refer his lordship to the best sources of information on this point, as one with which he is himself thoroughly familiar, p. 10. The subject had been recommended to the attention of the Clergy from a quarter, to which a person so deeply in love with the Royal Supremacy, must attach great importance. Mr. Goode has no doubt attended to King James's injunctions, and we are giving him every advantage therefore, when in the exercise of that editorial capacity, which constitutes us public examiners, we bid him take up the first volume of the Councils.

While he is finding his place, we must notice another circumstance, which renders it the more imperative to test his pretensions. It was formerly an established custom in the republic of letters, that men of extraordinary acquirements should be intolerant towards those who disputed their opinions. Everybody knows the style in which Scaliger conducted literary, or Luther theological disputations. In later days Dr. Johnson used to be the lawgiver of his company, and Coleridge its prophet; while even Dr. Parr claimed the privilege of smoking his pipe after dinner, because his Greek made up for his tobacco. This right of insulting his opponents, Mr. Goode has proceeded at once to exercise; and has thus claimed the privilege of genius, before the world has decided that he is not a dunce. It is true that the editor of the *Record* has come out to answer for his friend. "I praise God for you, Sir," says that worthy; "your reasons have been sharp and sententious; pleasant without scurrility, witty without affectation, audacious without impudency, learned without opinion, and strange without heresy." But we apprehend that the public at large has formed quite the contrary estimate on this subject. We believe it to be generally felt that the tone and manner of Mr. Goode's recent pamphlet is not only inconsistent with the principles of his party, but even with those feelings of decency, which are usual among gentlemen. For ourselves, however, as men who live by the pen, we are not disposed to surrender those privileges which belong to the republic of letters. We are jealous for the common prerogative of our craft. When Mr. Goode treats an aged Bishop with an insolent and scornful familiarity, he is establishing the right of literary men to be independent of rank and station. But then it is the more essential that he should vindicate his claim to the high position which he has arrogated to himself. For we allow no *brevet* rank in the republic of learning. We ask him then to prove

his title to that profound erudition, which entitles him to be insolent to men of rank. Let him only establish his superiority, and we shall be content to allow him to soar above us, and build his eyrie in the sun; since his advancement will be an assertion of the common title of every man of letters, to

“ Hold his distant way
Above the limits of a vulgar fate,
Beneath THE GOODER how far, but far above the great.”

But by this time our catechumen must be prepared, and we may proceed in our examination of *Goode the Great*. We remember to have heard of some worthy, (whom the examiners were unhand-some enough to pluck,) who professed to have learnt Greek, as the old lexicographers learnt it, before lexicons were invented. There is the same going to the root of the matter in the case before us. Mr. Goode not only tells the Bishop what is to be found in the Canons, but he also tells where he may find them. “ You are un-acquainted, it seems, even with the Code of Canons of the Universal Church, and know not where to find it. But I am forgetting that your lordship will perhaps ask for some references on this point. My Lord, I beg pardon for omitting such a necessary piece of information. Not to mention then the larger Conciliar works, let me ask you to turn to Justelli et Voelli Bibliotheca Juris Canonici Veteris, (Paris, 1661.)” Goode, p. 10. What a happy instance of the contemptuous style of instruction. How like Malvolio, “ quenching his familiar smile with an austere regard of control.” We are sorry to be obliged to stop our great scholar so speedily, but we must make a preliminary objection even to this reference. It was in regard to the African Canons, that the Bishop had been referring to the Code of the Universal Church. On that subject then it might be supposed, from Mr. Goode's words, that the compilation of Justellus was an undisputed authority. But this is far from being the case. We turn to the dissertation of Covstant at the opening of Gallandius' learned work, “ De vetustis Canonum collectionibus.” “ Canonum codicem Græce et Latine publicavit Parisiis, An. 1614, Christoph. Justellus, vir dum viveret, ecclesiastici juris consultissimus, atque codici titulum indidit, *codex canonum ecclesie Africanæ*. Eundem item Parisiis An. 1661, in bibliotheca jur. can. vet. tom. I. p. 320, recudi curavit Guil. Voellus, opem ferente Henr. Justello Christopheri filio. Is porro codex, si æstimatur ex titulo, lectori fucum facit, utpote qui nil præstat minus, quam quod pollicetur.” Vol. i., p. 103.

Surely Mr. Goode is not dealing fairly with the Bishop, whom he has undertaken to guide into a knowledge of the ancient Canons. Why does he refer to a work, which on the particular

point in question—the African Canons—“*lectorī fucum facit*,”—“*nihil præstat minus, quam quod pollicetur*?” Or is it that this great scholar himself was not aware of the defects of the work to which he was referring? If so, he seems to illustrate the truth, that the greatest clerks are occasionally caught napping. Aliquando BONUS dormitat. But no doubt we have only struck our harpoon into the Leviathan while he was slumbering for a moment near the surface, and he will retreat into the depth of those “*larger Conciliar works*,” of which he speaks with so much familiarity. We fancy him with the huge pile of Mansi by his side, while for usual reference he takes down the more manageable tomes of Hardouin. We must be prepared to follow him to his home in these massive repositories of learning, if we would do justice to the profoundness of his knowledge.

We invite Mr. Goode then to turn to the volume of Hardouin, from which he makes an extract in his tenth page. It is not of much moment that he mistakes the book which he has in his hands, and refers us in his note to the second instead of the first volume; nor again, that his extract is so partial as to misrepresent Hardouin's testimony; the first is a want of accuracy, the second of fairness, but with these we are not concerned; we are only examining Mr. Goode's learning. To this point then we proceed. The Bishop of Exeter had referred to the Canons of the Fourth Council of Carthage; Canons of considerable, but not of unimpeachable authority. On this Mr. Goode observes, “Hear what Hardouin says of the Council, which you have spoken of in such terms. Of this Council, Ferrandus Diaconus, Dionysius Exiguus, the Code of Canons of the African Church, and all the collectors of Canons, both Greek and Latin, are silent. And it appears from Hardouin, that the MSS. in which these Canons are found, vary very much in the title prefixed to them. Their supposed date lies between the years 398 and 436. So that this Canon, which is to show us what was required of every one ‘in the Primitive Church,’ before his consecration as a Bishop, was not enacted till at least the end of the fourth century.” Goode, p. 10.

Now we do not enter into the Bishop's defence; though it has been shown that a very good defence might be made for him, in a letter, signed E. B. P., in the *Guardian* of May 1. And even if this Fourth Council of Carthage were of more questionable authority, yet the frequent references made to it show that it only expressed what might be shown *aliunde* to rest on Catholic consent. This might be understood even from Hardouin, if Mr. Goode had not chosen to confine his extract to what he supposed made for him. But with this we have nothing to do. We are examining Mr. Goode, not the Bishop. We wish to ascertain, whether he has any real knowledge of the works to which he refers, or is only citing an authority, of which practically he knows nothing. Now

any one, who has been in the habit of studying the Councils, knows that there exist certain rules, which are the very A. B. C. by which their authority is to be determined. Among the first of these is the question, whether the date assigned to the supposed Council falls within the lifetime of the Bishops who are alleged to have subscribed it. Now there is one very remarkable name appended to the Fourth Council of Carthage. "*Augustinus Hippone-Regiensis subscripsi.*" But Mr. Goode tells us of these Canons, "their supposed date lies between the years 398 and 436." If the latest of these dates then can be ascribed to the Council in question, its canons must plainly be a forgery, for S. Augustine died A.D. 430. How came Mr. Goode to overlook such an obvious objection as this, and what familiarity can a man have with the Councils, who fails to observe circumstances so material?

But we have a further question to ask Mr. Goode respecting the date of this Council,—a question which will detect him, if we mistake not, in one of the grossest and most damaging mistakes ever made by a person who pretended to learning. We are well aware that ordinary writers make many mistakes, but a man has no right to lay claim to be the learned man of his age, and to refer to great works, as if he was intimately acquainted with them, when he only knows them by name, or has hunted out a reference in them. Mr. Goode ought not, we say, to have talked so pompously of "the larger Conciliar works," if he had seen nothing but their backs as they stand on the shelf in Zion College Library. We take leave to tell Mr. Goode, in the words which he thinks it decent to use to a Bishop, "Such a blunder as we have here, proceeding from one in your position, is a discredit to us all. It shows a want of acquaintance with the very elements of ecclesiastical literature." (Goode, p. 9.) So says Mr. Goode, when just about to expose himself in the most palpable manner. For he proceeds to tell us, respecting these Canons: "their supposed date lies between the years 398 and 436." (Goode, p. 10.) Why does Mr. Goode suppose this to be their date? No chronologist, we will answer for it, has told him so. He trusted probably that his readers would take it for granted that he must have grounds for his assertion; and he was glad himself to push the date of the Council as late as he could, under the idea of diminishing its authority. For we are in a condition to show that his statement is a mere guess, not only because it is utterly erroneous, but also because we can account for his making it. And it is a guess which affects an important point, because he places great weight upon the late date of the Canons in question. Now we affirm, that the reason why he says, "their supposed date lies between the years 398 and 436," is that in the margin Hardouin puts "*Anno Christi, 398,*" while in the middle of the page occurs the state-

ment, "habitum ab Episcopis numero 214, æra 436." Here are two dates apparently assigned; and Mr. Goode being utterly at a loss which to choose, thought it was the safest thing to say the matter lay between them. This was a sheer guess, for he evidently had not the slightest idea why two dates were assigned, but thought that this enigmatical expression would prevent his ignorance from being detected. It would have been wiser, if he had attended to the rule often given in national schools, "if you know the thing, answer, but don't guess." For in this case we should not have so striking a proof of his utter unacquaintance with the volumes to which he is referring. Had he been in the habit of consulting the "larger Conciliar works," he could not have failed to observe that not in this case only, but in very many there are assigned two dates. And it must have struck him as still more singular, that these dates always vary from one another by thirty-eight years. For example, if he had turned back a few pages to the Third Council of Carthage, he would have found in the margin, "Anno Christi, 397;" while in the middle of the page he would have met with "ab Episcopis 46, æra 435." Again, if he had looked on to the first Council of Toledo, he would have met with "Anno Christi 400," in the margin; while the notice in the middle of the page is "Novemdecem Episcoporum æra 438."

Now it is plainly inconceivable that this exact amount of uncertainty should be of perpetual recurrence. The date of Councils may at times be disputed, but the error will not be always identical. If Mr. Goode had been accustomed to refer to the Councils, he must have been guided to the solution of his difficulty, namely, that the two dates express the same time, only that they refer to different eras. In MSS. of Spanish date, it is usual to refer, not indeed, as E. B. P. says, to the Julian era, but to the era of Spain, which is founded upon it. This era dates from the conquest of Spain, thirty-nine years before CHRIST, and commenced on the 1st January, thirty-eight years before CHRIST. That Mr. Goode should have been ignorant of this circumstance, is in itself not very material. But it becomes of moment in the case before us, because it shows his unacquaintance with those "larger Conciliar works," to which he refers with such unbecoming arrogance.

But it may seem unfair to Mr. Goode to test his proficiency by a hasty and intemperate pamphlet; the personalities of which he would by this time probably be as glad to recall, as he would to correct its mistakes. Let us turn back then to some work of more pretensions, and see if it discovers indications of acquaintance with the Councils of the Church. We open what we suppose to be Mr. Goode's great work—his "Effects of Infant Baptism;" and here we certainly find a *reference* to the "larger Conciliar works," but that he shows any *acquaintance* with them can hardly be admitted. At p. 32 of that work, Mr. Goode says, "the doctrine

that grace was always conferred upon infants in baptism did not become a ruled doctrine in the Church of Rome till the Council of Vienna in 1311, and was then only laid down as the more probable opinion." Now here are two points mentioned—a doctrine of the Roman Church—a Council at which it was propounded—and in respect of each Mr. Goode has made a woeful blunder. He has supposed the dispute respecting *infused habits* to have implied that it was doubted whether the Sacraments were means of grace. This point however we shall not enter upon, especially as Mr. Goode's error has been sufficiently exposed by Archdeacon Wilberforce in his "Doctrine of Holy Baptism." It is more to our present purpose to look to Mr. Goode's other mistake, which is noticed indeed by the Archdeacon, but respecting which Mr. Goode seems to us to have been let off far too lightly. This decision, he says, became a ruled doctrine at the Council of Vienna, in 1311. Now that Mr. Goode should know little of the doctrine of infused habits only shows him to be indifferently read in dogmatic theology, but that he should suppose the celebrated Council, in which Clement V. dealt so hardly with the Templars, to have been held at Vienna, and not, as was the case, at Vienne in Dauphiny, shows his unacquaintance not only with those "Conciliar works," in which we are examining him, but likewise with a most material part of the history of the Church. Did he not remember that in 1305, Philip the Fair had procured the election of a Gallic Bishop to the papacy, in order that the Pope might be detained under French influence and within the French dominions? How could he think then of transporting the Pope into the heart of Germany during the very period of the captivity (as the Romans called it) at Avignon? Here he would have been guided rightly by the margin of Hardouin, in which he might read "*Viennæ in Delphinatu, Galliæ provincia;*" or if he had looked to the Canon Law, in which the decrees of Clement V. form a very material portion, he would have found at the head of them, "*Clement V. in Concilio Viennensi, (an. 1311 in Gallia.)*" That Mr. Goode should have confounded the ancient Roman town of Vienne with the capital of Austria, is not in itself a matter of much moment; it shows indeed that his strength does not lie in geography any more than in chronology: but this is immaterial: we notice it here as evincing his want of familiarity with the works which he professes to cite, and with which in his judgment, it is so discreditable to be unacquainted. It would be hopeless to look for any knowledge of the Fathers in a writer, who is so utterly unprovided even in that department of antiquity to which he himself invites our attention.

Here we drop Mr. Goode, pronouncing only that we can give him no *testamur*, but must remit him to his studies, as a person who professes himself a master of great books, with which he

shows himself to be notoriously unacquainted. I, BONE, qua virtus tua te vocat. But before we stop, we must notice the unfairness, with which he repeats perpetually the phrase "opus operatum," by way of raising a prejudice against his opponents. "Pax vobiscum" was not more useful to Wamba in his friar's cowl, than "opus operatum" to our author. We are glad to see that Mr. Badeley so far meets this matter boldly, as to assert that the Church of England and the Church of Rome are agreed as to the efficacy of Baptism in the case of Infants; and the Bishop of Bangor makes the same assertion in his recent Charge. So far then as the phrase *ex opere operato* is applicable to Infant Baptism, it does not express anything which is at variance with the teaching of the Church of England. Now we believe that this phrase, as applied by the Schoolmen to the case of adults, did not mean more than it did as applied to the case of infants. In no case was it intended to supersede the necessity of a right disposition, in those who were competent to possess one. It was merely the assertion of the evident truth, that Sacraments are the means, through which Almighty God bestows His blessings. Thus did it negative the idea that Sacraments derive their efficacy from the worthiness of the recipient, or the administrator, and connect their effect with that in which Almighty God has revealed His intention to act,—the administration of the Sacrament itself. To say therefore that grace is conferred upon infants by Baptism, *ex opere operato*, is only to say that it is conferred *in* and *by* Baptism itself. And it is an unfair use of these words to raise a prejudice under cover of the vulgar misconception that they assert Sacraments to be effectual merely through their outward exhibition, even though they are partaken of in impenitence and unbelief.

It seems more necessary to expose this error, because it is shared or at least not corrected by some of our own writers, who should remember that what is Jesuitical is even more to be eschewed than the Jesuits. With a view of guarding against such unfairness, we cite the following explanation of the doctrine from Estius.

"The force of the above expression Catholics rightly render by saying that a Sacrament avails *ex opere operato*, that is, by reason of its being the action which it is—not by virtue of any natural efficacy, which there is in it, but so far as it has a Divine appointment and infallible promise of producing grace. Now inasmuch as this promise is conditional, and in the case of adults requires that there should be fit preparation, it by no means follows from this phrase, when rightly understood, that Catholics suppose Sacraments to avail without the good intention of the receiver.

"That this may be the more manifest it must be known that the phrase *opus operatum* is used in contradistinction to *opus operantis*. There

are two senses, in which this last may be taken, as referring either to the administrator or to the recipient. For Sacraments do not derive their efficacy from the faith or devotion of the administrator, as Augustine teaches against the Donatists. Nor yet do they derive it from the receiver. For although in the receiver, if he has the use of reason, faith and repentance is required as a necessary preparation, (and that by the very institution of the Sacraments) yet Sacraments do not borrow from this their force and efficacy, but receive it from Him by whom they were instituted.

"Some persons then understand that the proper use of the term *opus operatum* is in contradistinction to the action of the administrator; as though the phrase had been introduced in opposition to the Donatists, who supposed the efficacy of the Sacrament to depend on the merit of the minister. In this way the matter was understood by Innocent III. Lib. 3, c. 5 of his work on the mystery of the altar. . . . But others by the word *operans* would rather understand the receiver of the Sacrament. Now it is not his action, which gives its efficacy to the Sacrament, although preparatory action is needed (as we have said) on his part, in order that the end of the Sacrament may be attained. And this antithesis between the *opus operatum* and the *opus operantis*, is that which the schoolmen commonly had in view, in their discussions on the Sacraments."*

UNITY OF ACTION: ITS NECESSITY, AND THE MEANS OF SECURING IT.

If we examine any political or religious society at home or abroad, and ask ourselves what it is which, independently of its principles, gives it a strength far beyond anything to be expected from the number of its members, we shall be convinced that this strength consists in union, in possessing a provision for unity of action: for this is the sole point in which so many societies, differing most widely in other respects, all agree, whilst it is equally true, that whatever society has neglected this most essential condition has always signally failed.

It is this which has enabled the foreign political societies to change the state of half Europe; and, to allude to only one instance at home, the abolition of the Corn Laws will be acknowledged to have been mainly due to the union of the abolitionists in the formidable Corn-Law League.

Let us however confine our attention to the religious societies. The history of the Christian Church from the earliest times exhibits her always striving to maintain this unity of action by her councils.

* In Lib. Sent. iv. l. § 7. Vol. iv. p. 7.

The Roman Catholic Church indeed has held no council for three hundred years, being content to forego that and many other inestimable privileges for the sake of obtaining, as she supposed, a more complete unity in the absolute supremacy of the Pope. But no sooner has that bond of union been relaxed, and perhaps threatened with extinction, than we find the French clergy hastening to supply its place by a recurrence to national and provincial synods.

The slightest observation of the dissenting societies in our own country suffices to inform us that they are all thoroughly alive to its importance. This is the case not only with those whose constitution admits and requires it, but even with those whose constitution forbids and repels such union. For even the Independents have so far abandoned their fundamental principle, that they now have a London Committee for the general management of their affairs, and for combining the operations of their theoretically isolated congregations.

No Protestant sect however has been so fully sensible as the Wesleyan, how indispensable is unity of action, and accordingly not one has so profited by it. From the very foundation of his society the able Founder provided for unity of action in its complex machinery by the institution of the Conference. Without this important addition, admirably contrived as was the rest of its organization, it cannot be doubted that it would have had as brief a period of prosperity as that which Wesley's less clear-headed coadjutor, on becoming his rival, collected under the influence of a far more exciting enthusiasm.

It is the institution of a conference which has chiefly contributed to raise the Methodist body to a formidable position in the state. Its whole strength has thus been so easily concentrated, that whenever occasion required, it has been enabled to carry any measure that seemed desirable, pouring in a multitude of petitions with unexampled rapidity, and authoritatively dictating its own terms (for instance on the Education Question) to the obsequious minister of the day.

Of all the minor sects which have separated from the original Methodism by its internal effervescence, whether arising from a desire for a freer development of enthusiasm or from an impatience of the power which Wesley had conferred on the ministers,—every one, as soon as it became detached, has been eager to establish some sort of conference in imitation of the parent society.

This brief survey abundantly proves that unity of action has been found indispensable to the existence of any religious society, and also indicates in what way experience has taught that it must be provided.

If we now ask, Is there any great society which has hitherto overlooked the necessity for this unity, and consequently has made no adequate provision for it? the reply must be,—The Church of

England is the *solitary* exception, and she is accordingly suffering the inevitable penalty for her neglect.

But can she safely continue to overlook the instructive examples with which all history, political and ecclesiastical, past and present, abounds? Can she with any prudent concern for self-preservation consent to remain destitute of a provision for that essential unity now more than ever necessary, when she is confronted by her well disciplined and united foes? It may be that she has delayed too long; at any rate if she delay much longer, the proverbial weakness of the unbound fagot will receive another illustration.

But she is awakening we trust to the necessity which is indeed most urgent. How came it that she slept in fancied security so long? It was from her reliance on the State with which she was connected. When her dream of confidence began, she stood the only prosperous religious society in the land, every other was discountenanced by law; the legislature was composed solely of churchmen. But meanwhile other societies arose and continued to gather strength from that union which supplies the place of numbers, and at the same time tends to numerical increase. And now at length, after a period of political agitation, which has resulted in the admission of all parties into the legislature, she awakes to find the government no longer as before, exclusively in the hands of her friends, but though still nominally her protector, yet on principle and from necessity ready to give up one by one her now invidious privileges; she awakes to find herself, a sect, but one whose anomalous condition it is, that the guardians to whose care she is committed are indifferently friends or foes.

If she cannot or will not avail herself of those means for securing unity of action, which were so successful in the earlier Church, and have produced such important results for every other religious community, her doom is sealed, her individuality must be lost. The establishment may prolong its existence for a short time, but it will exist only as a convenient branch of police, an engine of government. It may indeed retain her name, but neither in doctrine nor in discipline will it be identical with her former self.

Granting for a moment the pretence of our temporal rulers, that the royal supremacy succeeded the papal one, and allowing that there was a time when its exercise was useful in providing for a certain degree of unity, we would ask, does not the assertion imply that there is a similar contract between the parties? If there be the right of governing, it must have as its correlative—the duty of providing for the unity of the subordinate body, either directly, or should that be impossible, by permitting it to secure that unity for itself. But what chance is there that the Crown can at present so fulfil this duty as to render the efforts of the Church to secure her own unity unnecessary? Surely none at all, for the executive government is really and avowedly vested in the ministers, who are

the organs of the House of Commons, where the enemies of the Church, however disagreeing in other matters, are always ready to combine for her oppression.

But another argument will probably be put forth, and it will be pretended that, inasmuch as the Church of England is a national establishment, she is so completely the subject of the temporal power, that she is restricted from self-management, and that the permission of such liberty would lead to the erection of an *imperium in imperio*. If this be objected, the conduct of the imperial government in a parallel case has by anticipation furnished a decisive answer. For the Kirk is the national establishment in Scotland, and yet our rulers have never interfered to prevent its General Assembly from discussing and arranging its affairs, and determining those subjects of doctrine and discipline which in regard to our own Church would naturally come under the cognizance of an English synod.

On what plea then can the Church be denied the liberty of providing for her unity of action? Shall we be told that it is unnecessary for her? We find every society—political or religious—instinctively seeking it and adopting very similar or analogous means for securing it? Will any one say that the royal supremacy is adequate to this purpose? We have seen reason to believe that if it ever was—it is now powerless to effect the unity we need, although wielded by unfriendly hands, it may be made a formidable instrument of oppression. It may be added, that if, when the legislature was composed solely of members of the Church, the royal supremacy was not considered sufficient for her protection, surely she has the stronger claim now to have an additional safeguard, when her position is so greatly altered. Again, will it be said, that for the Church to possess such liberty, is irreconcilable with the very principle of a national establishment? We may then point to the General Assembly, and ask what are the special reasons for denying a privilege to the Church which has always been conceded to the Kirk? Is there such a difference in their relations to the State, as would amount to a valid reason for the refusal in the one case, and for the concession in the other?

There are only two differences of relation, and neither of them, it will be seen, supports such an inference.

The Queen is indeed the Supreme Governor of the Church, and being so is a member of it, and interested in its prosperity. But the ministers, who in her name, exercise all real power, may be members of the Kirk, or belong to any of the various sects. This then can hardly constitute a sufficient difference of relation.

Again, the Bishops have seats in the House of Lords. But the proportion of spiritual peers is now very trifling, and becomes less every day. Their number is fixed by the recent enactments for the creation of new sees, and it has been plainly intimated that no

more will be admitted to the House of Lords—the presence, therefore, of a score of Bishops in the least important branch of the legislature, is mere moonshine as regards the protection of the Church. In another point of view it affords a colourable pretext for saying that she consents through them to the passing of laws which restrict her freedom. But as they are nominees of the Crown, it offers in the absence of a national synod, no security at all against any aggression upon her doctrines, or her discipline, which the Ministers may choose to attempt.

We have called these the only differences of relation, for it can hardly be urged as the ground for refusing to the Church what has been granted to the Kirk, that the Crown possesses a more valuable patronage in the Church of England, and that this would be imperilled. Those who employ such an argument, cannot mean the legitimate exercise of the patronage of the Crown, which could not be affected, but another and very different use of it, which would not pass without remonstrance, when the Church was no longer gagged. But are ministers prepared boldly to avow their intention to distribute the patronage of the Crown for the double purpose of rewarding political adherents, irrespective of their capacity to serve the Church,—and of forwarding their own views, for silently altering her doctrines, and subverting her little remaining discipline? To such acts of oppression a synod would undoubtedly offer a strenuous opposition. It is impossible to assign any other motive than this for denying the Church of England that liberty to provide for her unity of action, without which it is idle to suppose she can much longer exist, except as a creature of the State. But however much it may indispose the government to sanction this liberty, the discovery of such a motive can only prove an additional stimulus to zealous churchmen to struggle to obtain it, since their ultimate failure must render them no less solicitous than the dissenters themselves, that her connection with the State should be dissolved.

Unless therefore we are willing to choose the latter alternative, which would indeed leave the Church free to act, but which the most thoughtful of her sons have always regarded as full of peril to the Christian privileges of the nation, and on that account to be adopted only in the last resort, we shall earnestly seek to obtain such safeguards for the liberty of the Church as are absolutely necessary to her well-being, and not inconsistent with her connection with the State. The revival of a National Synod is the only means for securing that unity of action, without which her condition must henceforth be one of bondage, as respects the State, and of helplessness as respects the hostile societies.

Some will no doubt tell us, that the Church already has her Convocation, which meets but to adjourn at the opening of every Parliament, and that all that is required, is the royal (or rather

ministerial) permission for it to deliberate on the affairs of the Church. Were this indeed all that is wanted in the present emergency, we should have been content like them, to petition for its revival as a deliberative assembly, and not doubted that the future might safely be left in its hands. But assured that a *mere* revival of the Convocation would not only be productive of no good, but tend almost inevitably to introduce fresh causes of disunion, we will first explain why the old Convocation would be inefficient in the present crisis, and then point out what changes are necessary to transform it into a National Synod.

To prove that it would be inefficient is an easy task. With regard to the Upper House, we shall simply observe, that were our Bishops so chosen that they could be accounted trustworthy judges of the doctrines and discipline of the Church, we might feel no difficulty in submitting to the decisions of a synod of Bishops, such as has often in earlier times swayed the destinies of the Church. But under existing circumstances, considering how they are, and still more how they are likely in future to be, chosen, our confidence in the Upper House taken alone would argue a mental hallucination. Since therefore a Lower House is indispensably necessary to check the tendencies of the Upper, its composition is a matter of the utmost importance. But what is the Lower House of the old Convocation? It is seen at a glance to be a mere oligarchy instead of being what as a synod it ought, a fair representation of the English Priesthood.

It consists of one hundred and forty-three members.*—Of these, ninety-nine, or more than two-thirds, are dignitaries—of whom the greater part are nominees of the crown and consequently subject—for obvious reasons still more subject—to the same influence as the Bishops. There remain then only forty-four, or rather less than one-third of the whole, who can be reckoned independent members, being the proctors of the *beneficed* Clergy. How little weight so small a minority could possess in deciding any question requires no remark. But this is not the sole objection. The original object of Convocation being similar to that of Parliament to furnish a revenue to the Crown, enables us to understand this at first sight extraordinary composition of its lower house. It explains why the wealthy dignitaries are so fully represented, and why the proctors of the *beneficed Clergy alone* are summoned. No other Clergy in fact were taxable.

It is easy to imagine how though assembled with another design than that of constituting a Synod, the convocation would in the absence of one naturally assume its place. But when the Clergy

* We have not forgotten that the English Church has at present two Convocations, and that in the Convocation at York the beneficed Clergy bear a larger proportion to the Dignitaries, but it must be quite obvious, that if we are to have a real Synod of the English Church, that Synod should be an united representation of both provinces.

surrendered the privilege of taxing themselves, its real occupation was at an end. It so rapidly lost its importance that little more than half a century afterwards, the government having no further occasion for its services in the way of contribution, and finding it an obstruction to the political measures of a new dynasty, experienced little or no difficulty in reducing its meeting to a mere formality. The wonder is, that it was not suppressed altogether. From that period the Church, as every one knows, has seen the Convocation assemble and disperse without the slightest expectation that it would again sit as a deliberative Synod. There is but one reason to regret, that though deprived of the functions of one, it was not abolished. If indeed it had continued to sit, its total unfitness for the purpose of a Synod would have become apparent long ago. But its preservation as a form will nevertheless prove a happy incident should it facilitate the attainment of a real Synod.

We have called the lower house an oligarchy. If its original composition has fairly exposed it to such an imputation, the proof is easy that it far more richly deserves that character now. It does so for two reasons.

The first—because the number of dignitaries in it remaining the same, they are, in consequence of the diminution in the number of members in each Cathedral chapter elected out of a smaller body, and by a closer corporation than formerly.

The second—because the number of *unbeneficed* Clergy has immensely increased.

For these reasons it is utterly impossible that the Convocation with a lower house on the old model, could, after an imposed silence of a century and a half, resume the important functions of a Synod. It could not do so with the slightest chance of success. The very idea is preposterous.

If the lower house be necessary, and that it is necessary has been already shown, its composition must be very different from that of the old one.

Since the secular functions of Convocation have been long ago transferred to the Parliament, and it would no longer have to deal with the property of the Church, but would meet solely as a spiritual Synod to discuss matters of doctrine and discipline, there can be no pretence for shutting its doors against any member of the priesthood and still less for refusing him the privilege of voting for a representative. In the subjects for discussion all have an equal interest, and to take part in deciding them an equal right; all therefore must be permitted to vote, and all must be eligible to become representatives. A lower house elected on an exclusive system would not be endured in actual operation.

But how can the proposed change be effected with the least possible disturbance? We answer—By means of the existing machinery. The old Convocation has been at any rate *de facto* the

National Synod. It ought therefore to be afforded the opportunity for devising its own reform. This would be the wiser course, for it would diminish, perhaps remove, the opposition of those cautious tempers which dread all innovation. It would be the only safe one, for the only alternative must be to leave the composition of a new Synod to the caprice of the minister of the day.

The great change effected a few years ago in the political constitution of this country, supplies us with a precedent which our opponents are bound to respect. The House of Commons agreed to the Reform Bill for the express purpose of rendering itself a more adequate representation of the altered condition of the nation. Is it too much to ask that Convocation should be permitted to copy so illustrious an example? Is it too much to hope that if it were once more assembled, its members would be convinced of the necessity for a Reform which is still more apparent?

The political world affords another argument for the Convocation to attempt its own reform. It has become quite certain that if the Church be not allowed to utter her voice through a regular and legitimate channel, she will be perpetually agitated by the formation of unauthorized societies. Now it may be observed that a reason perfectly similar was one of the strongest arguments in favour of the Reform Bill.

Of course the Convocation cannot meet for the discussion of any matter without the permission of the Crown. But a government which prides itself on having carried a reform of the House of Commons, cannot if sufficient pressure be employed, refuse to sanction the meeting of Convocation *for the express purpose of settling its own Reform*. The Convocation once assembled, a similar pressure must induce it to decide on such a Reform as would satisfy the expectations of the Church. We should then have a National Synod, which, having a lower house elected by the whole body of the priesthood, would be authorized to express the general sentiments. Such a Synod would find its representations listened to by the government, and its decisions accepted and cheerfully obeyed by the members of the Church.

INTELLECTUAL DEVELOPEMENT.

Phases of Faith, or Passages from the History of my Creed. By FRANCIS WILLIAM NEWMAN, formerly Fellow of Balliol College, Oxford. London: John Chapman, 142, Strand. 1850.

It was long before we prevailed with ourselves to enter upon the neither light nor agreeable task of perusing with requisite accuracy this compendium of repulsive infidelity, which was sent to us by the publisher for review some weeks ago, together with a scarcely less offensive pendant, issuing from the same press, in what is called, by a deceptive misnomer, "The Catholic Series." Our first impression was, to lay it aside, ignoring its existence, just as we should feel it a duty to treat one of the blasphemous or indecent publications of Holywell Street, if any how it should find its way upon our study table; something which could no more be handled by the mind, than pitch by the fingers, without defilement. On further consideration, we are inclined to qualify our antipathy, so far as to conceive even positive good arising from so premature and naked an avowal of a subtle form of infidelity, which, as an index to the rationalistic tendency of a popular religionism, might be not unattended with edification in certain quarters. On this principle we propose to devote a few sentences, not to a laboured exposition and analysis of the contents, or to a statement and refutation of the line of argument pursued in the treatise, but simply, to some obvious practical inferences from the main conclusions arrived at by the unhappy author, and from the moral phenomenon of his work. There are some remarkable points of resemblance, and still more of contrast, between the characters and religious history of the two Newmans—the writers respectively of this Essay, and of that on a kindred subject, "The Developement of Christian Doctrine." With a more than family likeness in the intellectual organism and contour of the two minds, there is a singular diversity of mental temperament and complexion. The natural abilities, tastes, and education of the brothers, appear to have apportioned them equal advantages in moral and literary respects. Both were sent to Oxford, to prepare for admission to "The Ministry of the Established Church," to which field of professional labour their youthful religious prepossessions directed their ambition; both attained to an equally high eminence, though in different colleges, bespeaking pretty much the same amount of talent, reasoning powers, knowledge, scholarship, and application. John Henry, the elder by a few years, entered as a commoner of Trinity. Francis William, our author, as a commoner of Worcester; they became severally Fellows of Oriel and Balliol. In the schools the younger brother carried off the highest honours:

whereas John Henry succeeded only in reaching a second in *literis humanioribus*, in 1820, the other, six years later, was classed as a double first. He accordingly passed among his college contemporaries as the cleverer of the two; but both were looked up to as the great geniuses and original thinkers of their day. In literary composition, and all its constituent qualifications, the younger is incomparably inferior. It is quite unaccountable, upon any ordinary principles of scholastic criticism, how the mind which is responsible for the trashy and superficial production now before us, could compete with and outstrip in its university career, the vast intellect, the varied knowledge, the learning, refinement, perception, and logic, displayed in such exercises as the Lectures on the Prophetical Office of the Church, the Parochial Sermons, or the Essay above mentioned. In what chiefly consists the intellectual peculiarity distinguishing the two, and which by an equally independent process, has issued in such opposite conclusions, upon the same subject matter, may become apparent presently; but it is unreasonable to explain such difference upon simply intellectual grounds, however else, morally or psychologically, it be to be accounted for. Neither brother remained long satisfied with religion as he found it, in its popular forms around them. Both felt distressed at certain practical unrealities, and still more perplexed at a want of logical precision in some of the received dogmas. Whatever did not seem exactly to quadrate with their sense of intellectual propriety, was at once fastened on by an almost morbidly keen discernment, and regarded as a difficulty in the way; and then, if not mastered and explained away, was still uncomfortably realized, and suspected as the evidence of some radical mistake. Thus both proceeded to investigate the phenomena of Christianity, treating it as an *idea*, capable of metaphysical developement. The result of the investigation, *so far as it has hitherto proceeded*, is to be found in the "Phases of Faith," and the parallel Essay more than once adverted to, and in the fact that the "late Fellow of Balliol" is now lecturer of the new Unitarian Seminary in the metropolis, and the "late Fellow of Oriel," a brother in the order of Oratorians of S. Philip Neri, and a staunch advocate of Ultra-Montane and Liguorian theology.

At this point, then, a very serious and most important reflexion arises out of the premises, as here stated. Two minds, pretty equally capacious, pretty equally gifted in intellectual respects, very similarly constituted, very similarly cultivated, are engaged for a course of years in a philosophical inquiry upon the evidences and theory of religion; they arrive at contradictory conclusions: does not the event illustrate, in a very striking and cogent manner, what is more frequently asserted than received as a first principle in Christian ethics,—that high intellect is no test, but rather the contrary, of religious truth? It is a fair inference at least, that the one issue in this case does balance and neutralize to a great

extent the moral effect of the other. We mean that, if it be argued, as we have heard it argued, "here you have a man, of immense ability, and untarnished character, a religious man, who can have no motive connected with immorality of conduct for wilful perversion of his reason, or blindness to the truth—such an one, after a calm and dispassionate investigation, and giving his reasons for every step in his process of inquiry, concluding that the Bible is no more than any other book, is self-contradictory, is full of historical misstatements, of scientific blunders, nay of immoralities—that the Church is still less trustworthy as a witness to God's truth—that Christianity altogether is nothing but a myth, with scarcely a grain of objective reality to furnish subject-matter of formal dogma; what then are we to believe?"—surely, we have an answer ready at hand to this piece of sophistry, in the counter aspect of the fact,—that we can point to another mind, alike truth-loving, ardent, blameless of perversity, or unworthy motive, of equal potency and calibre, and fashioned in the same mould—producing his reasons for a contrary result. Whatever moral weight is due to the one consideration, may be claimed, at least in equal measure, of the other. And thus it goes far as a confutation of the theory of either Newman, that the one brother is unconvinced by the *rationale* of the other.

Not, however, as already stated, that we think for a moment, the one work at all comparable to the other on its own merits, either in moral or intellectual respects.* The "Phases of Faith" is nothing more than an ingenious amplification of difficulties, which, in detail have been answered, over and over again, in various elementary manuals of divinity, and cumulatively by Butler's *Analogy*, and other arguments on a great scale. It is simply a reproduction, in a popular form, of the sentiments of Channing, and philosophy of Strauss. But no one can question the originality of the "Essay on Developement," if not in its principle at least in its method of working out, and in the wonderful historical exegesis, by which it is principally fortified. Perhaps the following passage in the volume of the younger Newman, interesting for its own sake, may suggest some points of contrast in the character of the two minds.

"One person there was at Oxford, who might have seemed my natural adviser; his name, character, and religious peculiarities have been so made public property, that I need not shrink to name him :—I mean my elder brother, the Rev. John Henry Newman. As a warm-

* The following are specimens of the style of *logic* of the younger Newman :—
 " 'Suffer little children to come unto me,' was urged as decisive (of infant baptism); but it occurred to me that the disciples would not have scolded the little children away, if they had ever been accustomed to baptize them." (*Phases of Faith*, p. 9.) "Did Paul go about preaching the Bible? Nay, but he preached *CHRIST*. The New Testament did not as yet exist; to the Jews he necessarily argued from the Old Testament; but that 'faith in the book' was no part of Paul's gospel, is manifest from his giving no list of sacred books to his Gentile converts." (*ibid.* p. 141.)

hearted and generous brother, who exercised towards me paternal cares, I esteemed him and felt a deep gratitude : as a man of various culture and peculiar genius, I admired and was proud of him ; but my doctrinal religion impeded my loving him as much as he deserved, and even justified my feeling some distrust of him. He never showed any strong attraction towards those whom I regarded as spiritual persons : on the contrary I thought him stiff and cold towards them. *Moreover soon after his ordination, he had startled and distressed me by adopting the doctrine of Baptismal Regeneration ; and in rapid succession worked out views which I regarded as full-blown Popery !* I speak of the years 1823-6 : it is strange to think that twenty years more had to pass before he learnt the place to which his doctrines belonged.

"In the earliest period of my Oxford residence *I fell into uneasy collision with him concerning Episcopal powers.* I had on one occasion dropt something disrespectful against Bishops or a Bishop,—something which, if it had been said about a Clergyman, would have passed unnoticed : but my brother checked and reproved me, as I thought, very unconstructively,—for 'wanting reverence towards Bishops.' I know not then and I know not now, why Bishops, *as such*, should be more revered than common clergymen, or clergymen, *as such*, more than common men. In the world I expected pomp and vain show and formality and counterfeits ; but of the Church, as CHAIST'S own kingdom, I demanded reality and could not digest legal fictions. I saw round me what sort of young men were preparing to be Clergymen ; I knew the attractions of family 'livings' and fellowships, and of a respectable position and undefinable hopes of preferment. I farther knew, that when youths had become Clergymen through a great variety of mixed motives, Bishops were selected out of these Clergy on avowedly political grounds ; it therefore amazed me how a man of good sense should be able to set up a duty of religious veneration towards Bishops. I was willing to honour a lord Bishop as a peer of Parliament ; but his office was to me no guarantee of spiritual eminence. To find my brother thus stop my mouth, was a puzzle : and impeded all free speech towards him. In fact, I very soon left off the attempt at intimate religious intercourse with, or asking counsel as of one who could sympathize. We talked indeed a great deal on the surface of religious matters ; and on some questions I was overpowered and received a temporary bias from his superior knowledge, but as time went on and my own intellect ripened, *I distinctly felt that his arguments were too fine-drawn and subtle, often elaborately missing the moral points and the main points, to rest on some ecclesiastical fiction ; and his conclusions were to me so marvellous and painful that I constantly thought I had mistaken him.* In short he was my senior by a very few years : nor was there any elder resident at Oxford, accessible to me, who united all the qualities which I wanted in an adviser. Nothing was left for me but to cast myself on Him who is named the FATHER of Lights and resolve to follow the light which He might give, however opposed to my own prejudices, and however I might be condemned by men. This solemn engagement was made in early youth, and neither the frowns nor the grief of my brethren can make me ashamed of it in my manhood."*

* Phases of Faith, pp. 10—13.

To take first the latter paragraph in this passage, which we have marked by italics, as indicating a very remarkable contrast in the method of reasoning, adopted and habitually employed by the two brothers. It will surprise those, who are accustomed to regard Father Newman as not only the most profound but the clearest-headed thinker of the day, as distinguished no less by the perspicacity, than the ingenuity and subtilty of his disquisitions, to find him thus described by one who rivals him in intelligence and accomplishments, as indefinite, irrelevant, inconclusive in his style of argument. How is this discrepancy of criticism to be accounted for? Simply, we believe, because the elder brother delights and abounds in, the younger discards and abominates, the use of *paradox*. Paradox is the form in which truth most approves itself to the mind of John Henry Newman, which is to him an evidence of truth, self-recommendatory,—while plain naked statements and simplicity of view are received by him suspiciously, as wanting in depth, unreal, and fallacious. On the other hand, nothing satisfies the perceptive faculties of Francis William, but bare and accurate outline, visible and tangible to the mind's eye and hand, reducible to the same necessary matter, axiomatic definition, precise process of demonstration, and almost the same illustrative lineal figure, as geometrical theorem and problem. Probably, his practised study and success in mathematics, and their application to the exact and physical sciences, may account for this intellectual difference, so far as it depends upon pure intellect, in the gainer of the *double-first*. However, if the difference be a real one,—and it is manifest on the most superficial acquaintance with and comparison of the writings of the respective authors,—it leaves no room for wonder at the difference of result in a theological investigation. The *genius* of both brothers, as distinct from their knowledge and attainments, consists in a singular facility of realizing passing thoughts, recollecting them, fixing them, arranging them, and viewing them in their mutual relation. Thus the *difficulties* of revealed religion,—in regard to holy Scripture, Church history, dogma, polity, the whole Christian system, and existing phenomena,—thoughts about which, almost or quite sceptical, have, we suppose, passed through the minds of most men at some periods of their life, and have been either explained away or balanced by difficulties on the other side, without tending to actual infidelity,—these appear to furnish the chief groundwork of theory to the brother theologians, are dealt with respectively according to their characteristic mental idiosyncrasies, become to the one therefore the indices of truth in paradox, to the other proofs positive of latent error. It is no wonder, that the line of argument pursued by each should appear inconclusive and illogical to the other.

Each of course will meet with readers, who will be convinced by his reasons, and assent to his inferences and conclusions; and so

be led, (we do not use either the phrase or the comparison offensively,) into "full-blown Popery," or infidelity. The result will be determined in *some* measure, by the intellectual character of the several followers. But here again, probably, there will be a great difference of effect; and that telling sadly in favour of the infinitely worse horn of the dilemma. The argument of the elder Newman will be appreciated mainly by similarly constituted minds; and of these many, instead of being convinced, will, from their very love of paradox, be set on making out a case on the other side. It is no imaginary instance, that one nearly "driven to Rome" by the exaggerated absurdities of "Hawkstone" and other preposterous fictions of the kind, has been put on his metal and repressed in an opposite direction, by the provoking sophisms of "Loss and Gain." *The Essay on Development*, and the recent *Lectures on certain difficulties*, &c., are self-provided with the same counteractive balance of effect. A large share of imagination is admitted into their course of reasoning, and they are addressed to imaginative minds; imagination is purely constructive, and fertile of designs; paradox therefore will be met by counter-paradox, and the mind satisfied with its own inventions. But the mode of argument followed by the younger Newman is simply *destructive* and may be reduced to the following form: the absence of proof-positive is proof-positive the other way; if such a dogma is neither self-evident nor demonstrable, *that* is sufficient reason for its rejection. *De non apparentibus, et non existentibus, eadem est ratio*. Thus the doctrines of the Trinity, the Incarnation, the Atonement,—of the Fall, original sin, sacramental grace, eternal punishment,—of the infallibility, inspiration, and canon of holy Scripture,—of its historical or its subjective veracity,—are gradually pared off from the credenda of Christianity, as deficient in logical proof and intellectual consistency. This is a style of argument which admits of no refutation in the way of counter-statement; on its own hypothesis, it is conclusive; and it is suited to ordinary minds, i.e., to minds which are sensitive of difficulties, and either devoid or shy of imagination.

Fortunately, there are tests of truth, not purely intellectual; there are also *moral* proofs; and these will be the safeguards with the many. *How* the moral influences operate with the intellectual, and how, operating differently, they lead to different results, is plainly manifest in the two works, on which we have chiefly commented in this article. The secret but real differential in the constitution of the two minds, incidentally peeps out in the passage above quoted. It appears that the two brothers started upon their independent course of free-thinking from different points,—the one accepted, the other refused, the dogmas of Baptismal Regeneration and Episcopal authority. Grounding their argument on contradictory premises, no wonder they should have been led to

opposite conclusions. This is easily explained by simply intellectual considerations ; but these will not explain all ; they will not explain, WHY one came to accept, and the other to refuse, the dogmata in question. The reason lies deeper and is of a moral kind : to accept, required faith and reverence in the recipient ; and these disposing qualities the one brother possessed abundantly, the other sadly lacked.

Nothing is more conspicuous in all their several writings, or in their course of individual conduct, than this characteristic contrast. It seems to be the special business of the elder brother's life, to contemplate the chief difficulties in the received phenomena of religious truth, to take the truth for granted, and to apply the mind to an explanation and maintenance of its truthfulness—to *find out the reasons for its being true* ; of the younger brother, to reverse this process, and *find out reasons for its being false*. The following are specimens, taken almost at random, from the *Phases*, in proof of this latter allegation. He speaks of "the very unusual prematurity of my religious developement,"* meaning, of course, that he began when very young, to think on religious subjects, little respective of authority. "No one of my equals gained any ascendancy over me, nor perhaps could I have looked up to any for advice."† "It was for uniform refusal to allow of self-contradiction, that it was more than once sadly predicted of me at Oxford, that I should become a Socinian."‡ "I felt convinced, that if I would but have contradicted myself two or three times, and then have added, 'That is the mystery of it,' I could have passed as orthodox with many. I had been charged with a proud and vain determination to pry into divine mysteries, barely because I would not confess to propositions, the meaning of which was to me *doubtful*."§ "It is clear that A. B. and X. Y. would have behaved towards me more kindly, more justly, and more wisely, if they had consulted their excellent strong sense and amiable natures, instead of following (what they supposed to be,) the commands of the word of God."|| "To disparage the internally vouchsafed power of discerning truth without the Bible, or other authoritative system, is to endeavour to set up a universal moral scepticism."¶ "That the Epistle to the Hebrews is not from the hand of S. Paul, had very long seemed to me an obvious certainty, *as long as I had had any delicate feeling of Greek style*."***

The following are instances of more undisguised irreverence, and lack of sympathy with others' reverence, such as will amply justify the epithet, "revolting," above applied by us to the writer's infidelity. "I now discovered, that there was a deeper distaste in me for the details of the human life of CHRIST, than I was previously conscious ; hence my preference for John's mys-

* Page 18.
|| Page 73.

† Page 4.
¶ Page 82.

‡ Page 65.
** Page 100.

§ Page 69.

terious JESUS. Thus *my* CHRIST was not the figure accurately painted in the narrative, but one kindled in my imagination by the allusions and (as it were) poetry of the New Testament. I did not wish for vivid historical realization—and I make no doubt such was fundamentally Paul's feeling."* He adds in a note, "the same may probably be said of all the Apostles, and their whole generation. If they had looked on the life of JESUS with the same tender and human affection as modern Unitarians and pious Romanists do, the Church would have swarmed with holy coats and other relics in the first age. The mother of JESUS and her little establishment would at once have swelled into importance. This certainly was not the case; which makes it doubtful whether the other Apostles dwelt at all more on the *human personality* of JESUS than Paul did."† Consistently with one sentence in this shocking paragraph, he says elsewhere, "Hence the disgusting admiration and invocation of Mary's perpetual virginity: hence the transcendental doctrine of her immaculate conception from Anne, 'the grandmother of God.'"‡ Or again, "the modern divines who laud Joseph's piety towards Mary, would be very differently affected, if events and persons were transported to the present day."§ "If only a *small* immorality is concerned, shall we then say that a miracle may justify it? could it authorize one to plait a whip of small cords, and flog a preferment hunter out of the pulpit? or would it justify me in publicly calling the Queen and her ministers a brood of vipers, who cannot escape the damnation of hell? Such questions go very deep into the heart of Christian claims."|| "My historical conception of JESUS had so gradually melted into dimness, that He had receded out of my practical religion, I know not exactly when. His 'mediation' was to me always a mere name, and, as I believe, would otherwise have been mischievous. CHRIST and the Devil had thus faded away out of my spiritual vision."¶ "What can be clearer, than that John has put into the mouth of JESUS the doctrines of half a century later, which he desired to recommend?"*** "John tells us that JESUS promised the Comforter, to *bring to their memory* things that concerned Him: oh, that we could have the satisfaction of cross-examining John on this subject! Let us suppose him put into the witness box, and I will speak to him thus: 'O aged Sir, we understand that you have two memories, a natural and a miraculous one; with the former you retain events as other men: with the latter you recall what had been totally forgotten. Be pleased to tell us now, Is it from your natural or from your supernatural memory that you derive your knowledge of the miracle wrought on Lazarus, and the long discourses which you narrate?'"††

* Page 103.

|| Page 161.

† Ibid.

¶ Page 188-190.

‡ Page 165.

** Page 173.

§ Page 160.

†† Page 176.

He who could bring himself to write thus of the beloved disciple, cannot be expected to have much more reverence for his Divine Master. Speaking of the prophecy of Zechariah, he says, "No part of it has the most remote or imaginable similarity to the historical life of Jesus, except that He once rode into Jerusalem on an ass; a deed which cannot have been peculiar to Him, and which Jesus moreover appears to have planned with the express purpose of assimilating Himself to the lowly King here described. Yet such an isolated act is surely a carnal and beggarly fulfilment. To ride on an ass is no mark of humility in those who must ordinarily go on foot."* Or again, "Suppose a biographer of Sir Isaac Newton, after narrating his sublime discoveries, and ably stating some of his most remarkable doctrines, to add, that Sir Isaac was a great magician, and had been used to raise spirits by his arts, and finally was himself carried up to heaven one night while he was gazing at the moon; and that this event had been foretold by Merlin;—it would surely be the height of absurdity to dilate on the truth of the Newtonian theory, as 'the moral evidence' of the truth of the miracles and prophecy."† Lastly, the highest estimate he entertains of the mythical personage whom he supposes represented under the sacred titles and history of our Blessed Lord, is stated in the following characteristic summary, which also describes the religious hopes and oracles of the unhappy author: "Whether Christians like it or not, we must needs look to historians, to linguists, to physiologists, to philosophers, and generally, to men of cultivated understanding, to gain help in all those subjects which are preposterously called *theology*: but for devotional aids, for pious meditations, for inspiring hymns, for purifying and glowing thoughts, we have still to wait upon that succession of kindling souls, among whom may be named, with special honour, David and Isaiah, Jesus and Paul, Augustine, A Kempis, Fenelon, Leighton, Baxter, Doddridge, Watts, the two Wesleys, and Channing."‡

We have only one or two remarks to make upon the foregoing, by way of grave comment and in conclusion. We regard the *Phases of Faith* as a legitimate developement in one direction, the theology and present ecclesiastical status of Father Newman in the other, of that remarkable *intellectual* movement, which took place, mainly in Oxford, some thirty years ago. "The first novel opinion of any great importance that I actually embraced," says Francis William, "so as to give roughness to my course, was that which many then called the Oriel heresy about Sunday. Oriel College at this time contained many active, and several original minds."§ We need scarcely append here the long and brilliant catena of notorious names alluded to from this College alone, and from others, their contemporaries, issuing from the centre of

* Page 195.

† Page 199.

‡ Page 232.

§ Page 5.

divergence in various degrees of Catholicism and infidelity, and of which the two brother authors furnish the extreme points. Unhappily, it is not the only instance in which uterine fraternity might be taken to illustrate the fatal contrast. When we speak of the "legitimate developement," we mean that the *Phases* (or again the *Nemesis*) of *Faith* is only a full and fair carrying out of that principle, which, starting with a refusal of authoritative dogma, substitutes intellectual propriety, (or so called private judgment,) as a test of truth. Regarded as a result, the subject of our review is not likely to increase the confidence of the orthodox in that particular school of Theologians, whose watchword is religious *progress*. The concluding words of the volume might well be printed in letters of gold, and hung up in the common room of the Sterling Club :* "Surely the age is ripe for something better,—for a religion which shall combine the tenderness, humility, and disinterestedness, that are the glory of the purest Christianity, with that activity of intellect, untiring pursuit of truth, and strict adherence to impartial principle, which the schools of modern science embody. When a spiritual church has its senses exercised to discern good and evil, judges of right and wrong by an inward power, proves all things and holds fast that which is good, fears no truth, but rejoices in being corrected intellectually as well as morally,—it will not be liable to be 'carried to and fro' by shifting winds of doctrine. It will indeed have movement, namely a steady *onward* one, as the schools of science have had, since they left off to dogmatize and approached God's world as learners: but it will lay aside disputes of words, eternal vacillations, mutual ill-will and dread of new light, and will be able without hypocrisy to proclaim 'peace on earth and good will towards men,' even towards those who reject its belief and sentiments concerning 'God and His Glory.'"

Nor is it surprising, again, that thoughtful men, seeing the result of over-stimulated intellect, unchecked by dogmatic and authoritative teaching, should feel jealousy towards a scheme of popular education which would ignore authority and dogma, on the fallacious hypothesis, that highly cultivated *mind* can reason out truth and religion for itself. The truth and religion likely to be reasoned out is pre-

* Sterling was an intimate friend of F. W. Newman, and is alluded to in the *Phases*. The following allusion too, is not uninstructive. "A new stimulus was after this given to my mind by two short conversations with the late excellent Dr. Arnold, at Rugby. I had become aware of the difficulties encountered by physiologists in believing the whole human race to have proceeded in about 6000 years from a single Adam and Eve; and that the longevity (not miraculous, but ordinary) attributed to the patriarchs was another stumbling block. The geological difficulty of the Mosaic cosmogony was also at that time exciting much attention. To my surprise, Dr. Arnold treated all these questions as matters of indifference to religion; and did not hesitate to say, that the account of Noah's deluge was evidently mythical, and the history of Joseph 'a beautiful poem.'" (p. 110.)

cisely of the quality offered us in the Phases of Faith ; a veritable creed for the denizens of Kneller Hall ! And, if it be argued on the other hand, that the Essay of the elder Newman is a legitimate developement from the premises of Baptismal Regeneration and Apostolical succession, we admit the allegation though not to its full extent. We admit that *Catholicism* is a legitimate developement of the dogma of Sacramental grace and Episcopal authority, as infidelity is the legitimate developement of the converse : but then the theory of Father Newman is only one among many aspects of (generally speaking) Catholic truth, as his brother's is *one* form of infidelity. It does not follow that this theory is in all respects the best and true one. On the contrary, our position all along has been, that the one brother equally with the other has introduced too large a portion of the *intellectual* element into his controversial exertations, as though religious duty were mainly a question of critical, technical, literary theology. We will only add, that this remark inclusively applies to the Lectures lately delivered in the Oratory, which have come before us, in their printed form, at too late a period to admit of specific notice in this article.

THE PROSPECTS OF THE CHURCH.

1. *Remarks on the Royal Supremacy as it is defined by reason, history, and the Constitution. A Letter to the Lord Bishop of London.* By the RIGHT HONOURABLE W. E. GLADSTONE, M.P. for the University of Oxford. London : Murray.
2. *The Appellate Jurisdiction of the Crown in matters spiritual. A Letter to the Right Rev. Ashurst-Turner, Lord Bishop of Chichester.* By HENRY EDWARD MANNING, M.A., Archdeacon of Chichester. London : Murray.
3. *The Guardian Newspaper, July 24.*

A TEMPORARY lull in the literary strife that has been going on around us for the last few months—induced, we may suppose, partly by the progress of the season, and partly also by the resort to the more active measures of the 23rd, enables us to review more at leisure the position in which we now stand, and calmly to contemplate what are our dangers and our duties. And indeed recent events will be found to have gone far in facilitating such a survey. The interval of time which has elapsed since the Judgment of the Privy Council was pronounced, has been diligently employed by the most learned and well-judging men amongst us in investigating the legal and

constitutional *status* of the Church, and in examining the various periods of history which can throw any light upon the relative obligations of the spiritual and temporal powers towards each other. At the first it might have seemed to some that material diversities of opinion existed among those who were usually accustomed to think and speak alike. Thus the *Christian Remembrancer* was said to take a much less serious view of the question than ourselves; and attempts were made to represent Dr. Pusey and Archdeacon Manning, Archdeacon Wilberforce and Mr. Sewell, Mr. Bennett and Mr. Irons, as prepared to rank themselves on two opposite sides. The difference was but imaginary. They approached the question in truth from different sides—one declaring what could be said upon the State side; the other, collecting the judgments of Churchmen: but each was contributing the information he was most competent to give, and it was needful that all should be laid before the Church before an opinion could safely be arrived at by the great majority of men whose habits of life have not required them, and whose studies had not qualified them, to make up their minds on a difficulty which might become suddenly emergent. The meeting at S. Martin's Hall may be said to have dispelled this delusion which our adversaries would gladly believe to be true, for there were found all the individuals referred to ranged side by side in one great army—all alike come there to proclaim their sense of the Church's danger, and their own determination calmly-but resolutely to demand redress, and to "take no rest" until such necessary redress is granted.

One most beneficial result of the recent meeting is, that in the "Protest" there adopted, the heresy of Mr. Gorham is plainly put forth in his own words. The Privy Council it is well known had tried to mystify themselves and the public by giving a false account of the matter. That they should condescend to such an unworthy manœuvre is only a proof of the danger of allowing *politicians* (for we must insist that in Lords Campbell and Langdale and the other members of the Council the Judicial character was wholly merged in the political) to have a voice in determining the doctrinal soundness or unsoundness of the Church's Ministers. It has now gone forth upon the broad sheet of every daily paper plainly and unmistakably why Mr. Gorham was refused Institution by the Bishop of Exeter, and why it is that the Church almost with one voice protests against his being thrust upon her by a Lay Tribunal, which in order to justify themselves in so monstrous a course are compelled first of all to misstate the case, and then to fortify their decision by a falsification of authorities. Now all this cloud in which they endeavoured to hide themselves has been driven to the winds. As it had been already shown that the authorities on which the Judges professed to rely spoke quite differently; so now is Mr. Gorham's actual heresy plainly put on record. He may con-

tradict himself, or the Committee of Council may cast what dust they will in their own eyes; here are the actual words of Mr. Gorham; here is undeniable heresy; this is the ground of the Church's complaint. And then again as to the distinction which persons have endeavoured to establish between judgments of law or fact and judgments of theology and doctrine, it has been clearly shown by Archdeacon Wilberforce in the charge from which we quoted in our last Number, that in the abeyance of the Church's legislative functions, the Judicial sentences of the Courts are of final and supreme authority. The letter of a statute is of no use, if Judges make a practice of affixing such a gloss or interpretation upon it as shall altogether change its meaning; nor is there any security in doctrinal formularies so long as power is given to a certain Court upon appeal to eviscerate their true and proper meaning. There is no remedy in such cases but fresh legislation which shall restrain the private views and fancies of the Judges. And all legislation we know is now denied to the Church of England. So are we brought now to that pass that the Church is formally and legally allowing heresy. It is with shame and confusion that we make this statement; but we cannot shut our eyes to the fact.

Now we were ourselves the first to face the inquiry as to what the Church had really committed herself to in forming an alliance with the State, and to avow the opinion that under the altered circumstances of the times, it would be needful to seek the repeal of that Act of Elizabeth, by aid of which, in tract of time, by the gradual extinction of the securities which the Church then possessed, the State had unduly fettered the freedom of her prophetic office, and eventually and without her privity, had corrupted her purity. The same ground of inquiry has since been gone over by Mr. Gladstone and Archdeacon Manning in the two very able "Letters" named at the head of this Article; the former viewing the matter rather in its historical and constitutional, the latter in its practical and theological aspect; and we think it due to our readers in a matter of so great moment, to give them the opportunity of verifying, and, if need be, correcting what we then wrote when the question had but newly arisen, by aid of the more elaborate inquiries and greater wisdom of the writers before us.

We shall begin with showing from Mr. Gladstone what the Church did *not* give to the Crown at the Reformation. In our article on the Supremacy we had room only for results: as on the one hand we abstained from aspersing the character of the Reformers, so was it not within our province to defend them. All that we professed or had space for was a naked review of facts. We neither have nor had any desire to direct scorn or censure towards the individuals who originated or assented to the compact that was then entered into between Church and State. We have far too deep and real a sense of the Church's danger to wish to make matters

appear worse than they are. And now we gladly give what may be considered the complement of the view then taken in words more eloquent and forcible than any we could ourselves employ.

"We have now before us the terms of the great statute which, from the time it was passed, has been the actual basis of the royal authority in matters ecclesiastical; and I do not load these pages by reference to declarations of the Crown, and other public documents less in authority than this, in order that we may fix our view the more closely upon the expressions of what may fairly be termed a fundamental law in relation to the subject matter before us.

"The first observation I make is this: there is no evidence in the words which have been quoted that the Sovereign is, according to the intention of the statute, the source or fountain-head of ecclesiastical jurisdiction. They have no trace of such a meaning, in so far as it exceeds (and it does exceed) the proposition, that this jurisdiction has been by law united or annexed to the Crown.

"I do not now ask what have been the glosses of lawyers—what are the reproaches of polemical writers—or even what attributes may be ascribed to prerogative, independent of statute, and therefore applicable to the Church before as well as after the Reformation. I must for the purposes of this argument assume what I shall never cease to believe until the contrary conclusion is demonstrated by fact, namely, that in the case of the Church justice is to be administered from the English bench upon the same principles* as in all other cases—that our judges, or our judicial committees, are not to be our legislators—and that the statutes of the realm, as they are above the sacred majesty of the Queen, so are likewise above their ministerial interpreters. It was by statute that the changes in the position of the Church at that great epoch were measured—by statute that the position itself is defined; and the statute, I say, contains no trace of such a meaning as that the Crown either originally was the source and spring of ecclesiastical jurisdiction, or was to become such in virtue of the annexation to it of the powers recited; but simply bears the meaning, that it was to be master over its administration.

"The powers given are corrective, not directive or motive powers—powers for the reparation of defect and the reform of abuse, but not powers on which the ordinary, legitimate, and regular administration of the offices of the Church in any way depends for its original and proper sanction.

"Is this a mere refinement, or is it a valid and important distinction? Is the authority entitled to redress evils in a given relation of life, or incorporation of men, of necessity that on which the regular discharge of the duties of that relation, the proper obligations attaching to membership in that society, depend?

"The answer to this question will, I think, be found to depend on an anterior one, namely this, whether the given relation in life, or the given society, is one constituted by the State, or co-ordinate with (or anterior to) it. In the former case the hand of the State, by its own

* Unhappily this confidence has been grievously disappointed.—ED.

strength, imparts to the machine its movements; in the other it stands by, and only tempers, when need has arisen, the operation of an independent agency. Of an army, the State is the creative power, and as much directs what ought to be done as corrects what ought not to be done. On the other hand, the State did not create the family, yet it regulates, with a breadth of range that it rests only with itself to define, the relations of its members, yet subject to this great distinction, that whatever interference, as between man and wife, or as between child and parent, it may exercise, is always on the ground of faults committed or defects that have occurred, never to teach duty. The whole office of correction is not a normal office, but it is, as administered by man, an expedient; the best that the case admits of; a choice of the lesser evil; and it would be thought ridiculous to hold that the duties of kin were derived from the law of the land, for this reason, that the family is in fact anterior to the State, and independent of it, and has its duties marked out by the hand of God. But every one of these propositions is, as matter of historical truth, if we believe in the New Testament, no less incontestable concerning the Church, than it is concerning the family.

"I say, therefore, it does not appertain to the State, by the nature of things, to be the origin of ecclesiastical jurisdiction. If not, then, by the nature of things, has such an attribute come to it by compact? I answer, no: the compact of the Church and the State in regard to their constitutional relations is well defined by statutes founded on the prior or posterior consent of the clergy, and themselves conveying the consent of the laity; and the compact contains no such condition.

"But another question remains: Has such a claim been *de facto* made and exercised by the State, say on the ground of prerogative or on any other ground, and is it actually our law, sanctioned on all hands by acquiescence and by use for a long tract of time?

"I answer, no. There was indeed such a claim, and such an exercise of it, in the reigns of Henry VIII. and Edward VI.; more or less of it certainly must have been involved in the vicar-generalship of Cromwell, and in the episcopal commissions of both those reigns; for although those commissions only purported to confer on the prelates receiving them powers *præter et ultra* what had been imparted to them by Holy Scripture, yet they were powers on which the whole exercise of the office was immediately dependent, as was plain from the terms in which they were conveyed. The claim itself is palpable even in the letter of the proceedings of the reign of Edward VI., for in the *Reformatio Legum* it is declared respecting the king as follows:—*Omnis jurisdictio, et ecclesiastica et secularis, ab eo tanquam ex uno et eodem fonte derivantur.*

"Similar language may be found in the episcopal commissions, and in Statutes of this reign. But the Statutes were repealed, and remain so: the *Reformatio Legum* never gained the force of law: and with those commissions we have nothing whatever to do. The issue of them was an extravagant stretch of the power supposed to be latent in the admission of the royal headship. They were first issued by Henry, and after the demise of Edward VI. we hear of them no more. They

were never issued by law; and the headship, of which the power to issue them may have been supposed an attribute, has itself, after subsisting for twenty-five years, been extinct for two hundred and ninety-six, as far as the statute book is concerned.

"Whatever inference might be drawn from the use of the word Head is more than destroyed by the marked transition to the term Governor; and the idea which that term conveys is of a negative, not a positive character; it is that of a power which corrects, but does not actuate."

The next passage that we shall quote relates the origin and growth of the alliance between Church and State at other eras and other countries. It is an argument of course which must be used with limitation. That the Church conferred extraordinary powers upon Constantine and Charlemagne, is an historical fact. But what does it prove? That the Church was right in confiding largely in Henry, and Edward, and Elizabeth? Certainly not. The most that it can prove is that the Church does not thereby forfeit her spiritual inheritance. It is doubtless very natural for the Church to be grateful and liberal to a monarch that offers to befriend her. But all history, we maintain, shows that it is dangerous to "place confidence in princes." And it is plain that at both the periods referred to, the Church soon found out her mistake. The first alliance of the Church with the Emperors, led speedily to a series of encroachments, from which she was at length only liberated, by the undaunted energy of Hildebrand, and that vast ambitious spiritual polity which he raised up to be the rival of the Imperial power. While what were the consequences in the west of a similar elevation of the King, is written in the lives of SS. Anselm, Thomas of Canterbury, and others of our own national saints.

"The temporal aspects of the life of man have ever been, and must always be, in the closest relations with the spiritual. Before the advent of our Lord the system now called Erastian prevailed: it has all the authority of Pagan precedent. Creed, priesthood, ritual, all that constituted the religion of the masses of mankind, were in a subjection to the state, only qualified by such advantage as the necessities of the civil power and the superstition of the vulgar secured to the priesthood. The religion of the world was broken up into fragments, and the State determined the order and the relations in which these should stand side by side. It was a power born to universal command, and to very high and sacred duties. Its first and inalienable vocation, says Savigny, was to make the idea of right as between man and man dominant in the visible world. What part of life is there, whether domestic, civil, or religious, that is not in some sense touched by this all-embracing yet, I must add, this just definition? But after the promulgation of the Gospel it was found that a new society had been established in the world, claiming to pervade all lands and to command the allegiance of all men in each of them. This allegiance,

too, though spiritual in its kind, yet reached in some sense to all their acts, because all the acts of a Christian were to be done to the glory of God, and therefore must needs be under the guidance of the spiritual principle, which had its home in the Church, and whose light came by the channel of her teaching. It is true that this latter kingdom was a kingdom not of this world, but it was in this world: it had numberless points of necessary contact with its affairs, and the infirmity and corruption that belong to man, in or out of the hierarchy, wrought constantly to increase them by adding others which were needless and hurtful to spiritual ends. How to adjust the claims of these two authorities upon the same ground and in the same subject matter, each claiming universal command, though in respects primarily distinct, was a problem, not indeed impossible of solution, but yet the most difficult, as history bears witness, that has ever been presented to man in his social relations.

"There were indeed periods, such as that of Constantine, and more especially of Justinian and Charlemagne, when the harmony of the Church and the State might have seemed to be perfect, and yet all that was necessary for the separate freedom of each to be secured. But there were other periods extending over generations or even centuries when miscarriages in regard to this problem had convulsed Christendom with its longest and bloodiest wars. In no country had there been more frequent and habitual collision than in our own, between the civil power on the one hand, and the Papal chair, with its English partisans, on the other.

"Now the records of history appear to show that in days long antecedent to the Reformation, which were prosperous and honourable to both the parties in this great arbitrement, the basis on which they co-operated was this: the civil power lent the support of law and the strong hand to the decrees of the Church, and aided her to make head against the anarchy of the times; the Church promulgated those decrees under the sanction of the civil power, and thus afforded it an adequate guarantee against the encroachments of priestly ambition, while to the people law was presented as an unity, and escaped the risk of losing by division, and perhaps by conflict, the force of its claim on their obedience. It is not necessary to examine up to what precise point this is true, or whether at any time it extends so far as to a formal contract on the part of the Church, surrendering her separate action: all that is now assumed is this, that in such periods as those of Justinian and Charlemagne the general rule was such as has been described. The submission of the English Clergy carried that general rule into fixed agreement.

"But although the rules of ecclesiastical order thus went forth in the garb and with the sanctions of civil law, there was no real disparagement in this to the office of the Church, because the hand of the State in Church affairs which externally affixed the seal of law was guided by the mind of the Church. It was not the mere personal will of Justinian that framed the Pandects, and in them gave to the world an immortal store of the principles of civil jurisprudence, but it was the legal mind of his age that collected from all points and reduced

into written maxims the matured fruits of former wisdom and experience, and fashioned them for systematic and authoritative use; so in the work of ecclesiastical legislation, although the stamp of civil sovereignty gave visible and coercive authority to legislation that was to bind at once in the exterior and the interior *forum*, it was the mind of the Church that advised and informed the Emperor, and practically determined the matter to which obedience was to be paid.

"The apology, therefore, or excuse of the English clergy when they made their celebrated submission to Henry VIII., and formally conceded to him both the initiative and the veto upon ecclesiastical canons, is surely to be found in this—that they may have looked back upon the incessant struggles of England with the Papacy during the centuries from the Conquest to their own for warning, and yet further back upon the great and cardinal periods of the history of the Church, under the three Emperors in particular who have been named, for imitation: and that in those periods they probably perceived how, where Church-law was running under the authority of a State all whose members individually owned allegiance to the Church, the Catholic faith grew in honour and in extension, and the guarantees of social order were maintained. They had also another precedent, less commanding in dignity, but nearer to them, and yet closer to the subject, in the promulgation of the ecclesiastical laws of Anglo-Saxon times under the ostensible authority, not so much joined as mixed, of all those who met in the councils of the nation, whether spiritual or lay persons: a precedent to which they might reasonably give much weight.

"Nay more: this is, surely, an explanation of their conduct much more according to charity than the supposition that the Bishops and Clergy of a great Christian kingdom, and that kingdom our own noble and true-hearted England, were so drowned in corruption and so lost to every consideration of decency and honour, that with their eyes open they surrendered to the secular authority the sacred charge of the Church in the custody of the Christian faith and discipline: but it is also far more rational as well as more charitable, first because these extravagant imputations of universal degradation to such bodies of men are in reality, as a general rule fanatical and irrational, to the highest degree: secondly, because the basis upon which they placed themselves was not in the main a novel invention, but one known to history, and recommended by the actual working of the relations of the Church and State when they had been founded upon it. Of course it is not intended to question that secondary motives may have had a very large share in producing the decision at which the English Convocation then finally arrived. Probably, without the fear of the *premunire* and of the violent character of the king, that decision might not have been attained. But those who would on this account shut out the possible concurrence of better motives, should recollect that all the impure considerations were not on one side. Ambition and cupidity would incline the Clergy to retain their powers with the same kind of force, and perhaps with as much force, as the fear of *premunire* would prompt their relinquishment. The question is, did they deliberately sacrifice on the altar of Mammon the sacred deposit of Church authority? I

say no : they gave to the Crown an absolute control over ecclesiastical legislation, in conformity with the tendencies which the works of some unreforming Bishops had evinced, even before Henry's quarrel with the Pope ; in conformity with the known practice, if not with any abstract declaration of the ages best to follow, and probably in a trust not unreasonable that the more frank and formal adoption of the same principles would be attended with the same happy results."

And then he concludes,

"Looking back to these and other facts, I for one cannot censure either those who asked or those who agreed, that all the legislative proceedings of the Church should thenceforward be subject to the permission and sanction of the Crown, provided only they had reason to suppose that the powers which they then consented to recognize were to be used towards the Clergy and the Church, as it was the duty of the Crown to employ all other powers owned by the constitution ; that is to say, in the spirit of general equity and justice, according to the paths of law and usage, and for the advantage of the subject."

"The real question, I apprehend, is this : when the Church assented to those great concessions which were embodied in our permanent law at the Reformation, had she adequate securities that the powers so conveyed would be exercised, upon the whole, with a due regard to the integrity of her faith, and of her office, which was and has ever been a part of that faith ? I do not ask whether these securities were all on parchment or not—whether they were written or unwritten—whether they were in statute or in common law, or in fixed usage, or in the spirit of the constitution and in the habits of the people—I ask the one vital question, whether, whatever they were in form, they were in substance sufficient ?

"The securities which the Church had were these : first, that the assembling of the Convocation was obviously necessary for the purposes of taxation ; secondly, and mainly, that the very solemn and fundamental laws by which the jurisdiction of the see of Rome was cut off, assigned to the spirituality of the realm the care of matters spiritual, as distinctly and formally as to the temporality the care of matters temporal : and that it was an understood principle, and (as it long continued) a regular usage of the constitution, that ecclesiastical laws should be administered by ecclesiastical judges. These were the securities on which the Church relied ; on which she had a right to rely ; and on which, for a long series of years, her reliance was justified by the results."

But after all, after making the most excellent defence of the Church's Spiritual Rules in the sixteenth century, (for which we beg most heartily to thank him,) and after showing how well the system actually worked during the time of the Stuarts, and how had it not been for her own divisions it might probably have con-

tinued to work for some time longer ; his apology stops very far short of justifying the present state of things.

“ That the concessions, (he says) which have been described as made by the Church in the sixteenth century were large is unquestionable. That they had their dangers is a proposition which only places them in the same category with all former and all subsequent adjustments of the same great and most difficult problem. That they were unwarrantable may be the case, but our history *until now* has not placed it beyond doubt. That they deserve the severe and unmeasured condemnation which some have pronounced upon them, is, in my view, very far indeed from being the case.”

“ If the justification of the reformers is to rest on such grounds as the foregoing, their reputation can owe thanks to those who would now persuade the Church to acquiesce in a disgraceful servitude, and to surrender to the organs of the secular power the solemn charge which she has received from CHRIST, to feed His sheep and His lambs ; for the real feeder of those sheep, and those lambs, is the Power that determines the doctrine with which we shall be fed, whether that determination shall profess to be drawn straight from the depths of the mine of revealed truth, or whether it shall assume the more dangerous and seductive title of construction only ; of a licence of construction which disclaims the creation, the declaration, or the decision of doctrine, but which simultaneously with that disclaimer has marked out for itself a range of discretion which has already enabled it to cancel all binding power in one of the Articles of the Faith, and will hereafter as certainly enable it to cancel the binding power of all those which the first fell swoop has failed to touch.

“ No ; let us vindicate the reformers by showing that we believe their conduct to have been guided by reasons which existed for them, *though they no longer exist for us* ; and let us imitate them by labouring to fix the position of the Church for our own time, according to the conditions and the prognostications which the time itself not offers only, but rather thrusts and forces on our view.”

“ The Church did, as the Roman Catholics truly allege, consent to the state into which she entered at the Reformation, so far as that was fixed by statute. The fact is important ; because if she once had these independent rights, her former possession of them at once suggests the further question, whether and under what circumstances, she might be bound in duty to resume them ; and the fact is even more clear than it is important. It was no tacit, no obscure, no hurried, no equivocal consent. It was a deliberate consent, after consideration upon the several heads which have already been recited : and with respect to all that part of the consent which touches legislative power, the 25th Henry VIII. chap. xix., having fully set out in the preamble the submission and petition of the Clergy, commences the enacting part with the words, ‘ Be it therefore now enacted, by authority of this present Parliament, *according to the said submission and petition of the said Clergy* ;’ and it then proceeds to provide accordingly.”

Mr. Gladstone next enumerates the changes that have been produced in the Church's circumstances, by the silencing of Convocation, by the repeal of the Test and Corporation Act, and by the transfer of the ecclesiastical patronage of the Crown, from the personal responsibility of the Sovereign, to an impersonal, irresponsible, and ephemeral ministry. The precise appellate jurisdiction of the Crown, indeed, he argues, does not flow historically out of this statutable Supremacy, but is to be paralleled by the French *appel comme d'abus*: which in its turn seems to be analogous to the power confided to the King, in the "Constitutions of Clarendon;"—not as the lawyers have endeavoured to pervert the maxim; but as its just meaning is vindicated by the Bishop of Exeter's Letter to the Bishop of Bath and Wells, which was printed in last week's *Guardian*. In case of justice not being done in the Ecclesiastical Courts, it was the duty of the Sovereign to direct that the judgment should be reviewed; but he was not himself to be judge, nor to bring the matter for decision into the temporal Courts.

"That which she is entitled in the spirit of the constitution to demand, would be, that the Queen's ecclesiastical laws shall be administered by the Queen's ecclesiastical judges, of whom the Bishops are the chief; and this too under the checks which the sitting of a body, appointed for ecclesiastical legislation, would impose.

"But if it is not of vital necessity that a Church legislature should sit at the present time; if it is not of vital necessity that all causes termed ecclesiastical should be treated under special safeguards—if it is not of vital necessity that the function of judgment should be taken out of the hands of the existing court—let the Church frankly and at once subscribe to every one of these great concessions, and reduce her demands to a *minimum* at the outset.

"Laws ecclesiastical by ecclesiastical judges, let this be her principle: it plants her on the ground of ancient times, of the Reformation, of our continuous history, of reason and of right. The utmost moderation in the application of the principle, let this be her temper, and then her case will be strong in the face of God and man, and come what may, she will conquer."

Such is the conclusion arrived at by this statesman, upon legal and constitutional grounds. He does not in words advocate the repeal of Elizabeth's statute; but he advocates the restoration of that state of things, in which alone he admits that such a statute can be tolerated by the Church. But it is impossible to restore things as they were. Convocation, indeed, may be allowed to sit; but no human enactment can restore unity of faith to the House of Commons; neither is that Assembly likely to liberate the conscience of the Sovereign from their domination in the appointment of Bishops. And seeing that without these qualifications the Su-

premacv of the Crown, he admits, is dangerous to the Church, it comes really to this, that the Act itself must be at least partially repealed.

The same opinion is stated plainly by Archdeacon Manning :

" I trust that as by the Statute of the sixteenth of King Charles the First, Parliament has already once retraced its steps and restored the ancient jurisdiction of the Crown to its just limits, by abolishing the Court of High Commission, so it will now relieve the Princes of these realms of a burden too weighty for any royal head, by repealing so much of the Acts of Henry VIII. as invests the Sovereign with this perilous and unnatural judicature."

We have quoted already so largely from Mr. Gladstone, that we must be very brief in our notice of Archdeacon Manning. The conclusion at which he arrives is a step beyond that which Mr. Gladstone had propounded. The object of the Member for the University of Oxford would be to restore the Church to the position which she occupied at the Reformation, or at least under the Statute of Elizabeth : the Archdeacon is of opinion that we must seek to get that Statute repealed in so far (if we rightly understand him,) as it enables the Sovereign upon appeal, by a court of his own constituting to review the judgments of the Ecclesiastical Courts in matters purely spiritual. But as we have already said, the difference is more in words than in reality. We must confess ourselves unable to see how the Reformation provided that " Laws Ecclesiastical should be decided by Ecclesiastical Judges." And yet this is what Mr. Gladstone tells us we are warranted in demanding. The Statute of Elizabeth appears to have left it entirely in the breast of the Sovereign, whom she should appoint to hear the cases that might be referred to her judgment. And in our Article on the Supremacy, it was made plain, we think, that the constituting the present Court of Appeal seventeen years since, was not a violation of the Elizabethan Statute, but an exercise of the Royal Prerogative quite within the literal meaning of that Act. While therefore we accept most gratefully Mr. Gladstone's premises, we cannot reconcile ourselves to his conclusion. In other words, while we are satisfied with the principle which he lays down, that ecclesiastical laws should be administered by ecclesiastical judges, we cannot see that " the ground of the Reformation " will carry as much, except by falling back largely upon the " unwritten law " of the times. And this in point of fact is what Mr. Gladstone does. So that in truth there is no essential difference between the two writers. Both admit that the Church must seek to be delivered from her present bondage to the Temporal Power : and both argue that this deliverance must involve two measures,—1st, The revival of a National or Provincial Synod ; and 2ndly, the

Institution of a proper Court of Appeal, for causes purely spiritual.

Let these then henceforward be our watchwords. Let these be the ends to which all our endeavours are directed.

There remains one other view of the subject, of great importance, which is touched upon in this Letter, to which we must allude—we mean the bearing of these Judgments, as interpreting the Royal Supremacy, upon the oaths required of Clergy at their Ordination, and on Institution to a Benefice. The Archdeacon writes as follows :

‘ One word more I will now ask leave to add. My Lord, at my Ordination, and at my entering upon the charges I hold, I solemnly took the oath of Supremacy and subscribed the three articles of the 36th Canon. They bind me to the Ecclesiastical Discipline as this Church and Realm have received the same.

“ Am I then bound to accept as lawful and rightful the Royal Supremacy exhibited in this Appellate Jurisdiction ? I trust not, partly because I have at all times in perfect integrity of heart formally denied to the Crown the power lately exercised. So short a time ago as 1848, I stated in the most public and responsible manner my belief as follows :—‘ No Supremacy is claimed for the Crown over the Spirituality, but a *Civil* Supremacy—a Supremacy of *Temporal* power in *Temporal* things, and in the *Temporal* accident of *Spiritual* things.’ The Law of CHURCH forbids us to accept of more.

“ But above all, I trust that the Supremacy intended in our oath and subscription goes no further than this limit, because any other Supremacy seems to me in violation of the Divine office of the Church. To the ancient jurisdiction of the Crown, as it was wielded by our Princes—to the Christian Supremacy of Edward the Confessor—the Church of England will, I trust, be ever ready to render a glad obedience. But that Supremacy did not claim to be the fountain of spiritual jurisdiction ; it assumed no functions of direction in the interior discipline of the Church : it never assumed to pronounce on the fitness of a Pastor for mission to cure of souls : it never set up a tribunal to apply a judgment of discretion in declaring what is the doctrine of the Church.

“ In the year 1846, when the Bill to repeal certain penal statutes directed against those who gainsaid the Supremacy of the Crown was under discussion in the Legislature, the greatest authorities of the Law in the House of Lords were heard to declare that the Royal Supremacy needs no protection by penal statute, inasmuch as it was no creature of statutes, but a prerogative known to the Common Law of these realms, and protected by that majestic authority. We were told that the Supremacy of the Crown existed before the Tudor statutes. In that sense, my Lord, I have no difficulty in binding myself by any oath of fidelity. The Royal Supremacy at Common Law is in perfect harmony with the Divine office of the Church, by which it was consecrated to the kingdom of our Divine Lord. In that sense, and not

in the sense of this Appellate Jurisdiction, I am prepared with gladness to obey and to uphold it with a true and loyal heart. It is the novel jurisdiction in matters of faith—a jurisdiction unknown at Common Law, unheard of before the statutes of Henry VIII.—it is against this that we protest in the name of God and of His Church. We appeal from it to the Common Law itself, which, in the words of a Saxon Council, will vindicate our just demand; ‘*Libera sit Ecclesia, fruaturque suis judiciis.*’”

We are not ourselves of the number of those who would look with a very curious strictness to the obligations now supposed to result from oaths imposed under a state of things materially different from the present. But it is important for liberal legislatures, if they would be consistent, to understand that they are creating a very grievous snare for the consciences of the more scrupulous. No one can say that up to this time the acknowledgment of the Queen's Supremacy in all cases and over all persons ecclesiastical and civil within her dominions, has been considered to involve the assent of the individual subscribing, to the trial of matters spiritual by a Lay Tribunal. But now, by the ruling of the three several Courts of Queen's Bench, Common Pleas, and Exchequer, it will, by many, be thought to imply as much, and there will be an indisposition upon the part of conscientious men to bind themselves by so ensnaring an engagement. At the present time, we need scarcely say, the Church can ill spare such recruits from her service.

In conclusion, a few words must be allowed us in reference to the temper with which these demands should be prosecuted. Greatly would we deprecate all impatience. It is something now that we see our way—that we have a plain definite demand to urge. Let our case be made generally known; let it be seen that there is an unity of purpose, a definiteness of aim, and a just cause; and then surely we may afford to wait: indeed we must be prepared to wait; it is only by slow degrees that the public mind takes a matter in. And seeing that the meeting of Tuesday last was the first occasion on which a public statement of our case and of the remedies required was made, it would be the height of unreasonableness to expect that we should obtain immediate redress. If “three hundred years of Statute Law are not to be slipped off in a day,” so neither are as many years of prejudice: and we have both to contend against. Had the Church by her own Synodical decree given any such sentence as that of the Privy Council, the case would have been very different—although even then, the remembrance of the conflicting Councils of Tyre, and Sardica, and Ariminum, and Alexandria in the fourth century, might have served to caution us against impetuosity or despair. But the present is a danger which has befallen the Church without any privy or consciousness, much less concurrence, upon her part,—from a quarter, too, where she had

no reason to expect danger, because the very framer of the Act under which the Judicial Committee of Privy Council is entrusted with such causes, has expressly told us that he did not contemplate such a contingency occurring, as that of the Court being required to entertain a question purely spiritual. It is surely therefore not too much to ask that time may be allowed her for ascertaining exactly the nature of her position and defences; and if even Councils of the Church be not binding till ratified by general consent and approval, much less can the Judgment of the Privy Council, protested against as it is by almost all the Bishops and the great majority of the Clergy, be considered as fastening heresy immediately upon us.

We are most intensely conscious of the dangers of the Church; and we will strain every nerve to awaken our brethren to a like sense of danger. We believe from our hearts that this is one of the most critical moments in the existence of the Church of England, and that the course which our spiritual Fathers adopt in reference to this Gorham case, will actually determine whether it be "for life or for death." But at the same time we must aver that we can hardly conceive any combination of circumstances arising which should justify an English Churchman in separation or despair. Our field of vision is so contracted: we are so little able to say what "shall be after us," yea, what shall befall us in our own times—in a few years, or months, or days,—that we must be very slow in predicting results; very slow in assigning limits to possibility, or fixing positive conditions for the safety of the Church. It is ours to work and to pray—and with the clear knowledge we now possess whither all we do should be directed, there is no excuse for inactivity. Persevering in all lawful courses of action which shall open men's eyes and move their hearts; instant and importunate in prayer, we ought not for a moment to despair of success: at all events, results belong to God; and while we fight in the position assigned to us by God's Providence, and in the ranks where so many good men of old have stood, we cannot possibly be acting otherwise than according to the Will of God. So doing, we shall assuredly "rest and stand in our lot at the end of the days," and that lot shall be the heritage of God's people.

Again, we would go further, and express our own very decided conviction that this looking about for "signs" implies a misconception of the ordinary method of God's dealing. Should it ever be God's purpose to direct His people *out* of the English Church, we are most firmly persuaded that it will not be by appeals to the consciences of *individuals*. It has never been the way of His Providence to expose persons to so severe a trial, as that of renouncing all authority that may be set over them, in order to save their own souls. Even when CHRIST was Himself upon earth, exhibiting the miraculous credentials of His ministry, and appealing to the fulfil-

ment of prophecy in His person and preaching, He did not require so much of those whom He called. They were indeed to give up father and mother, and all that they had, and take up the cross and follow Him ; but to give up the solemn sanction of the religion in which they had been educated, and upon their own private individual judgment to forsake the ordinances of their fathers one by one, as the Spirit moved them, men were never asked. The Apostles, though in one sense, they had "left all to follow CHRIST," yet continued up to the day of Pentecost to pay respect to the customs of the Mosaic Law ; and when the first call was made to receive the Sacrament of Christian Baptism, the responsibility was shared among three thousand.

And so we are convinced, should God ever intend that we should leave the Church of England, it will not be by calling one, or two, or three separately, but by gradually disposing the wills of thousands to a united course of action. We would therefore most earnestly call upon all whom our words may reach, to give themselves, without doubt or wavering, to the work that is before them. It may be if our spiritual fathers and others, who occupy high posts in the Church, will go slumbering on and hug the chains with which they are bound down, that the doom of the Church is sealed. But that this doom will be *apparent* in our day we cannot conceive, consistently with the ordinary course of God's Providence, possible. The determination of the Church's fate *may* be dependent upon what we now do. At all events, there is no room for despair, neither, we are persuaded, is there any alternative allowed us, but to labour as though all were in our own hands. Then, and then only can we with a good conscience commit the result to God ; and to those who so faithfully act, the result will be made *plain*,—plain, so that he who runs may read—plain, so that we shall not have one taking one course and one another ; but to all who are in earnest, and love God heartily, there will be seen to be but one line of duty.

ENGLISH HISTORY.

Lectures on the History of England. By a LADY. Vol. I. From the Roman Invasion to the Norman Conquest. Littlemore : Masson. Oxford : J. H. Parker.

OF all branches of secular learning, there is perhaps none through which so much influence can be exerted over the mind, for good or for evil, as that of history. It has been doubtless from a consciousness of this truth, that many who have undertaken the office of historian have confined themselves to a bare epitome of events; placing solely before them as their object, *ὡς μὴ τὰ γινόμενα ἐξ ἀνθρώπων τῷ χρόνῳ ἐξίτηλα γίνηται*,* and never daring to look forward to any ulterior purpose, of causing the past to have some influence upon the future, nor to bear in mind the character given to all the dealings of men with men, *γινόμενα μὲν, καὶ αἰεὶ ἰσόμενα, ἴως ἂν ἡ αὐτὴ φύσις ἀνθρώπων ᾗ, μᾶλλον δὲ, καὶ ἡσυχαιτέρα, καὶ τοῖς εἶδεσι διηλλαγμένα, ὡς ἂν ἕκαστοι αἱ μεταβολαὶ τῶν ξυντυχιῶν ἐφιστῶνται*.† They have dreaded, and that not unjustly, lest history, if placed in a less repulsive form than that of a bare chronicle of events, should distort or pervert the judgment of their readers. For it has been well remarked,‡ that history is concerned with evil rather than with good: that the historian's task is rather to record the miseries which men inflict on one another, than the blessings which Providence kindly and silently pours down upon the world; and his labour seems to terminate when peace and honesty bear sway. His subject, therefore, is dangerous ground, and the study of it, unless prosecuted in the right spirit, fraught with peril. And more especially is this true in the case of the young. An undue or false colouring given to an event, a tone of flippancy or levity in treating of the sins and follies of generations past away, a want of sincerity and open truthfulness—all these errors in the historian, may and will exercise an incalculable influence for evil over the mind of the youthful student. Still, even for the young, we must confess *μηδεμίαν ἐτοιμοτέραν εἶναι τοῖς ἀνθρώποις διόρθωσιν, τῆς τῶν προγεγενημένων πράξεων ἐπιστήμης*.§ The mighty waves of Time do not sweep away men and manners and deeds gone by into the ocean of the Past, without leaving some token for us on the shore, whereby, whether at the commencement or the close of our earthly course, we may be enabled at least to gain something for our temporal or our eternal welfare,

* Herod. i. 1.

† Thucyd. iii. 82.

‡ By Arch. Hale in Ency. Met. § Polyb. i. 1.

and, in a far different sense to what it ordinarily bears, to make evil our good.

Now what is the spirit in which this task is to be approached? How are we to regulate our philosophy of history, so that our philosophy may not after all prove nothing but vain deceit? Many answers are given to this question. It is not an easy one to solve at once: wise men have toiled over it, we doubt not, and sighed at their materials, a mass of evil, sin, and sorrow, and pain, and treachery; mingled here and there with a faint trace of good, shining as from afar, and revered perforce by a world which received it not, being not worthy of it: out of these disheartening elements the historian has to fabricate that which without quitting the truth, or giving a false brightness to deeds of darkness, shall yet lead the youthful mind to good, in spite of its being made familiar with evil. And so some have thought in every page to show the power and the progress of the mighty intellect of man; and others have more humbly striven to bring prominently forward his utter and hopeless condition; others have secretly indulged a feeling, which in the hackneyed lines of Lucretius,* is expressed with infernal candour; gloating over the troubles and sorrows of the past in the dreamy indolence of an untroubled, because careless and unthinking present.

But it is with much delight we find the answer given to this question in the Introduction to the work before us. The authoress has brought to her task the feeling that she is engaged on what is always the record of God's dealing with man; that as in every event of the world's history, we are sure that the guiding power has been no stern necessity or fate, such as heathen philosophers imagined, and modern pseudo-Christians have not hesitated to maintain,† but the very hand of God Himself working out the good of them that love Him, so our detail of those events, and our comments thereon, should hold this our persuasion up to light.

Such a method will be more especially profitable to train the youthful mind. The habit of recognizing the Wisdom of the ALMIGHTY at work in all the events of the past, will not be without its fruits in the shape of a reverent dependence on His guiding of the present too; a spirit which refers all good to His bounty, and acknowledges His judgments or His merciful chastenings in all sorrow and trouble. How inestimably precious such an early training as this must be, there are too many who know by a sad experience. The tendency of our modern education, and, above all, our teaching of history, is a judgment indeed upon our sins of schism and division: the point sought is to avoid wounding the peculiar prejudices of our various parties, by any reference

* De Rer. Nat. ii. 1. *Suave, mari magno, &c.*

† Mill's Logic, Book vi. ch. 2.

to the Divine government of the world, to confess and connive at the disunion of men, by ignoring the unity of the purpose of an omnipresent God. And therefore with too many, the golden opportunity for impressing on the mind a practice of the Divine Presence, has been suffered irreverently to pass away. With great satisfaction, therefore, do we read the following advice to the child-student. Would that children of a larger growth could profit a little by the lesson it teaches, and gain a little of the spirit it recommends.

“ To be wise, even in the history of your own country, and to study it to any useful purpose, you must desire wisdom in the Bible-sense of it, and bring to the study a humble and pure heart, with a simple earnest intention to enter upon it in a tractable spirit, and to pay strict attention to every moral truth which you may gain therefrom; and this leads me to set before you another class of thoughts which you should cultivate in reading the history of a people, viz., such as shall arise from following out at the same time the *fortunes* of the Church in that nation, and remarking how they were brightened or dimmed by the events of different reigns. For it is impossible to reflect on the state of any nation in any period of its existence, without seeing plainly that as the true faith prevailed or languished, so the Divine favour blessed that country, or was withdrawn from it. Besides which, a member of the holy Church should always take an interest in all that concerns her welfare, and should love to trace her progress in Christianizing mankind; whence he will be brought to acknowledge one eternal and glorious truth, that the might of sinful men, even if in exalted station, their anger, their hatred, and their persecutions, the wealth and power of nations, their fleets and armaments, are all vain weapons against the kingdom of the Most High, which shall grow and endure for ever, and only suffer in her children as heaven permits for a trial of their faith and love, and for the purification of their earthly nature.’ ”

These remarks apply in a greater or less degree to all history; but they are more especially applicable to that portion to which they are prefixed, a history of our own land. As our curiosity is more stimulated, and our interest sooner aroused and deeper, when we hear of familiar names, and are carried back, half in imagination, half in memory, through deeds, of prowess which our own forefathers achieved, in the green fields where we ourselves have sported, or it may be, through darker scenes of guilt and wretchedness, which throw a mysterious cloud over spots which we have cherished and loved; so our judgment is more liable to be perverted, when we are thus, as it were, parties in the cause, and almost personally interested in the sentence which we are called upon to pronounce. But at the same time, if the learner be brought to the study in the proper spirit—the spirit of knowledge

and the fear of the LORD—the narration of events in which he himself is so nearly concerned, will needs awaken in him a deeper feeling of the reality of the Divine Presence in each of them, (according to the Aristotelian Canon, ὁ καὶ αὐτὸς προσδοκῶνται ἀν παθεῖν),* and a more abiding sense of the nearness of God for judgment, or for love, to those who have been made partakers of His kingdom. The task our authoress has set herself is one of double difficulty. For not only has she to steer clear of all the worldly and unchristian thoughts and associations which seem, in these our days, by some necessity to cluster round, as we retrace the footsteps of the Past; not only is her subject a hard and perilous one, but her readers are of a class not by any means easy to deal with or provide for. Aristotle knew well how difficult it is to fix the youthful mind, and lead it on to view the one in the many, the finite in the infinite; τῆς πολιτικῆς οὐκ ἔστιν οἰκίος ἀκροατὴς ὁ νέος . . . τοῖς πάθεσιν ἀκολουθητικὸς ὢν ματαίως ἀκούσεται καὶ ἀναφελῶς.† The young live in a flowery present; and it is no simple task to fix their attention on the lessons recorded in the past, and the hopes and fears in store for them in the future. Doubly true in their case are the words of Pascal,‡ “Notre imagination nous grossit si fort le temps présent, à force d’y faire des réflexions continuelles, et amoindrit tellement l’éternité, manque d’y faire réflexions, que nous faisons de l’éternité un néant, et du néant une éternité; et tout cela a ses racines si vives en nous, que toute notre raison ne peut nous en défendre.” To keep alive their interest, without becoming subservient to their fickleness, to “allure to brighter worlds,” without false colouring, or deceitful light and shade, is what many indeed have attempted, but few succeeded in performing. And so too often “the nobles have sent their little ones to the waters; they came to the pits and found no water; they returned with their vessels empty; they were ashamed and confounded, and covered their heads.” The work before us is one of the happiest in its kind that we have had the opportunity of seeing. Its clear and simple style, and the entire absence of affectation, (a too common fault in books intended for the young,) will be sure to command their attention; while the constant directing of their mind, not impertinently but gravely, to the manifest tokens of the Presence of the Supreme Disposer of events, cannot fail to involve them with something of that spirit in which they should contemplate each page in the history of the world. Perhaps the most objectionable point in the whole work is its title. “Lectures” on history, we fear, will prove repulsive to many a juvenile student. There is a great deal in a name. We are quite unable to see why each “Lecture” might not with equal propriety, and much more satisfaction, have been presented to us as a “Chapter.”

* Arist. Rhet. ii. 8.

† Eth. Nic. i. 1.

‡ Pensées, v. 3.

From generalities like these we turn to matters of detail. The British and Anglo-Saxon period of our history, the one embraced in the present volume, is indeed a tangled page. It argues no little patience to attempt to unravel it: and to give anything like a clear and connected narrative of events prior to the Norman Conquest, requires considerable historical acumen. We are aware of no more than one other work which is capable of comparison with these "Lectures:" Dr. Lingard's Anglo-Saxon period, contained in the first volume of his History of England. All others are either dry and scientific, or meagre and political, or defiled by the sneers of prejudice, or impatient ignorance. Dr. Lingard himself, able and interesting as every one must acknowledge him to be, is not free from the virulence of party feeling. We recognize in his pages rather the zealous Ultra-montane, than the humble servant of the Catholic Church.

The first four lectures are occupied with a sketch—for there are not materials for much more—of the history of Britain, or rather of the early British Church. The authoress echoes what we believe to be the fond hope, if not the settled persuasion of every lover of England's Church, that Britain was included within the *τέμενα τῆς δόξης*, to which as S. Clement* tells us, the great Apostle of the Gentiles carried his preaching. But whoever it was to whom we owe our first reception of the blessings of the Gospel, we know that the Church grew and spread, even in the then unkindly soil of Britain; and "the spots which Romans could not penetrate, became obedient to CHRIST."† And we love to dwell on those shadowy names which linger still around the traces of this early Church of our Fathers; S. Alban, first of our martyrs; SS. Germanus and Lupus, the mighty antagonists of Pelagian error; and Vodin and Guidellyn, whose sanctity could not avail to stay God's judgments against the Sodom and Gomorrah in the court of the miserable Vortigern. We will give one extract from this portion of the history; it shall be the account of the celebrated "Hallelujah battle," in the well known *Mæc Garmon*:

"Again the enemy was seen to advance, while the devoted band of Christians had, apparently, nothing to expect but slaughter. On a sudden the word Hallelujah! was pronounced. Like an electric shock, it passed into every voice, and incessant were the Hallelujahs on all sides. Three times the word was said, and three times it was poured out in thundering accents to the surrounding hills. Then the hills caught the strain of heaven, and echo upon echo awoke from the sleep of ages, and gave back Hallelujah; not a rock was silent, not a stone but thrilled, not a breeze but carried the sound from point to point, and each point again reverberated it to the surrounding hills. And where were the enemy? The effect of this sudden shouting, echoed so

* Ep. Cor. i. 5.

† Tertull. adv. Jud. § 7.

sublimely by the mountains, had thrown them into complete disorder. They could not comprehend it, and a vague fear of an unseen danger is always more terrifying than an ascertained and undoubted peril. They fled in inextricable confusion, and in every direction: some in their haste leaping headlong into the stream, whose brawling current had joined in the deafening noise of the Christian soldiery, and perishing in its turbid waters. 'So let all Thy enemies perish, O Lord.'"

The Lectures from the fifth to the ninth contain so much as can be connectedly and usefully exhibited of the annals of the Saxon Heptarchy. Fearful indeed are the notices which have been preserved to us of the dark deeds of that time of renewed paganism. "By swearing, and lying, and killing, and stealing, and committing adultery, they break out, and blood toucheth blood."* An epitome of the history of evil would be very alien to the writer's purpose. She has therefore recorded only those events which show the softening influences of the holy faith brought again to our shores by our second Apostle, the spiritual father of Saxon England, and the slow and steady shooting of the branches of "the greatest among herbs," the Catholic fold of CHRIST.

First of all comes the kingdom of Kent, and the earnestness of S. Gregory, and the mission of S. Augustine—household words, we trust, to the faithful still in our beloved Saxon land. We cannot but admire the unprejudiced candour of our authoress in acknowledging what we fear can hardly be doubted or excused, the conduct of S. Augustine in his dealings with the British Bishops. They were stubborn indeed, and their Church had lamentably failed in her duty of bringing souls to God; but they were true partakers of the grace of the Holy Apostolic line; and we must needs acknowledge the conference at the oak, "a painful part of S. Augustine's history." But the Lectures rightly pass over in silence the execrable falsehood which makes S. Augustine the author of the Massacre of Bangor; first, probably, forged by Geoffrey of Monmouth, and greedily laid hold of by certain Protestant writers, who cared little for truth, so they might find some handle against Rome.

From Kent we are led on to the kingdom of Northumberland, and the stirring account of the deliverance of the Deiri "*de Dēi irā*," according to the prophetic prayer of S. Gregory, by the wonderful conversion of Edwin, and the Christian triumph of Godmundingham, under the preaching of S. Paulinus. Very beautiful is the language in which we are urged to look with reverence on the little streams of our native land, which in those days were blessed as the instruments of regeneration to the elect among the Gentiles.

* Hos. iv. 2.

"There were then no churches to receive the newly-born, as types of the spiritual building into which they had entered; there were no fountains to hold the pure water which was the element of their sanctification. A little simple stream gliding through the soft grass, and, sparkling as it went, was sufficient to bless the rite; and the river Glen, and the waters of the Swale, are mentioned as having been the honoured means of conveying the gift of regeneration to the anxious and believing multitude, who crowded in thousands round the holy Archbishop, drinking in life from his doctrine, and receiving at his consecrated hands the pledge and earnest of endless life and happiness. The river Glen, and the bright waters of the Swale flow peacefully on, they have not sunk into the earth, they still dance beneath the sunbeam, and glisten to the pale starlight; thus they have welled out from age to age in continued purity, and their stream, with the stream of time, has borne down to us the living record of these early acts of faith and love. Verily, although they have neither speech nor language, voices are heard among them; 'their sound is gone forth into all lands, and their words into the ends of the world.' Loudly do they call upon us to awake from the lap of luxury, and the cold calculating spirit of worldly incredulity, and by maintaining a higher standard of faith, and emulating the simple devotedness of our Saxon ancestors, to save our generation from the curse of a mammon-seeking idolatry, and sanctify again the green earth of our native hills, to be the abode of that righteousness, Whose work is peace, and its effect quietness and assurance for ever.' "

We almost regret the absence of the heathen arguments of Coifi, and the touching speech of the courtier of Edwin, recorded by Venerable Bede.*

Dwelling awhile on the lovely character of the Saintly Oswald, and the good Bishop S. Aidan, we pass on through the tumults and troubles of Mercia, and the scantier historians of the four remaining kingdoms, to the time when all were united under the powerful sway of Egbert. Here the youthful reader is presented with a clear and simple account of the Anglo-Saxon constitution and manners, and a few earnest reflections on the dealings of God with the "England of Saints." Then come the horrors of the Danish invasion, and the reign of Alfred who seems indeed to have been specially raised up as a deliverer of his people from the judgments which their sins had brought upon them.

The authoress has, we think with great propriety, adopted Dr. Whitaker's view, the one taken in the "Lives of the English Saints," which identifies S. Neot with Athelstan the elder brother of Alfred. It is at once gratifying and mournful to look back from these days of "spiritual wickedness in high places," to the long list of Royal Saints which distinguishes the English Kalendar. Perhaps there is no country which can tell so much of the saintly lives of so many

* Eccl. Hist. ii. 13.

of its monarchs for the space of ten centuries, from the time of S. Augustine to the death of our last Martyr-King.

The reign of Alfred is a stubborn obstacle in the way of the half infidel historian of modern days. Christianity is a part and parcel of all his constitutions so far as they have come down to us. His laws for the protection of property and person are based, not as the Arnoldite would tell us they should be, on the desire alone of benefit and peace to the community, as though actions were done by man to man, and not in the sight of God, but on the decalogue which preceded them, and the Holy Name to which they appeal. And the careful provision for the due honour and reverence of the "mæsse-preost" shows that belief in the One Holy Catholic Church, and the reality of her sacraments and ordinances was not, as now, regarded as nothing but a half fanatic opinion, rather tolerated than enjoined, but as an integral part of the duty of every true member of the State. Historians may wonder at the flood of light which beams upon this period of our national existence; they may sigh over priest-craft and monkery, and endeavour to convert the reign of Alfred into a region of mystic wonder, or a tissue of monkish fable. But to us it tells another tale:

" διὰ θεῶν πόλιν νεμόμεθ' ἀδάματον,
δυσμενέων δ' ὄχλον πύργος ἀποστέγει.
τίς τὰδε νέμεσις στυγαί;"*

The next great character who appears in the shifting scene of English history is S. Dunstan. Our authoress calmly and dispassionately discusses his life and actions. Against this great upholder of the monastic life, this defender of the immunities of Holy Church, whose influence we may almost feel in this remote age, many a calumny is unblushingly raised. The firm and unscrupulous maintainer of the strictness of Catholic discipline can expect no mercy from those to whom his system is opposed as light to darkness; and accordingly his name is made a very bugbear to our children; and he is held up to execration as the representative of all that is fraudulent, ambitious, and vile. But with very different feelings does the devout mind trace in all the actions of God's Saints the mysterious leading of a higher power, those secret springs which form the hidden life of the earnest Christian. Without entering upon the abstract question of the expediency of those reforms which S. Dunstan spent nearly the whole of his active and saintly life in compassing, we are glad to find these lectures endeavouring to impress the youthful reader with a deep sense of the principle which he seems to have had at heart, that which formed as it were the text on which, in later times, the life and course of S. Ignatius and S. Francis Xavier were founded, "Ad majorem Dei gloriam." Fuller and his editor, Mr. Brewer, are inclined to spare the memory

* Aesch. Sept. Theb. 232.

of the unhappy King Edwin (more correctly Edwy) at the expense of his faithful counsellor. His impurities and other vices, they allege, existed only in the imagination of those who were anxious to blacken the character of a monarch who was the supporter of the secular clergy and the strenuous opposer of the regulars. But in spite of Henry of Huntingdon's cautious praise, none can deny the justice of our authoress's words :

"Edwin must have been already lost to all sense of religion, honour, decency, and good feeling, when he could, on the same day (of his coronation) leave his nobles and clergy at the banquet, and betake himself to the society of two wicked women. There cannot be any reasonable doubt of this fact, although there may exist doubts as to the exact nature of their sinful connexion with Edwin." p. 330.

The barbarous punishment subsequently inflicted, with S. Dunstan's concurrence, by Archbishop Odo, on the partner of Edwy's sin, we shall not attempt to palliate. But this was the fault of the age and not of the men. One who (as S. Dunstan did) could shed tears like the gentle S. Philip Neri, over the relenting of a stubborn penitent, is scarcely obnoxious to the accusation of possessing a cruel heart.

Let us turn to the last page in his history, to learn how a Christian bishop can die.

"This holy man was seized with his last illness in the midst of the sacred celebration of the Ascension Day. Feeling himself death-struck, he took an affectionate leave of his flock, turning to address them at three different intervals in the service, for he knew that it was for the last time. They answered him by their tears. Then, having pointed out the spot where he desired his body should rest, he seated himself once more at the banquet which followed, in the midst of his guests and clergy. His time afterwards, until the Saturday morning, was given to preparation for his solemn change, on which day he fell asleep in Jesus, in the year of grace 988, May 19."

Troubles on troubles followed his death ; the unhappy reign of Ethelred the Unready, the massacre of S. Brice's day, the martyrdom of S. Elphege. All these our historian narrates in a simple and very interesting manner, which cannot fail, we think, of finding its way to the hearts of the young, and making them recognise in all the hand of God, so clearly displayed.

We must coincide fully with her strictures on the character of one whom we have seen termed S. Canute. We doubt his canonization is apocryphal. In spite of the humility displayed in the favourite legends told concerning him, his vindictive character allows us only the uncertain hope, "that by 'turning from his wickedness' and doing what was 'lawful and right,' he may have saved 'his soul alive.'"

We will not lead our readers through the lectures on the horrors of Danish misrule, and the fearful corruptions of the simoniacal clergy, with Stigand at their head, in the reign of Edward the Confessor. Let us pass on to the last lecture of the volume, the brief sovereignty of the unfortunate Harold II. The circumstances which preceded the Norman invasion are detailed to us more at length than is usual. We are generally taught to look on Harold as a mere shadow, set up for the simple purpose of being dethroned and slain by William. His reign is here made a reality, a true portion of our history, not without its influence on succeeding times. Even in these sad years we rejoice to find one holy Confessor bearing witness to the eternity of the Church, amongst all the repulsive details of ecclesiastical corruption. S. Wulstan of Worcester, a personage of whom we scarcely hear a word in the writings of other historians, is a truly English character, full of honest bluntness, and that sincere, and so to speak, domestic piety, which is sure to endear itself to the mass of our country people. We wonder that he never became a popular saint among the sturdy yeomen of later times. Possibly his fame was obscured by the envy of the Normans, and it is left to us to appreciate him. May we be enabled to do so!

In taking leave of our authoress, we must express our hope that she will continue her lectures (why not chapters?) on the History of England in the same Christian spirit as this volume displays. To her historical learning and research (for there is need of much research even in writing a child's book) we may most safely entrust the task. We long to see S. Thomas of Canterbury treated, not as a "turbulent and unforgiving Churchman,"* but a defender of the Church against the world. We long to see the Wars of the Roses set forth, not as mere political convulsions, but as judgments from the hand of God; and Wickliffe dealt with in no unchristian party spirit, no leaning to either side. Nor shall we fear to commit to her the perilous reign of Henry VIII. It will be something for us indeed to possess a work which we may safely place in the hands of our children, after, perhaps, they have laid a groundwork by reading Mr. Neale's excellent History,—and have no fear lest false opinions be engendered in their minds, which subsequent teaching may not be able to expel. So will they learn to consecrate every energy to the service of the Church Catholic; a lesson which there is now, above all, much need that they should learn. Our hopes are fixed, under God, upon the rising generation; and if our carelessness or neglect debar them from wholesome food, or suffer their minds to be distorted from the one Truth, we may fear indeed lest the sun set upon our native land, and her candlestick be taken away. But there is hope, and more than hope, if the right spirit

* Southey's Book of the Church.

be cultivated within them; a spirit which we cannot illustrate better than by transcribing the concluding sentence of the volume before us.

"At least let this thought remain with you, that although the Saxon era has passed away so long that the very facts we have been studying seem more like the wild creations of romance than realities belonging to each of us, as natives of the same favoured soil, inheritors of the same blessed faith, yet are we one in communion with her saints still; they are not dead, they live to God; to Whom, if we live, we are living with them, in and through Him, and so living, may reasonably look for a portion of their spirit to do His work here, for a share of their blessedness hereafter."

THE PHILOSOPHY OF RELIGION.

1. *Sermons on the New Birth of Man's nature.* By R. I. WILBERFORCE, A.M., Archdeacon of the East Riding. London: Murray. 8vo. pp. 336.
2. *God and Man; being Outlines of Religion and Moral Truth, according to Scripture and the Church.* By the REV. R. MONTGOMERY, M.A., Oxon., Author of "The Christian Life," &c. London: Longman and Co. 8vo. pp. 396.

THE title which we have selected for this short article may lead our readers to expect more, we fear, than we are purposing, or, may be, are able to give them. We do not, indeed, look beyond a very brief sketch, a very few hints, which nevertheless we trust may be suggestive of important trains of thought. A great deal is said at the present day of philosophy; and we are told sometimes that nothing now can expect to maintain its ground that is not fixed upon a firm philosophical basis. An age of reconstruction is supposed to have set in, and even truth itself is required to array itself in a new dress and posture. Doubtless, in all this, as in other variations of popular opinion and taste, there is not a little of exaggeration and bravado. But who shall say that it is without excuse, who regards the mere unreal conventionalisms which have prevailed during the last 150 years? A state of society we have had, which was a stranger alike to real refinement, and to the simplicity of primitive times. And so too it may be said of our philosophical systems; professedly not rising above the low and selfish standard of Paley or Bentham, they have failed egregiously in promoting the material and sensual ends which they proposed to themselves. Now the change which has come over men's minds in the last few

years amounts we apprehend to just this. The end proposed is still the same ; but the means which are being employed are better and more skilfully chosen. The mechanical arts have been called much more extensively into the service of ministering to the comforts and enjoyments of men. And the result is upon the whole, we conceive, up to a certain point, successful. There are at this time a variety of engines at work for elevating and humanizing that large portion of our population which had become debased almost to the level of the irrational. What may be the ultimate issue of the movement it is of course impossible with any confidence to predict. Much, it appears to us, will depend upon the ability with which the Church shall cope with this intellectual and social developement. In so far as she maintains the whole body of Catholic Truth, she can of course have nothing to change : but Truth we know is many-sided, and it is rarely, if ever, that we find its entire substance exhibited. It is the duty then of those who are placed as watchmen on the Church's heights to observe the shifting phase of the popular mind, and to provide that precise kind of direction or nutriment, or medicine it may be, which is suited for its condition.

Upon this principle we may safely say that what should now be put more prominently forward is the philosophical character of Catholic truth, its divinely appointed adaptation to all human wants and aspirations, and its perfect harmony with the conclusions of the highest wisdom. Now, as in the old story, the man had talked prose all his life without being aware, so it must be confessed, not only that the philosophical character of the Catholic religion had been suffered for a long time to be latent, but that the indifference of an evil generation had gone very far to obscure those principles which appeal to the profoundest emotions of the human breast.

There are, it appears to us, two sides from which Religion makes its approaches to the heart and conscience of men—its human and its Divine side. By the latter of them it presents an authority such as the will, even while it rebels against it, cannot but recognise ; but this authority requires the use of certain external symbols by which it may be expressed, just as all human authority is symbolized in the person of some magistrate. By the former it appeals to the feelings and affections of humanity. So has God mercifully provided that His Truth should commend itself to our acceptance. But, practically, till within these few last years, these two views of Catholic Truth were both equally lost sight of. The idea of a continual Presence of Divinity residing in the Church never so much as entered into men's minds ; and in its stead was substituted the obligation of obedience to a mere written law. And further, the Creed and Holy Gospels were considered not as exhibiting the personal life of God Incarnate for us and our salvation

—born into the world, working and suffering in order that we might be raised now to the likeness, and hereafter to the society of angels,—but as containing a statement of certain historical facts to be presented to our faith, and certain maxims of Divine wisdom for our guidance. Thus if the method of salvation was not changed, it was at least propounded, stript of all those recommendations by which it is the will of God that it should address itself to the necessities of our being, in a form as little attractive to the judgment of the philosopher, as to the outward senses and common sympathies of the unlearned.

Now upon both these sides the true character of our holy religion has been made more clearly of late to appear among us. The objective realities of the Creed have been brought out to view, and the consistency of the whole scheme of Church doctrine demonstrated both with itself and with the moral phenomena of our nature. And among the persons who have laboured in this good work none holds a higher place than Archdeacon Wilberforce. The Charges which he has from time to time published were chiefly employed in unfolding the Catholic idea of Public Worship as resulting both from the Priesthood of CHRIST and from the re-creation of man by the new birth into Him. Meanwhile the external organization of the Church had been traced by Dr. Moberly, in his "Great Forty Days," up to the last period of our LORD's Ministry, and shown to be, in His Ministry and Sacraments, the predestined dwelling-place of GOD's HOLY SPIRIT. This is what we mean by the "philosophy of Religion;" and we are disposed to think that the advance which has been made by English Theology in this respect is by no means slight.

In confirmation of this remark we would refer to the second work at the head of this article. Mr. Montgomery is a preacher who enjoys, we believe, a very considerable share of popularity in London; and preachers—we say it without meaning any disparagement to the sacred office—are usually rather the reflex of the public mind than its leaders. At all events, they require, for the most part, that the ore should be dug for them. As in the commercial world the miner and manufacturer are two different individuals, so it is seldom the same person who thinks out an idea, and makes it felt. And it is consequently with great satisfaction that we find several of these views now in the second process of being brought out in the pulpit by Mr. Montgomery,—for his volume appears to be composed mainly of selections from sermons,—and oftentimes with great force and beauty. There still remains, indeed, much to justify the criticisms, were we disposed to renew them, upon this writer's style, which we have had occasion before now to make; but we wish at the present time to call attention to the very encouraging fact, that the true character of the Church has thoroughly penetrated Mr. Montgomery's mind, and has certainly

found a most distinct and eloquent utterance in his pages. The following passage will be read universally with pleasure :—

“ When we consider the Church as an organized kingdom of the Spirit, as that consecrated region of redeemed Humanity, where He reigns over, and in, believing man—how can we regard it with aught but reverence and love? The Church of CHRIST is no creation of human will ; no offspring of political genius ; no asylum for the souls of men, called into existence by the profound wants of their nature ; but an absolute Institute, a positive Organization, a spiritual Kingdom—in one word, a theocracy, or Divine government, administrated by the laws, and swayed by the sceptre, of the HOLY GHOST. Hence, a man can no more choose his Church, than he can elect a God, or create a CHRIST. In our Christian empire, at least, the firmament of heaven does not more truly overarch his head, than does the presence of an apostolical Church encompass his soul with her ministers, her sacraments, and her creeds ; all of which are above opinion, beyond choice, exclude taste, defy criticism, outlive all empires, and outlast all the changes of fickle men and fading things : and this, because wherever a real portion of CHRIST’s Catholic Church exists, the indwelling presence of the HOLY GHOST is realized.”

And again :

“ A visible Body in an organized form, called “ The Church,” exists on earth, claiming for itself a divine original, endowed with a supernatural commission, genealogically descended from apostolical Founders, having a celestial deposit of doctrine and discipline, interceding with God in behalf of man, proclaiming CHRIST’s glory, preaching miraculous truths, perpetuating absolute creeds, dispensing sacraments of grace, celebrating august ceremonies and symbolic rites, and endowed with powers of binding and loosing according to evangelical law : and thus, under the limiting conditions of earth and space, of sense and time, and amid all the convulsions, changes, and fluctuations of the life which now is, this mysterious Incorporation, thus chartered by Divinity and commissioned for eternity, continues to be a great SPIRITUAL FACT, which neither the impieties of earth, nor the persecutions of hell, can deny or destroy.”

But if there is one most fundamental point on which we can turn with great satisfaction to Mr. Montgomery’s statement, there is another closely connected with it where he appears to us quite to have missed the Catholic idea—we mean the doctrine of the Christian Priesthood. We are scarcely surprised, indeed, that he should have fallen short of the truth in this particular ; for it is the very point in which we cannot but think that Archdeacon Wilberforce is himself defective. It is true that in the Archdeacon’s volume we have not any sermon directly upon the Priesthood ; but we will quote a passage from a sermon on our LORD’s Mediation,

which seemed, we think, to have demanded a clearer statement than is anywhere given of our LORD's personal Priesthood, and of that which is of course its proper complement, an authorized Priesthood upon earth.

"And now then, secondly, how does our LORD execute this office? He discharges it through His man's nature: the MEDIATOR between God and man is the *man* CHRIST JESUS. Holy Scripture teaches us in what manner this was done. When man lost his connexion with God through the fall, when his participation in heavenly gifts was thus dammed up and obstructed—it was God's good pleasure to restore in yet larger measure, through the new Head of His race, those gifts which had been forfeited in the old one. 'If through the offence of one many be dead, much more the grace of God, and the gift by grace, which is by one man JESUS CHRIST, hath abounded unto many.' Thus did the Second Adam become the fountain of grace, from which the collective seed of His brethren was to be replenished. In His man's nature were gathered together all heavenly gifts, that from that great deep they might overflow into the whole generation of His kindred. He is 'the Head, from which all the body by joints and bands has nourishment ministered.' And 'of His fulness have all we received, and grace for grace.' For 'we are members of His body, of His flesh, and of His bones.'"

"Thus was the law of Mediation fulfilled; and as our natural life, and all the faculties of earthly being were transmitted through descent from our first parent, so were all graces of the Spirit, and the whole blessed seed of heavenly gifts bestowed upon mankind, through inheritance in the second."

Now we submit that this is not a "full" view "of the law of mediation;" for mediation involves, when fully stated, the doctrine of our LORD's Priesthood. The Priesthood of our LORD is represented by S. Paul to have commenced with His Ascension into heaven. "We have an High Priest that is passed into the heavens, JESUS the SON of GOD." And it is said of Him that He "continueth ever and hath an unchangeable Priesthood;" and seeing that it is the province, the same Apostle tells us, "of a Priest to offer both gifts and *sacrifices for sin*," and there is now "no more sacrifice for sin," it follows that He must renew continually the one sacrifice of His own Body; and seeing that we also "have an Altar" and a Priesthood, it follows also that there must be a unity between them, the *One* confirming in heaven the acts that the other presumes to do in His Name on earth. Such we conceive to be the *rationale* of this doctrine, which we do not find any where definitely stated either by Mr. Montgomery or Archdeacon Wilberforce. We should be glad to see the latter draw it out at length. We feel indeed almost as misrepresenting the Archdeacon, when we say that he has omitted to bring this forward which seems so

indispensable a portion of the doctrine he is advocating. But though going continually in his argument to the very verge of stating it, he seems actually always to stop short. The Sermon on "the Gospel Ministry" affords another remarkable instance. We quote it both for its importance in itself, so far as it goes, and as illustrating the criticism which we have ventured to offer on this volume.

"Men cannot apply CHRIST's merits to themselves by their private will, unless He first applies His merits to them from without by His public ministry. Else would the first movement towards their recovery be internal and spontaneous, as the Pelagians teach, instead of resting on that efficacy of the New Head of our race, which implies the existence of a Church, and the influence of an external SAVIOUR. Hence the need of Sacramental rites, and of the perpetual sacrifice, and of a ministry of reconciliation, and of an earthly absolution. All these depend upon the truth that the Intercession of the one great High Priest is a *reality* which we cannot appropriate to ourselves by the mere exercise of our thoughts, but which He must bestow upon us through some actual channel of intervention. Let us have but a deep sense of the greatness of that loss which was entailed upon us by the fall, of the immensity of that interval which separates us from GOD, and of the absolute necessity of His gracious interference, through whom only we are re-united to our offended CREATOR, and we shall be in no danger of supposing that we can dispense with those means whereby He joins us to Himself. The value of the Christian ministry must stand or fall according as men value the mediation of CHRIST. To deem highly of the means of grace is to attach great weight to the presence and efficacy of the New Head of humanity. And this is the true mode of holding communion with the unseen world; it is the real imparting of God's nature, the antidote to the fall, the 'feast of fat things well refined,' to which prophets and kings looked forth with rapturous expectation."

REVIEWS AND NOTICES.

The Earl's Daughter. Edited by the Rev. W. SEWELL. London Longmans.

THIS last work of Miss Sewell's is very different both in style and execution from any of those in which she has been so successful hitherto. In beauty of language, and in actual interest, we should pronounce it decidedly superior to any of her former books; but we think it possible that it may be less practically useful, simply because the circumstances in which her characters are placed, are by no means of daily occurrence, and consequently the duties and difficulties, so

ably portrayed throughout, would not apply to the generality of readers. To all, however, who might be exposed to trials and temptations in any degree similar to those which assail her heroine, this book would be a most valuable guide and safeguard; nor could any one fail to profit by it, be their position what it may. It displays a high standard of holiness in every page, which is enforced with a wisdom at once true and beautiful, alike free from exaggeration and lukewarmness; and some parts of it are beyond praise; we would mention especially the letter of advice to the heroine, under circumstances of peculiar trial.

1. *Prayers and Litanies, with Lessons and Responses for Church Schools.* London: Masters.

2. *School Services, compiled for the use of the Forest School, Walthamstow.* By one of the Masters. London: Bell.

WE group here together two sets of School Prayers, of either of which we may venture to say, that it is better than anything of the kind which has preceded it. As a substitute for the Daily Church Service, where that may not be had, we should not desire anything better than the second of these little books. It is compiled quite in the spirit of our Prayer Book; indeed, it has borrowed rather too much from that source. It seems to us rather too long, at least for Parish Schools; and we had rather not have had the Absolution introduced. And upon the whole, notwithstanding its many recommendations, we question whether it is not fitted better for use in a family than in a school.

The "Prayers and Litanies" are quite free from these objections, being very short and appropriate, and worthy, we think, of general adoption. We are particularly pleased to see an Office for Noon, as well as Hymns for the Third and Ninth Hours. In another edition we would recommend giving music for the responses, and the omission of the two last hymns, which are only fit for learning by heart privately. In the Lessons, too, for Wednesday, the verses which relate the bargaining of Judas with the High Priest, should be read. It is commemorative of course of this betrayal that the Litany is appointed for Wednesday. We quite agree with the compiler, that in the absence of the Parish Priest, the Master or Mistress (not any lay visitor) should say the Prayers.

The Church Schoolmaster. By the REV. S. ROBINS. London: J. and F. Rivingtons. 1850.

THIS is a valuable little work, and its perusal will do any schoolmaster good, though it is scarcely so practical as we could have wished, nor so exclusively adapted for a *church* schoolmaster, as from its title we should have imagined. The view of the schoolmaster's office is good: we would draw the attention of all such to it—"It is not for the careless, nor the proud, nor the self-indulgent, nor for those who would make it a stepping-stone to worldly promotion. But if any one has the love of God in his heart, with earnest thoughts of duty, he would

not easily find an employment fuller of promise and hope." "We cannot easily overrate the importance of his work, or form too high an expectation of its results, if only it be followed with a single eye and a devoted heart."

Strong testimony is borne to the importance of the office as regards the parish Priest and to the necessity of their being "united by affection and interest." "The Pastor, who is set to watch over the welfare of the people, delegates to him a portion of the trust which he cannot, through the pressure of other claims, fulfil in his own person." True, but we will take the opportunity of remarking that even if a parish Priest could undertake the management of his school it would be very undesirable that he should do so. It is a great mistake that not a few zealous Priests of the present day make in engaging actively too much in the routine of school duty. It is not for the dignity and respect of the priestly office that he should thus engage, and his influence over the school should be such as to make all feel he is "set apart" and to be looked up to with religious reverence. It will require a very much higher discrimination than children will ever possess to preserve the distinctive character of Clergyman and Schoolmaster in the same individual, and the latter office will to them inevitably (in some cases completely) absorb the former. The Priest is bound indeed to look carefully after his school, and would fall short of his duty if he neglected to inquire into the religious knowledge and condition of each individual. But he can do this without, as a plain villager once remarked to us of a zealous parish Priest who made the mistake above alluded to,—without "making himself common." This is just the idea; it is making "common," mixing, amalgamating, and thus deteriorating, what was meant to be apart and distinct. He can have the children into a "class room," or at his house, or very properly in the Church, and so have a character and impression given to his teaching which it would never gain in the bustle and business of the schoolroom.

But to return. Mr. Robins sympathizes deeply with the schoolmaster, and it is this which throughout, will make this a very acceptable work to those who are zealously, but through difficulties, painfully labouring in their vocation. We could wish he had said something still stronger on the subject of schoolmasters' stipends than this;—"The schoolmaster ought to be fully requited for his labour: we ought gladly to give him what he has earned, and with a far more liberal hand than hitherto." It appears to make little difference whether the place be rich or poor where a master is wanted, for "£50 per annum, house and garden" seems to be the average remuneration offered for one of the most laborious (albeit one of the most blessed) vocations in existence.

The remarks on "knowledge" and "ways of teaching," show the author to be a practical man, and we cannot too strongly repeat his caution that "Teaching should never be dependant on a system as its main reliance." And we quite agree with him in saying that "far too much has been ascribed to different systems in succession," and that "No method can be devised which will dispense with labour and watchfulness in the master."

The chapters on "Religious Training," "Christian Morals," and "Discipline," and the religious part of the view of the "schoolmaster's office," are undeniably good, but there is too much generalizing to enable a man to shape out a definite daily rule for himself from them. There is no doubt wisdom in this, being, as it is, the first attempt of the kind; but if any set of men need to live by *rule* it is the schoolmasters, and the more we can help them so to live the more efficient and faithful in their vocation will they become.

We want to see schoolmasters a *religious body*, and until they are so they will never do the work there is to be done. Until they have a character unmistakeably setting them apart for their work, they will never do it properly. Parish schoolmasters are now secretaries to various parish societies, collectors of subscriptions, and even taxes, land measurers, &c., and thus *increase* their so often miserable stipend, but at the *decrease* of their standing and status as schoolmasters, not to others so much (at least with people's present notions,) but chiefly to themselves.

Our training establishments unfortunately are not *religious* establishments (we use the word "religious" in its old sense) and are by no means calculated in their present form, to impart the character we are contemplating, indeed we fear they are calculated to do just the opposite. Valuable as they undoubtedly are, they have too much the appearance of either workshops or studios, and nothing of the quietness and repose of a house where the inhabitants are learning the ways of God, and how to walk therein. Indeed, under the present system it cannot be, (but as an exception) that men go forth from them with the love of God as the simple incentive to their labour.

It would be a great thing if the Canons were obeyed and each schoolmaster received his licence from the Bishop, ere exercising his vocation, for that would give him a status which would be a stimulus to his spiritual improvement, inasmuch as he would feel the responsibilities of an authorized servant and officer of the Church. One of the greatest evils of this age is the loss of distinctive external character, and in no class is the evil so apparent, or of such pernicious effect, as in those whose vocation is religious.

The remarks we made above as to the Priest taking no part in the school duties, would not of course apply to the Deacon. It is, and should be, a peculiar part of their vocation to work in the school, and we do not see why, quite in accordance with the institution of their order, they should not take charge of schools. At all events why not make a Sub-diaconate of schoolmasters? A most useful and efficient body of labourers in the Church would thus be brought to bear. The present system which has no hold whatever upon a man, nor, worse, which gives a man no hold upon his vocation, is most pernicious, of which we have daily evidence.

We cannot but recommend the perusal of Mr. Robins' book to all schoolmasters, and indeed to Clergymen too, for Mr. Robins is what very many clergymen are not—practical; and a perusal will, we should hope, give them juster ideas of a schoolmaster's difficulties than many entertain, and so prevent vexations which many a well intentioned

man puts unconsciously, and from ignorance, in the way of his Master. At the same time we look forward to a work of a much more decided character, which will give a man still higher views and more exact rule than this pretends to.

Those who are acquainted with the *Tales of Kirkbeck*, will be glad to hear that the author has just put out another little volume entitled *Aunt Alta*. (Clever.) Any one who is not familiar already with the writer, will do well to order one or other of her works.

The Rev. WYNDHAM MALET has just published a Letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury, *The Funds of the Church; their appropriation and Alienation the cause of Ignorance, Heresy, and Schism; and Church self-government the only remedy for these evils*, (Masters,) which it appears his Grace has "kindly acknowledged;" but there we expect the matter will end. The writer belongs to that class of reformers whom Bishops, as well as Prime Ministers and Ecclesiastical Commissioners, least like. Thus one of the abuses here complained of is the entire alienation of the tithes of a parish in Kent (amounting to £3,333 per annum) to the See of Canterbury! Mr. Malet is not a good writer, and sometimes pushes his theory too far; or at least pays too little regard to difficulties which may stand in the way of its being carried out. But every one must admire his singleness of purpose; and we quite subscribe to the general truth which the title of his pamphlet enunciates.

The Church Musician goes on vigorously. And certainly not a little energy must be required; for, if we are not mistaken, (and we judge only by *internal* evidence,) simultaneously with the management of his periodical, the Editor has no fewer than three great enterprises in hand—the supply of an entirely new series of anthems, according to the order of the ecclesiastical year; a most copious collection of Church hymn tunes, which, if not original, are adaptations of old ecclesiastical melodies; and a new notation of the Church service, for recitation, including the Psalter! This certainly seems to us rather too much for any one man or body of men to undertake, and perhaps may be, in some respects, a little more than the Church wishes to have done. However, there is a great deal with which we quite agree.

Conversations on Human Nature, by Mrs. CONYNGHAM ELLIS, (Skeffington and Southwell,) is an attempt (and by no means unsuccessful) to present Bishop Butler's system of morals and theory of human nature in a popular shape. It is guaranteed by a very brief preface from the Bishop of Oxford.

Practical remarks on the Reformation of Church Music, (Rivingtons,) though published last year, has only just reached us. It contains very useful instructions and directions.

Guardian Angels, a sacred allegory by MARY F. LESTER, (Masters,) is neither better nor worse than the ordinary books of this class. It is pleasantly written, and teaches a very useful lesson.

MR. BURGESS, of Chelsea, has published the result of an *Enquiry into the state of the Church of England Congregations in France, Belgium, and Switzerland*, (Rivingtons) which he undertook with the sanction of the Bishop of London, who is professedly responsible for those anomalous bodies. He reports that there are thirty-one English Clergymen officiating with more or less of regularity in those countries, and with the view of bringing them under more effectual Episcopal control, he suggests the adoption of one or other of these four courses: the union of the Channel Islands and the English Continental Chapels with the See of Sodor and Man; or else the foundation of a Bishopric of S. Helier's; or the consecration of a Suffragan, at Dover, with the emolument of a Canonry at Canterbury; or lastly, the appointment of the Chaplain at Paris, as Commissary of the Bishop of London. We should gladly see a Bishop appointed to the Channel Islands; but with the examples of the Bishoprics of Jerusalem and Gibraltar before his eyes, we trust that the Bishop of London will not countenance the project of pretending to give jurisdiction to an English Bishop in Dioceses which are wholly independent of him. The mischief that is now being done in the Levant, professedly in the name of the English Church, is beyond belief.

MR. NEALE has thought it necessary to publish a *Letter to Archdeacon Hare with respect to his Pamphlets on the Gorham Question*. (Masters.) We scarcely think the Archdeacon worth the powder and shot that has been expended on him. What has happened however in his own archdeaconry deserves to be extensively known. We give it in Mr. Neale's words.

"I can easily conceive the chagrin, with which, notwithstanding your four pamphlets, if I may so call them, on the subject of the decision, you received memorials signed, in all, by about seventy of your clergy, requesting you "to call a Meeting of the Archdeaconry, to take into consideration what proceedings may be necessary in consequence of the Judgment pronounced by the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council in the case of Gorham *versus* the Bishop of Exeter; or otherwise to express the sentiments of the Archdeaconry on the subject.

"But, I confess, it is rather amusing to find the advocate for freedom of conscience, the writer who would free men 'from all human restraint in receiving the truth,' who would drive no man over the Asses' Bridge by Balsam's method, venturing on a violent exercise of official authority, an *ultima ratio* to which no other Archdeacon has had recourse. This, however, is only after the fashion of other liberals. It is more astonishing to me that you could found your refusal on the supposition that probably many of the requisitionists were not aware of the real bearing of what they signed, and on the difficulty of saying No. For not to mention that not a single clergyman was obliged to say No, since he might leave the matter totally unnoticed, I cannot but wonder, that you could so, to use the words of an able reviewer, have 'addressed an assembly of clergymen, your brethren, and, as to ecclesiastical orders, your equals, many of them far your superiors as divines.' It is a valuable example of what this liberty of belief for which you contend really means."

MR. PHIPPS, Rector of Devizes, has published a *Catechism on the Holy Scriptures*, (Masters,) which will be useful in schools and families. It is full and follows the text very closely.

The Rev. J. EDWARDS, of King's College, London, has published *A Devotional Exposition of the Psalms*. (Darling.) The "Exposition" is mixed up with the Text, though in a different type, and there are added two columns to each page, the one containing "Scripture Testimony," the other "Suggestive Remarks."

Mr. KILVERT (the authorship is now acknowledged) has published a second part of his *Pinacothecæ Historiæ Specimen*. (Bell.) It is quite equal to the first, and indicates the like desire to do justice to persons of all parties and communions.

Mr. VAUGHAN, of S. Martin's, Leicester, has published a noticeable *Volume of Sermons*. (Rivingtons.) In point of thought and diction they are superior to the common run of pulpit discourses; and they contain some qualifications of the stereotyped "Evangelical" theology which are not without value. It was formerly, we know, the fashion to call S. James' "the Epistle of straw." But Mr. Vaughan tells us that "it will be found perhaps, that those who are brought by their daily work into closest contact with the wants and evils of our own times, are made to feel continually more and more deeply, the meaning and the value, of the instruction which God has provided for them in this portion of Holy Scripture." Again, "There are occasions when it is peculiarly fit that the conscience should unload itself in free confession of specific acts and impulses of sin;" and then he refers to the Exhortation in the Communion Office. Once more, (and we quote only from a single sermon,) "It is a matter of self-accusation, now become almost hackneyed amongst those who deal in criticism on the present state of the Church, that religion has become too much an individual thing; that all sense of communion, of being members of a body, soldiers in an army, has been lost amongst Protestants. And those who do not love such criticism of the Church in which God's Providence has placed them, but are endeavouring, as God enables them, to fill up their place in her, and to do their work according to her appointed order, are made to feel painfully that the reproach is by no means groundless." Such evidences of the indirect operation of sound teaching are most encouraging.

Mr. SEWELL's Sermon on behalf of the *Westminster Churches*, (J. H. Parker,) is very plain-spoken and uncompromising, and if our readers saw the account of the church in which Sir Robert Peel was buried, they will guess that these home-truths may still not be unnecessary in the neighbourhood of Whitehall.

The Principles of Church Building, (Andrews, Durham,) is scarcely so practical as a provincial Architectural Society requires its papers to be. The writer has a strong sense of the imperfectness of the First-Pointed style; and justly observes that it demands a great deal of ornament. What this style effected by vast series of arcades along the whole wall the Middle-Pointed more legitimately accomplished by the tracery of the window.

NOTICE TO CORRESPONDENTS.

MR. STRETTON has written to say that he intended the Hymns of the Sunday to be repeated like the Collect, during the week. We are glad to find that he had really not overlooked the matter. In another edition it will be desirable, we think, to make the sense a little more clear.

NOTES FROM NINEVEH.

Notes from Nineveh. By the Rev. J. P. FLETCHER. 2 vols. 8vo.
Colburn : Marlborough Street, London.

WE opened this work in the firm expectation that we should draw from it the material for some very philosophical meditations over the ruins of Nineveh, or for reflections still more dry and learned on the etymology of ancient names and the localities of ideal sites. Such we conceived to be the legitimate course of thought which the book (judging from its title) was expected to produce, and yet, in spite of our most laudable efforts, we found ourselves irresistibly led into a very different train of ideas on a subject to which there is a casual allusion in almost every page.

Turn where we would in the history of our author's adventures, we never failed to stumble on some indication of the opinion entertained by the natives of the East—of the creed and practice of the English as displayed before them by the travellers and missionaries who swarm in those regions; and it is certain that any such details are of greater moment than is generally supposed by those who can only judge from report.

We have long been painfully aware through our own experience of the East, that the nature of the impression made by the English in those countries is really a matter of the very highest importance, *not* as the orators of Exeter Hall would tell us, "in order that we may by our superior enlightenment convert them from the error of their ways, and convey the light of Gospel Truth to a benighted people," &c. but that *we* may not, by our irreverence and heretical tendencies, bring discredit on the one Church Catholic, to which we profess to belong, in lands which without our efforts have already been somewhat more effectually christianized by the work of Apostles and martyrs themselves.

Were it not so serious a matter, it would be ludicrous enough to compare the real influence of Great Britain on the religious faith of the East with that which it is supposed to exercise by those bewildered philanthropists of sedentary habits and missionary spirit, who are wont to talk so wildly of the spiritual achievements of their countrymen in those climates. That pleasant complacency with which Englishmen (even those who have travelled) repose in their assumed superiority to the rest of the world, seems to dilate itself most remarkably on this subject; and considering what vast numbers of books of Eastern travel have come like a very cloud of locusts to settle down on the present generation, it is extraordinary that so much misconception should still exist on the spiritual

condition of the East. There is so much of genuine philanthropy in England—so many excellent people who really do piously desire to benefit their Eastern brethren, that we cannot but grieve over the mistaken ideas which cause their zeal to expand in such ill-chosen channels.

It is melancholy to think what numbers of worthy gentlemen there are, devoted to the cause of Eastern missions, who are in the habit, with the utmost guilelessness, of lecturing deluded individuals from the platforms of their meetings on hypotheses of a wholly erroneous nature. It is true these are chiefly from a class of individuals, who so far as regards the condition of the Church Catholic generally, do habitually walk enveloped in a mist as thick as any fog of their cloudy climate; but, unfortunately, the bigotry and prejudice of the missionaries, both English and American, who actually visit the localities, are of so blinding a nature as to cause them even to traverse the lands themselves, without opening their eyes to the truth of their condition.

The first grand mistake of all these reverend gentlemen to whom we have been alluding, seems to be that the inhabitants of the East stand in need of a wholesale conversion. Conversion! but to what? These are no longer times when we can plead guilty to the gross ignorance of the last century, and quietly conclude that all Asiatics and Africans are Mahomedans or Pagans. Even those who are unacquainted with the various distinctions between the Coptic, Jacobite, and Nestorian Christians cannot fail to be aware at least of the fact that the Church first planted in those regions by apostolic hands, whilst yet the barbarous nations of the North sat in great darkness, is now still abiding there in strength and power, appearing alike in the burning deserts and the rugged mountains, invested most often with far more of the beauty of her primeval purity than in lands more civilized and more corrupt. No one is ignorant of those things, and to what therefore, we repeat, do the missionary zealots of England and America desire to convert these Eastern Christians? Is it to the peculiar views entertained by every individual clergyman on the doctrines of the Church of England, or the still more remarkable interpretation put upon the same, perhaps by each Rev. gentleman's third wife, who influences his opinions somewhat more than he is aware of? Seriously, however, we do not exaggerate in declaring that the efforts of the various emissaries from charitable societies, &c., seem to consist solely in earnest attempts to induce the members of the Eastern Church to commit the sin of schism by a so-called conversion to their own untenable Protestantism; and when they fail in this attempt, as occurs happily in almost every instance, they too often succeed in unsettling their faith in their own teachers, and destroying their reverent ideas on many controversial points of minor importance, to which, however, their whole creed is necessarily linked.

It is incalculable the mischief which these well-meaning but most mistaken individuals succeed in perpetrating; and it is no inconsiderable addition to the evil that most of the travellers, from whom we might expect a sounder view, are content to receive their impressions rather from the missionaries themselves than from the unwilling objects of their anomalous attempts at conversion; so that, instead of fostering a most desirable communion with these our elder brethren in the faith, they do but join the others in seeking to pull down the holy structures built on most sure foundation, in order to replace them with the modern fabrics reared in these later times on sand and dust. We allude to that "other gospel, which is not the gospel," but a modern human tradition derived from Luther and Calvin, which most of these missionaries preach.

Would it were but possible for the members of our English communion to realize the fact that these vast numbers whom they will persist in treating as heathens, are not only Christians of most ancient stock, (who though differing on certain points of theology, well nigh too subtle for discussion, have yet held the Faith intact and pure through ages of turmoil and persecution,) but that they are also even now possessed of much that is most holy and primitive both in ritual and doctrine, which we in our cold laxity have perhaps lost sight of. We believe there could be no better means of conveying to our countrymen a right understanding of the condition of the Eastern Christians than by disclosing to them some details of the impression made upon them by the sons of the English Church.

We shall effect this readily by a few extracts from Mr. Fletcher's pleasant book, which is in every respect well worth reading.

He gives us in two very interesting volumes, an account of his researches in Mesopotamia, Assyria, and Syria: whither he went we find by his own account "as lay associate of a clergyman who was about to proceed on a mission of inquiry into the present state of religion and literature among the ancient Christian Churches of the East." He speaks of receiving an intimation of his appointment to this office, but makes no mention whatever of the authority which conferred it upon him; we were therefore disposed before looking over the work to regard this mission and our author's nomination to it, with some suspicion, as having no warrant in the commands of the Church, from whence alone, either the clergyman or his lay associate could derive any legitimate right to proceed *actively* on such an errand, but as being in fact the unauthorised effort of some self-formed religious association; and we are still quite in the dark as to the truth of our conjecture. The author himself, however, seems so carefully to avoid all allusion to his appointed duties, or the source from whence they were derived, whilst he appears only to be occupied in gathering for himself and his readers

much valuable information, that we have really no occasion for animadversion on the subject.

The book is written in an amusing style, with much honesty and straightforwardness, and the good humoured openness with which he bears witness to the small esteem in which ourselves and our religion are held in the east, is a quality rarely to be met with in travellers. We confess ourselves unable to reconcile his office of lay missionary with a clear sightedness and freedom from prejudice so unwonted in persons of that class; but if this be simply the result of personal experience on a mind too keen and conscientious to remain, when face to face with the truth, in the pompous delusions of a self-concentrating Protestantism, even although his sincerity cost him the dignity of his mission, the author has but the greater merit in our eyes.

Our first extract is from an account of an interview which Mr. Fletcher had with some Syrians belonging to the Romish Church, who came headed by their priest to visit him at a village not far from Mosul.

"They seated themselves, and the conversation soon fell upon the English.

" 'They have no religion, wonderful to say,' began one of the party.

" 'Yes, yes,' said another, 'They believe in our LORD JESUS, but not in our father, the Pope.'

" 'But they have no churches,' remonstrated number one. Toma here interposed, 'he had seen,' he said, 'our service performed in a chapel at Mosul, which Kass Georgios (my friend B.) had fitted up in a style like their own, and there was consecration every Sunday, and prayers every day; and the English fasted also, for behold here it was written in their book.'

" 'That may be,' was the answer, 'but, are we fools, O man, do we not know, that they do all this to deceive us?'

" Toma's choler was rising, but he was afraid of the Priest, whose hand he had devoutly kissed when he entered; and merely remarked apologetically, 'well, they are good people.'

" The Clergyman had been puffing away in silence at the pipe, which, according to eastern etiquette, I had handed him when he sat down; but he now deemed it derogatory to his dignity to listen any longer to observations from others, on a point concerning his own profession; I could easily perceive that he was the learned man of the village; and well might he be, for he understood Arabic, Syriac, Chaldee, and Kurdish, he spoke with the air of a man who has been considering his subject carefully, and has thoroughly mastered at last.

" 'The English are Christians, and have churches; but they only go to them once a month, and take the LORD's-supper once in twenty years. On the latter occasion, the Priest stands on a high place, that he may not be torn in pieces by the crowd, who rush tumultuously forward, snatch the consecrated bread out of his hands, and scramble

for it. They are also allowed to marry as many wives as they please, and some of them have more than twenty.'"

This belief as to the polygamy of the English is really very deeply rooted in the East, and we must honestly confess we are convinced it is fostered, if not originated by that practice so peculiarly characteristic of the missionary race; which consists in never failing to replace as speedily as may be, the first or second wife who is carried off by the effects of climate, to which they are so little accustomed. The author endeavoured to change the conversation by discoursing on science, but apparently, the nature of the "English Religion" was more interesting to the party.

"After this, my explanation of the nature and use of balloons was thought tame and flat, and was interrupted by the Bey, who inquired 'Whether the English had any religion, and whether they fasted?'

"'They have days appointed,' said the Priest, 'in their Book of Prayers, but they do not abstain from eating on those occasions, they only substitute fish for meat.'

"'The wiser men, they,' rejoined the Bey, who probably spoke feelingly, as it was Ramadan."—

This reminds us of a circumstance we once witnessed, which, though trifling in itself, sufficiently indicates that we are not mistaken in asserting that the would-be converters of Eastern Christians, do greatly miscalculate the effect they desire to produce.—When the little English chapel was opened in Athens, it was resolved according to the ideas of those in authority there, that the door should be left open, in order that the Greeks might freely enter to witness and *profit* by the ceremonies, so different from their own: most especially when Holy Communion was administered it was desired that they should be present, and the sanguine expectations of the missionaries on the effects of this proceeding were so great that they really hoped the result would be the conversion of some from their own Communion. Now, the English in Athens, like many in this country, were in the habit of doing that which another branch of CHRIST'S Church pronounces to be even a mortal sin—they communicated without fasting; it also happened that most of the Greeks within the Church that day were their own servants in attendance on the carriages; they went reverently in to witness the celebration, but as speedily rushed out, literally horror struck, exclaiming, "Is it possible! those people to whom we this very day served a breakfast of eggs and butter and bread &c., are now daring to receive Holy Communion: these heretics are worse than we thought." This was a very natural remark from men who would not have touched so much as a drop of water for many hours previous to receiving the Holy Eucharist.

We cannot resist giving a Turkish account of the English Church, which is inimitable.—The author talking of Christians near Mosul, says:—

“They had, like the people of Bagh Sheika, a poor opinion of the English. I was often called upon to defend our nation from the charges of polygamy and atheism. They were dreadfully scandalized at our refusing to acknowledge the authority of the Pope, and one gentleman asked me seriously and with an air of great concern, whether I ever said my prayers. On one occasion, a large party had assembled, among whom was a merchant recently arrived from Aleppo. In the course of conversation he began to attack the English—

“‘The Ingleez,’ he said, ‘are a very fierce and untractable nation; they marry many wives, and care very little about Allah, whose name be exalted.’ I here interrupted the speaker, and asked if in the course of his travels, he had ever heard of the English Church.

“‘Belli, yes,’ he answered, ‘I know the whole history of your Church. You must understand,’ continued he, turning to the rest, ‘that once there lived in England, a great Sultan, whose name was Napoleon Bonaparte. This Sultan was like unto Antar and Iskander, the Macedonian, and he made many of the kings of Frangistan his footstool. But his heart was lifted up, and he defied Allah in his pride. And Napoleon’s wife was old, and she was no longer pleasing in his eyes. Then it came to pass that he looked upon a certain fair damsel with the glances of love, and he said, Inshallah, I will divorce my wife and get me this fair one in marriage. Now, the Ingleez were all Catholics then; therefore Napoleon sent a message to our Father the Pope, desiring that he would grant him a divorce. But the Pope re-proved Napoleon for his pride and unkind dealing with his wife; at which the Sultan waxed wroth, and said, Surely this Pope is no better than Abon Iahash, even the father of stupidity; but, Inshallah, I will make him eat abomination. So he went with many soldiers and besieged Rome, and took the Pope prisoner, and shut him up in a great tower in London, which is the chief city of the Ingleez. But the kings of the Franks all joined together, and made war upon Napoleon Bonaparte, and overcame him. Then their soldiers came to London and set the Pope at liberty. And when the Pope returned to Rome, he cursed Napoleon, and excommunicated him and all the Ingleez. But Napoleon laughed at his beard, and he said, Inshallah, but I will have a church of my own. So he made bishops, and they divorced his wife, and they married him to the beautiful damsel, after which he founded the English Church.’”

The above extract really defies all comment—we are amused also to see that our author mentions one peculiarity of the English which is quite incomprehensible to the natives of the East; it is the fervour with which they seem to worship all the old statues or coins they can lay their hands upon, even while they are displaying great contempt and indifference to the Eastern Church, whose

despised ceremonies they do not replace by any others more to their taste. One of the natives of Mosul, in talking to the author, of an Englishman, who followed the usual habits of his countrymen, in furnishing himself with antiquities, says very gravely :—

“ I asked the servant if they were relics or pictures of saints, that his excellency worshipped, but he only laughed at my beard. ‘ Verily, the Franks are a strange people.’ After this speech, a long one for him, my old friend kept silence till the sound of the Muezzin’s voice summoned him to quit his beloved pipe. His sentiments, however, represent accurately the feelings of his countrymen with regard to antiquities. Even my friend, one of the most intelligent Orientals I ever met, and a person well acquainted with European habits, and tastes, could not account for or enter into our admiration of antiquities. ‘ When I was in Rome,’ said he to a countryman, ‘ I found the Franks more attentive to these old Pagan images than to the rites of their own worship. The churches were deserted, and the museums and galleries thronged. These Westerns seem to pay the same devotion to a statue or an antique, that we do to the blessed Saints.’ ”

We have no wish to condemn a very innocent love for antiquarian research, but we certainly do earnestly wish that it were not made so completely a paramount object of interest as to render our countrymen apparently wholly indifferent to that far more legitimate object on which it were well they should bestow their sympathies and their wealth ; even the Holy Church Catholic, to which themselves are bound by sacred ties in whatsoever part of the world they may find her. It is very refreshing to have so unprejudiced an opinion as that which follows on the working of the monastic system in the East ; there are few things really lovely and of good report which have been more calumniated.

“ The monks are supported as in Europe, by the revenues attached to each monastery, which afford an ample supply for their slender wants. By the rules of the Eastern Churches, most of the laity would be restricted from the use of animal food, during nearly a third portion of the year, but the abstinence of the monks, is of course more rigorous and severe. Their garb is not so varied or distinctive as that of the monastic habits of Europe. A long dark vest, resembling the common zeboon of the country, with, perhaps a jacket of black cloth, is the usual attire of an Eastern Monk. They are a pale, mild, and gentle race, often ignorant, and not very liberal in their views, but during the frequent intercourse I have held with them, I never knew one who was a hypocrite, or a secret debauchee, two characters which have been supposed by some inseparable from the system of Monachism. I have seen these men eat thankfully, food which the lowest of English labourers would not touch. I have heard them engaged in praising God, at an hour when English Rectors and Curates have been quietly sleeping, or returning from some pleasant social party, and I have watched

them delving and digging in their little plantations till the perspiration poured from them in streams. Such is the idle, lazy, and luxurious life of the Monks of the East."

We cannot refrain from one more extract, which contains very sound and unprejudiced views on matters that have been grossly misrepresented; there is in fact much in this work which may tend to open our eyes to the truth, notwithstanding the system of fallacies which we seem by universal consent to have adopted as to the relative positions of England and other nations.

"It seems strange when we reflect that the English, who pride themselves upon being one of the most pious nations in the world, should be infinitely behind every other in providing for the spiritual wants of those of their countrymen who reside abroad. One can scarcely find two Oriental families anywhere without a priest and a church; the Romanist has his chapels and clergy in every inhabited spot, and even Mahomedans and Pagans rarely live long in any foreign land without raising a Mosque or a Temple for the services of religion. But when the English do provide such accommodations, they are generally of the meanest and most inexpensive description. Some garret or some cheap apartment on the second floor, situated as a matter of course, in the filthiest and most remote corner of the town, is generally pointed out as the English chapel. Nor is it surprising, that under these circumstances, the natives of Great Britain should gain the credit of having no religion. The Italian Friar, the Greek or Syrian Priest, who resides at Aleppo, sees a large body of our countrymen living without a church, a clergyman, or any outward manifestation of their religious faith, and he immediately comes to the same conclusion that every other reasoning being would, namely, that the Ingleez are fermasoon or infidels.

"Nor has this been the impression of foreign Christians only, it has been shared by Mahomedans and Pagans. I have heard both in different parts of the world give our countrymen this character. Now, while these things are so, it would be surely better to alter and amend them, than to indulge in the national cant about being misrepresented and calumniated. Are we to give men, two or three thousand miles off, whose ideas of our island are confused and contradictory, credit for knowing what passes in England; and expect that they shall understand all about our religious and charitable societies? Their estimate of us must, and will be, formed by the conduct of the persons who come out from us, and this we cannot prevent.

"It is somewhat ridiculous to hear a sensible man like Mr. Layard, accusing the Romish missionaries of misrepresenting the English character. In the first place, what they say is not misrepresentation, according to their opportunities of judging; and secondly, it is unfortunately, not the Romanists alone, who entertain this opinion of us. Let Mr. Layard ask any sensible Mahomedan, any decent Pagan, or any devout Jew, his sentiments respecting the English, and their religion,

and he will obtain the same reply in nearly the same terms. The Romish missionaries may have been guilty of exaggeration, this is probable enough, but I am certain they have too many grounds on which to found their remarks. Surely in the nineteenth century it is time to discard the wretched Pharisaical cant respecting Englishmen being so much more pious, moral, and religious than their neighbours."

We have not space for many more extracts of a similar nature, which might be read with profit; but we have already quoted abundance to prove that we have not by any means reason to pride ourselves on the opinion entertained by our eastern brethren of the religious faith of the "most pious, learned, and enlightened nation in the world." Our own experience has taught us that Mr. Fletcher is quite right in asserting that the members of the English Church are almost infallibly confounded with the American dissenters, and cordially detested in the east; but from whence could so universal a mistake have arisen, if not from their own voluntary assimilation to the hydra-headed sectarianism of America, by a miserable falling away from the principles and holy customs of the Church Catholic to which they belong? Do not even those who hold office in the Church of their fathers liken themselves continually to the proselytizing schismatics whom they meet in their wanderings, by sharing not only in their puritanical coldness and laxity, but also in their most mistaken and unpardonable contempt for the Eastern Church, and their efforts as active as they are vain to sap its foundations and overthrow its creed?

In fact, this evil, as regards our position in the east, has its source in one far deeper, that lies corroding at the very heart of the Church itself; it is the actual unsoundness of opinion into which, as a body, we have fallen, the real heretical leaven working so direfully among us, which displays itself in the proceedings of the stray Englishmen who present themselves for inspection to the natives of the east, and causes that we should be denied by them so much as a title to belong to the Church of CHRIST. It is because we have in sad and sober truth not only failed in upholding the dogmatic truth of the Apostolic Church; but we have suffered the significant customs of ancient symbolism to fall into disuse amongst us, and with them have too often lost sight of the doctrines they were intended to convey. In fact, we can scarce imagine how we could have failed to produce this somewhat humiliating impression amongst those more true to their ancient heritage, when we consider how many most important points of doctrine and discipline held universally by *all* branches of the Eastern Church, whatever be their minor distinctions, are matters of doubt and dissension amongst ourselves, and in most cases, indeed, are supposed not to exist except in the belief of some few of the more faithful sons of the Church, who are generally qualified as enthu-

siasts, or denounced by less innocent titles. That there are certain doctrines universally recognized by the Eastern Church as well as certain customs in full practice amongst them, which so far as they can judge are wholly unknown amongst Englishmen, is a fact admitting of palpable demonstration.

If we take the five greater communions—the Nestorian, Armenian, Jacobite, Coptic, and Abyssinian, we shall find them perfectly unanimous on many points, which even now cause violent dissension in the western world. Of these five *all* hold seven sacraments; the Nestorian alone having allowed that of confession to fall into disuse; by all the others the Sacrament of Penance is not only habitually practised, but is likewise considered the necessary condition for receiving the Holy Eucharist, without which they conceive that the recipient makes a sacrilegious communion; in the Armenian Church especially, the discipline which enforces the duty of auricular confession, is admirably conducted. Again, all without exception acknowledge the truth of Baptismal Regeneration, the ceremony being performed by each one of them with a threefold immersion, and anointing of the five senses with the holy Chrism; and the awe and reverence with which this blessed Sacrament is treated throughout the whole of the east, would cause them to be smitten with terror and indignation, if any doubt were cast on its supreme dignity; the words of a Nestorian Bishop, when talking of his baptized people, show this very beautifully; he terms them the “blessed and pure, clothed in the baptism of water—that unfading robe made perfect by water—and the Spirit.” They are also perfectly agreed in displaying, by appropriate ceremonies—but slightly varied—their acknowledgment of the Real Presence in the Sacrament of the Holy Eucharist; and they adopt such means for the holy and reverent administration of the same, as cannot fail to fill the soul of the communicant with the awe and adoration essential to that mystery. Would that we had space to give some account of those various ceremonies to our own great profit; but we cannot resist giving a brief description of the latter part of the Eucharistic Office, as practised in the Armenian Church. After a beautiful prayer, that this sacrifice may obtain blessings for the whole world and the Holy Church, both those asleep in CHRIST, and struggling yet on earth, the Bishop holding the sacred elements (which had been consecrated within the veil), in his hands, turns to the people and says, “Holy, holy, let us with holiness taste of the honoured Body and Blood of our LORD and SAVIOUR JESUS CHRIST, which descending from heaven is divided among us; this is Life, Hope, Resurrection, Propitiation and Remission of Sins.” He then replaces the elements on the altar, and retires behind the curtain, which veils the whole front of the sanctuary; none witness what follows, but according to the Canon, he breaks the bread into four parts, and kisses it with weeping;

then after many prayers he communicates in *fear and trembling*, saying, "May Thy incorruptible Body be life to me, and Thy Holy Blood a propitiation and remission of sins." The veil is then withdrawn, and a deacon cries, "Approach with fear and faith, and with holiness communicate." Whilst the people cry, "Our God and our LORD has appeared unto us, blessed is he that cometh in the name of the LORD;" they then receive in both kinds, the Bishop himself placing it dipped in the chalice in their mouths.

It were too long to enumerate all the various points of unanimity in the Eastern Churches in which the members of the English Communion must appear to them wholly defective. There is the universal practice of fasting at the appointed times as rigorous as it is obligatory; the enforcement of celibacy on the Clergy for all at least who can at any time attain the rank of Bishops; the administration of extreme unction, the continual intercession for the dead, the habitual use of the sign of the Cross; and when they find missionaries and travellers alike rejecting these universal doctrines and observances, and even seeming to express contempt and abhorrence for them, and when their deficiencies in these respects are replaced by *no* apparent reverence or devotion in other matters, can we wonder that our countrymen, despite their comfortable self-satisfaction, should have acquired in the East the interesting title of *Fermasoon*, or "the man without religion," (supposed to be a corruption from the word "freemason.")

Mr. Fletcher's book, besides being extremely interesting and amusing, may do a very great deal of good, if it will but induce our wandering countrymen to think on these things, and when they visit churches which have been sprinkled with the blood of martyrs, and preserved by the grace of God from enemies within and without, seek no more to tamper with their faith in things ancient and holy, but rather taking lessons from them in their reverence and childlike obedience, endeavour to draw near to them in the fellowship of CHRIST'S Body; and by that loving communion, find a means of imparting to them the higher tone of morality which they do in fact possess.

We cannot take leave of Mr. Fletcher without noticing one or two inaccuracies which he will do well to correct in a future edition. And we would give him likewise a friendly caution to be careful in making assertions on matters so important, without good grounds, as it must necessarily lessen the reliance of the public on his statements respecting localities too far beyond our reach, to admit of our testing their truth. We find our author informing us, in speaking of *Syra*, (a Greek island, inseparably connected in our mind with hot lazarettos and cool water melons,) that "the higher part of the small town is inhabited chiefly by *Greek Catholics*, or those members of the Greek Church who acknowledge the supremacy, and submit to the sway of the Roman Pontiff."

Now a member of the Greek Church acknowledging the Supremacy of the Pope, is simply a thing which does not exist, never did, and never could; it is on the contrary the one point connected with the Greek Church, on which it is painful to think, that they do manifest a most unchristian hostility towards the Church of Rome; those Greeks by birth, whom our author designates in so anomalous a manner, are *bona fide* Roman Catholics; part of the population of Syra, and several of the other islands, having been so ever since the time of the Venetians, and being so wedded to their own communion, and so intolerant of all others, that they have literally no dealings with the Greeks, although speaking the same language, and inhabiting the same town; they intermarry only amongst themselves, and have their priests, their convents, and houses of mercy, wholly distinct from similar establishments in the Greek communion. Many of them are lineal descendants of the Venetians, and are still distinguished by the high sounding Italian names, although they cannot speak a word of the language; but it is a certain fact that this is the origin generally of those who call themselves, and are most strangely *allowed* to call themselves *Catholics* in various parts of the East; but we regret to know that they are an increasing body. Rome is very active and successful in making proselytes, and her whole aspect in those countries is sectarian.

Elsewhere we find Mr. Fletcher talking of the practice of administering the Holy Communion to infants, as one *only* ancient and now obsolete, excepting in one or two of the eastern branches of the Church; he wholly overlooks the fact that it is, and always has been, an indispensable rule in the whole of the vast spiritual dominion which subsists under the Greek and Russian Church.

It is, however, a charming book, full of novel information and interest.

GRINFIELD'S APOLOGY FOR THE SEPTUAGINT.

1. *An Apology for the Septuagint ; in which its claims to Biblical and Canonical authority are briefly stated and vindicated.* By E. W. GRINFIELD, M. A. London: Pickering, 1850.
2. *An Expostulatory Letter to the Right Rev. R. Wiseman, D. D., &c. &c. &c., on the Interpolated Curse in the Vatican Septuagint : Deut. xxvii. 23.* By E. W. GRINFIELD, M. A. London: Pickering. 1850.

THE history of the Septuagint Version of the Old Testament presents a curious picture of vicissitudes. Alternately raised to an equality with the original—nay, even preferred to it—and condemned as useless and unfaithful, it has of late years fallen into an almost complete neglect, from which it is the object of the author now before us to rescue it. He had already published two laborious works, to show the identity of style between the New Testament and the Greek translation of the Old ; and now in his Apology, he enters on a more general consideration of the subject.

We cannot but heartily approve of any attempt to revive the critical study of the Septuagint, both as a most useful guide to the meaning of the Hebrew, and as throwing great light on the style and phraseology of the New Testament ; and we deeply regret that Mr. Grinfield has mixed up with this praiseworthy object, a number of fanciful theories, and ungrounded hypotheses, which must detract very much from the usefulness of his work. These it will be necessary to consider in the first place, before we can say anything on the subject itself.

Mr. G., in his preface, (p. ix.) speaks of the “miscellaneous” materials of the Apology, as precluding the possibility of a table of contents ; and indeed it is not often that we come across a book with so total an absence of order or method. The following extracts, however, will, we think, represent his theory fairly enough :

“This Greek version had become to the Gentiles, what the original Hebrew had been to the Jews, during the first age of the Jewish economy ; and consequently, that when Gentiles and Jews were brought into the same fold, both the original and the version should be regarded of co-ordinate authority, and forming conjointly the Canon of the Ancient Scriptures.”—p. 4.

“Yet in defiance of every caution it will be urged ; ‘The Septuagint is only a version, and therefore can never be esteemed of the same rank and value, as an original.’ Such is the popular objection, but is not this begging the question at issue ? Whenever a version is made by the same authority as the original, it surely becomes of equal force and authority. Thus it is with our own articles ; the Latin and the

English are both of equivalent authority. If the original Syro-Chaldaic of S. Matthew's Gospel had been now extant (admitting that hypothesis) it would not have been superior to the present Greek version," &c.—p. 11.

More passages might easily be cited, but these will suffice ; it will be seen that the question does not lie between the comparative value of any particular Masoretic reading, and that adopted by the Septuagint, nor of the interpretation which they have put upon an obscure or ambiguous Hebrew word or phrase as contrasted with the meaning or meanings deduced from other sources—the Chaldee paraphrases, the cognate dialects, and the like ; but is simply this ; that when our present Hebrew Text is plain and unobjectionable, but the Septuagint differs from it, that the latter is inspired by God *equally* with the former, and is of equal authority with it ; that the unknown translators of this version were inspired in the same degree as Moses, or David, or Isaiah. So startling an hypothesis would require a careful consideration, and we will therefore endeavour to collect the arguments scattered through Mr. G.'s book.

Of that curious but obscure subject, the origin of the Septuagint, Mr. G. says very little ; he rejects the fable of Aristæas, but supposes that Ptolemy Philadelphus encouraged the design from political motives ; that it was "made by Jews entertaining the highest veneration of the original text. It is probable that their first labours were confined to the Pentateuch, and that it was not till twenty or thirty years subsequently, that the whole of the Old Testament was completed. We may therefore state in general terms, that it was finished A. C. 250."—p. 24.

That the Pentateuch was translated about the time of Philadelphus, seems likely enough ; but throughout his work, Mr. G. studiously ignores the differences of style which have been pointed out between the various parts of this version, which quite prevent any possibility of their having been translated by the same hands. This diversity is very much greater than that of the books of the New Testament, and extends not only to the choice of different words and expressions for the same Hebrew phrases, and to the comparative excellence and closeness of the translation, but also to the degree of correctness of language, some books being translated into tolerably good grammar, while others abound in the grossest solecisms.*

But however this may be, certain it is, that about the Christian era, we find them constituting a single volume and known by the name of the Septuagint. It is with this that we have now to deal, and the point which our author endeavours to establish is, that this translation is inspired. We will examine his proofs in what seems the simplest order.

* We may just observe in passing, that it is new to us to learn that by the modern German school, the Hebrew "is stifled under loads of Arabic and Coptic."—p. 57.

I. The Septuagint "was universally acknowledged as inspired and canonical during the first four centuries;" "the entire Christian Church till the days of Jerome," &c.—p. 3. "We may clearly infer that the Fathers of this Church till the days of Jerome, were unanimous in their belief of the Scriptural authority and inspiration of the Greek version. They considered it, in conjunction with the original, as forming the united canon of the Old Testament."—p. 41.

Now we will at once admit that if this position could be established, it would be all but conclusive; for it is a most serious matter to depart from what was even generally received during the earliest ages. But how stand the facts?

It is true that S. Augustine (in controversy, however, for the most part,) S. Irenæus, S. Clement of Alexandria, S. Cyril of Jerusalem, and possibly one or two others, accounted the Septuagint inspired, being misled by the forgery of Aristæus; but this was far from being the universal or even the general opinion, as it will not be difficult to show. We may however first cite a couple of Mr. G.'s proofs.

"The earliest of all the Christian writers who has given a list of the Old Testament books is Melito (A. D. 170). He gives their names in the Septuagintal titles."—p. 10.

We really must avoid in future speaking of the books of Genesis, Exodus, &c., for fear our using these undeniably "Septuagintal titles," will be taken as a proof of our holding that version to be inspired. We hope to be allowed to use the true Hebrew names in Roman type, and that it will not be deemed necessary to transfer the original Samaritan letters to the pages of the *Ecclesiastic*.

"Hippolytus usually expounds the Scriptures according to the text and sentiments of the Septuagint."—p. 40.

We leave the reader to estimate the force of this argument. Let us now see whether there is no evidence on the other side. Mr. G. makes but a single allusion (p. 66) to the curious fact that the Septuagint version of the book of Daniel was superseded by that of Theodotion, and was so completely lost sight of that it was only recovered about 80 years ago from an unique manuscript at Rome; This surely does not look very like the reverential treatment due to an inspired record.

It is difficult to say how far Mr. G. can be charged with having forgotten the important influence that the learning and industry of Origen had upon the text of the Septuagint. He mentions his name indeed, repeatedly, but always seems to consider him as posterior to S. Jerome, and in one place (p. 48) speaks of him as a student of that saint's Latin version. It is needless to remind our readers that Origen was about a century before the

translator of the Vulgate, and that his great and most useful labours show very clearly that the Hebrew text was considered the rule and standard by which all the rest were to be judged.

The Fathers subsequent to the time of Origen, who have commented on the Old Testament, have made use of the other Greek versions as of co-ordinate authority with the Septuagint, in determining the true meaning of the Hebrew. Any one who has ever looked into S. Chrysostom's exposition of the Psalms must be aware how constantly he has recourse to Aquila, Symmachus and Theodotion; and so S. Gregory Nyssen, when speaking of the Song of Songs, lays the blame of its obscurity on the translation, saying that it was not so in the original.

It is difficult to suppose that the numerous and wide spread churches which used the Syrian tongue should have been unprovided with a translation of this version, if it had been esteemed of divine authority. It is true that there is a translation of Origen's Hexapla (to which Mr. G. alludes, p. 50), but that was never in public use; the Syrian churches using only the Peschito which is a translation from the Hebrew.

Nay, even S. Augustine, who, in his controversy with S. Jerome, seems to go as far as need be in asserting the inspiration of the Septuagint, yet when writing dogmatically on the subject in his treatise *de doctrina Christiana*, (L. 2, c. 15) rests the opinion of their inspiration on the story of the cells, (now universally given up as a fable) and gives this with an "ut fertur multique non indigni fide prædicant;" and then goes on to argue, that if this is not true, (as every one now acknowledges) yet that it is a presumptuous thing for any one man to aspire to emend the work of "tot seniorum et doctorum." This is manifestly quite inconsistent with a Catholic tradition for its inspiration, and he goes on to say, that the comparison of those interpreters who have kept more close to the words is often not without use in explaining the meaning. We may further remark that in his latest book, he quotes the Old Testament according to the new version of S. Jerome from the Hebrew.

Mr. G. has taken little pains to examine the force and meaning even of those passages which he cites: of these, one is from the illustrious Bishop of Poitiers. But did S. Hilary look upon the Greek version as inspired? No, he rests its importance on a statement, that over and above the written word, a certain traditionary knowledge had been handed down from Moses, which the seventy translators were well acquainted with, and so were enabled to give the true sense where the Hebrew was ambiguous; whereas the subsequent interpreters who did not possess this guide, had not known the true meanings and so had led the gentiles into error. (In Ps. ii. § 1.) It will at once be seen, that whatever weight is to be given to his own theory, S. Hilary cannot have thought it inspired.

From these authorities it may fairly, we think, be concluded that

there is no "*semper ubique et ab omnibus*" tradition in favour of the inspiration of the Septuagint; which alone would make it binding on us; that those Fathers who seem to favour this view either use the word inspiration in a loose sense, or were misled by the authority of the forgery of Aristæus; and therefore that they are to be estimated according only to the weight that their individual opinion may derive from their critical skill and aptitude to judge of such matters.*

II. The next argument we shall consider is that which is taken from the fact, that in the New Testament, the citations are, in the majority of instances made from the Septuagint, and, that not only where it agrees with the Hebrew, but even in cases where it differs. To this, Mr. G. often refers. Thus: (p. 6.)—

"Nor can we consistently defend the plenary inspiration of the New Testament if we admit that it comprises such a large portion of uninspired matter."

Again:

"I never could give credit to the inspiration of the New Testament, if I believed that the greater number of its appeals to the Old Testament were expressed in uninspired and uncanonical language." (p. 55.)

These quotations seem to us to resolve themselves into three classes.

The first of these is where the Septuagint exactly agrees with the Hebrew. These quotations, must, we think, be quite set aside in estimating the authority of the Greek version; for if a particular passage must be turned some way from Hebrew into Greek, it would be very unnatural to depart from the version which was in everybody's hands, when it was quite accurate, even though it was a mere human composition.

The next is, where the quotation is cited for a particular object, which is equally attained by the original, and by the translation, though this last was not in minor points and secondary circumstances an exact version of the Hebrew. To those who do not

* Thus for instance, to turn for a moment to another branch of the subject—the question whether the whole of the Old Testament was translated by the Seventy, or (as most modern scholars maintain) only the Pentateuch; the authority most relied on by the maintainers of the former view, is that of S. Justin Martyr, who says that at Alexandria, he had seen the original manuscript written by these translators. This passage is probably the foundation of the others which may be found in some subsequent Christian authors, as (apparently) S. Chrysostom. Now as a set off to S. Justin's assertion, we must remember that he was but a bad critic, *e.g.*, he often without any foundation accuses the Jews of having altered the text of the Bible. A curious example of this is in Ps. xvi. 10,—“Tell it out among the heathen that the Lord hath reigned from the tree;” where he says that the Jews had erased the last three words to do away with the prophecy of the crucifixion. From his writings, probably, they have been received by Tertullian, S. Cyprian, and S. Leo, and have been received into two Latin Psalters. But Bos does not mention a single Greek authority for them. With regard to the original manuscript of the Septuagint, it is very probable that at Alexandria, S. Justin was shown a manuscript which he had not critical knowledge to detect as an imposture.

believe in verbal inspiration in the hard dry protestant sense, these passages much resemble those where natural phenomena are spoken of in a popular way, as the earth standing still and the sun moving round it. We can easily imagine a clergyman when preaching upon the transitoriness of earthly objects, quoting the text about thieves *breaking* through and stealing, though he was quite aware that the correct translation is "digging through."

The only passages which present any real difficulty, are those where an argument is founded on the Greek which does not apply to the Hebrew. The most remarkable instance of this sort, is the argument which S. Paul draws from the word "testament." The Hebrew word means covenant, while the notion of death belongs to the Greek only. Again, in the same Epistle, S. Paul, to show the inferiority of the Angels to the Son of God, quotes a passage from the Psalms, "Who maketh His angels spirits, and His ministers a flame of fire;" whereas the original is not speaking of the blessed spirits at all, but showing how God employs inanimate creatures to do His will, making the winds His messengers, and the lightning His servant. Again, to show still further His superiority to the angels, he cites a text to show that they were bid to worship Him, "And let all the angels of God worship Him : " an authority which has no existence in the Hebrew.

We think we have fairly stated the force of this argument, and we have no wish to deny that it is a difficulty; such a difficulty as must always be expected in subjects which do not admit of mathematical proof; but standing (as we hope we have shown) alone, it will no more prove the inspiration of the whole of the version from which these passages are taken than that of the Book of Enoch is proved by S. Jude's bringing forward a passage from it.

In fact, as Thorndike has admirably proved, the question of the inspiration of any particular book can only be determined by the witness of the early Church, the *societas fidelium* to whom they were first entrusted. If universality, antiquity, and consent could be shown for Mr. Grinfield's theory, and that based not upon an historical forgery but on the teaching of the Apostles, it would be worthy of being entertained; but our author must produce a very different *Catena Patrum* from that in the Apology, before he can bring us to admit this.

We really feel that we need an "Apology" to our readers for detaining them so long over this strange production, but our author would be very sorely dissatisfied, if we did not notice his great discovery, which he evidently much prides himself upon, and thinks quite decisive of the question. We shall endeavour to show that the theory is groundless, and even if it were true, it has no bearing on the question.

"Let me not disguise from the reader, that I had drawn up the whole of this 'Apology' before I arrived at the conviction that Jesus

when a Child, was instructed in the knowledge of the Septuagint. . . . As this is unquestionably the crowning argument of this Apology (*præsidium et dulce decus meum*), may I be indulged in a few further observations on its nature and results? Most happy should I be to claim the authority of any commentator or divine, whether ancient or modern; but my researches do not lead me to mention a single author, who has alluded to it, either as fact or hypothesis. That JESUS was instructed from His cradle, in the knowledge of the Greek version of the Old Testament, will henceforth, if I mistake not, be considered as a *self-evident and incontrovertible proposition*, amongst theological students. . . . My defence for this long note must be found in the value of the fact (if I may venture to call it so), that JESUS was instructed as a Child in the knowledge of the Septuagint version of the Old Testament. This fact, if admitted, is essentially paramount and decisive. It supercedes all further argument and inquiry. It harmonizes every discordance, it explains every difficulty, and illustrates every obscurity.—Like the principle of gravity, it subdues and attracts all things to itself. If the fall of an apple were sufficient to intimate to a philosopher the centralization of the universe, the fall of the Septuagint into the cradle at Nazareth will be sufficient to intimate to a Christian its divine origin and perpetual authority.”—pp. 183–191.

Really in these days of compilations and abridgments, it is quite refreshing to meet with a new idea—warranted original. In fact, we are a good deal in want of such a thing just to give us a little fillip. Dr. Wiseman's celebrated Patristic discoveries on the worship of our Lady are a little out of date now, and “the Ideal” is nearly forgotten, so that it would not be surprising if, merely for the novelty of the thing, Mr. Grinfield's theory had a temporary run. We will therefore try to pick out his arguments which are scattered about with a praiseworthy disregard of sequence and connexion.

“The coast of Galilee was well adapted for commerce, and through the port of Ptolemais kept up a constant traffic with Alexandria. Hence the Greek version of the Old Testament found a ready access to the neighbouring regions.”—p. 184.

“In the synagogues of Judea it is probable that the Hebrew text was read, accompanied with the Chaldee paraphrase; but in the synagogues of Galilee, it can scarcely be doubted that the Greek version was generally adopted. Indeed, this is rendered almost certain, from Luke iv. 17, 18, where the passage from Isaiah lxi. 1, accords with the Septuagint. The vernacular language of Galilee was Syro-Chaldaic, which differs so little from that of the Peschito, that in Mark v. 41, there is no interpretation given of the words *Talitha cumi*. The same observation will apply to the last solemn words uttered from the cross. They are not Biblical Hebrew.”—p. 189.

“Now, there can be no question that the Galileans had not only lost every vestige of the original Hebrew, at the Christian era, but that their provincial Syro-Phœnician dialect was of the most rugged kind, in com-

parison with that of Judæa and Jerusalem, See Mark xiv. 70. The plain inference is this,—that JESUS was instructed by His parents, not in the Hebrew but in the Greek version of the Old Testament. And this inference is confirmed by the following fact[s]. 1st. That Mary, His mother, in her hymn of praise employs entirely Septuagintal expressions. 2nd. That nearly all the quotations made by JESUS Himself from the Old Testament are taken verbatim from the Septuagint, and occasionally when they differ from the Hebrew; whilst several quotations made by the evangelists, differ from the Septuagint and agree with the Hebrew.”—p. 184.

To have stated these “arguments” might seem quite enough; yet, *ex superabundanti cautela*, we may add a few remarks.

That the Septuagint was used in any Jewish synagogue at the time of our SAVIOUR, we believe to be quite unfounded; but that it was so in those of Galilee, there is not the least likelihood. Granted, that the dialect there was rough and unpolished, yet this is no more than is the case in almost every province of Great Britain. The writer of this lives in a place where the commonly spoken dialect differs from the *volgare* quite as much, probably, as it did in the case now before us: not only is almost every word pronounced in a way that would be entirely unintelligible to a stranger, and many of them used in meanings that would be quite new to him, but there is a whole vocabulary of Norse and Danish words unknown to our standard authors; yet he would be a good deal surprised if this was brought forward to prove that labourers and mechanics received their religious instruction from De Sacy's French Bible! Of course this parallel is not nearly strong enough, for we must remember the superstitious attachment of the Jews to every letter of the Hebrew Bible, as well as the fact that it constituted their whole literature, so that even where Hebrew was unknown they had plenty of time to learn to read it by a sort of Hamiltonian system of Chaldee paraphrases.

As to the two “facts” that are brought to confirm it, we can only say, that the confirmation is on a par with the proof. That the Magnificat consists of Hellenistic expressions, only shows that the Evangelist, who translated it from the original Aramæan, did so into the same Greek dialect as the rest of his work was composed in. Let Mr. Grinfield re-translate it, and show some expressions which could not be derived from a knowledge of the Old Testament in Hebrew, but only from the Septuagint, and we will allow he has effected something. The argument from the quotations has already been considered in part. Mr. Grinfield allows that our SAVIOUR preached in the Syrian dialect of His countrymen. His citations from the Old Testament must therefore have been translated, as well as the rest of His blessed words; and if so, what more natural course than to adopt, where it was possible, the words of that version which was in universal circulation among the Greeks? To

prove anything, our author should have brought forward some passages similar to those in the Epistle to the Hebrews referred to above, where the force of the argument depends on an expression which is not in the Hebrew; and even there, it would be necessary to show that this difference did not exist in some of the Hebrew MSS. then in circulation in Palestine, but was exclusively confined to the Septuagint.

We have thus followed Mr. Grinfield step by step, though with many misgivings as to whether the importance of the book justified our bestowing so much time on his vagaries. In another number we hope to take up the subject again, and follow out the more agreeable task of giving our readers a short account of the Septuagint version itself, the editions and MSS. from which we may study it, and its use and importance as regards the interpretation both of the Old and New Testaments.

But before we conclude, we must ask our readers to look for a moment at the second pamphlet at the head of this article, that they may form a better idea of our author's qualifications as a critic.

In the Roman edition of the Septuagint, there is a curious interpolation among the curses of the twenty-seventh chapter of Deuteronomy, "Cursed be he that lieth with the sister of his wife." The passage is certainly not genuine, as any one at all conversant with MSS. will easily see on looking at the authorities for and against it, but to write in the way Mr. Grinfield does of this destroying the authority of the Septuagint, and the infallibility of the Roman Church (!), is too ludicrous.

We now proceed to show that Mr. Grinfield is unable even to make use of the printed editions of the Septuagint. His first statement is in the postscript to the "Apology" (p. 191),—"This passage is absent from all the MSS. (136) collated by Holmes, except Nos. 54, 75. The first is of little, the latter of great value, being the celebrated *Codex Oxoniensis*, above cited by Bos." (He had just before cited Bos' note, which expressly says that the *Codex Oxoniensis* does *not* contain it, but has another interpolation instead of it!) In the Corrigenda we are told that this statement "respecting Dr. Holmes' collations requires the following modification. It was not 136, but 72 MSS. which were collated for the Pentateuch. Of these, 33 apparently omitted and 39 admitted the interpolated passage. But the statement is so obscure that it is difficult to arrive at the exact number." In the letter to Dr. Wiseman (p. 5),—"With great labour and expense Dr. Holmes had consulted fifty MSS. containing Deuteronomy. Of these I found, that thirty omitted the clause, whilst twenty contained it." To this he adds a note, "This is the correct statement. I have miscalculated the MSS. in the 'Apology.' It is in the *Cod. Oxon.* (Holmes, 75)."

We are sorry to say, that this last statement needs correction

nearly as much as the others. Holmes did collate about fifty MSS. for Deuteronomy, but some were mere fragments, while others agree so closely among themselves that they were not all made use of. If we recollect right (for the Oxford Septuagint unfortunately is too expensive a work for the library of a country curate), there are about forty-three MSS. of which the various readings are marked on this verse. Of these twenty-five omit the passage altogether, while of the remaining sixteen several have other interpolations different from the one in question: thus the *Codex Oxoniensis*, so often mentioned in the passages just quoted, has "Cursed be he that lieth with his father's sister; cursed be he that lieth with his mother's sister," without any mention of the wife's sister at all. Only from ten to twelve agree with the Vatican MS., instead of nineteen, as Mr. Grinfield says in his third and final version of the story; we say from ten to twelve, because there are some misprints about the numbers in Holmes' note, which make it doubtful, e.g., he gives two different readings to the MSS. 74, 134.

Although the above would be amply sufficient, we will give a few more instances from the same pamphlet. In p. 10, he suggests that perhaps the interpolation is not in the Vatican MS., as the editors of the Roman edition profess to have consulted others in addition to it, and he implores Dr. Wiseman in the most pathetic language to examine it and see whether it is so or not. There is no need of the Cardinal troubling himself; for Holmes, in his catalogue of MSS. of the Septuagint, states that he had the Vatican MS. carefully collated, and had noted all its variations from his printed text; nay more, under this very verse he plainly gives its reading, for here it does differ from the text, though the difference (the omission of an article) is of no consequence; but had Mr. Grinfield looked more carefully at the note, he would have seen the reading of Codex II. most distinctly given!

2. At the bottom of p. 11 he seems to imagine that the Vatican MS. is divided into verses, numbered just as in the margin of the printed edition!

3. At p. 12, he quotes the Saxon Heptateuch, edited by Thwaites, as an authority for determining the true reading of the Septuagint, whereas it has nothing to do with the matter, having been translated from the Latin Vulgate, not from the Septuagint at all.

Lastly, p. 163 of the Apology, he cites a passage from S. Augustine, as "decisive" on the question at issue between us and Rome, as to the canonicalness of the Apocrypha. That the passage has no reference to the matter, the merest tyro must be aware, as the term "Apocrypha" was never in early times applied to the books now known by that name, but to the spurious fables like the Gospel of the Infancy or that of Nicodemus.

SMITH'S INQUIRY INTO CATHOLIC TRUTHS.

An Inquiry into the Catholic Truths hidden under certain Articles of the Creed of the Church of Rome. By CHARLES SMITH, B.D., formerly Fellow of S. Peter's College, Cambridge. 12mo. pp. 185. London : J. W. Parker, 1844.

The Same. Part II., 12mo. pp. 185. London : Parker, 1850.

WE have thought these little volumes worthy of notice, not as feeling ourselves able to express any general sympathy with the views entertained by their author ; nor under the idea that he has at all succeeded in his attempt at *unprejudiced* inquiry after truth ; but simply because they open a line of inquiry, which may certainly be prosecuted with advantage, and which furnishes us with an opportunity for making a few remarks with a view to removing some of those misunderstandings by which Christians are divided.

Mr. Smith is a most zealous Protestant, and though he calls by that name all who witness for the truth of God against any sort of error, even to the extent of calling our Blessed Lord Himself (unless we misunderstand him) "the great protestant of God"!! yet he is so far from being free from the evils, which we are used to associate with the protestant name, that we cannot but think it a gain to the cause of truth, to find considerable pains bestowed upon such an inquiry as the present by one who is such a protestant. When (asks Mr. Smith) will zealous members of our Church learn to see that the true Catholic is always a Protestant, and the true Protestant always a living witness and energetic defender of the Catholic faith? We answer, when it is acknowledged that neither Luther nor Calvin was a true Protestant ; for certainly they were not energetic defenders of the Catholic Faith ; and it is because the truth must suffer by being supposed to have any affinity with the pernicious dogmas of those misguided men, that we refuse to call ourselves Protestants. Now our author, we rejoice to find, has no sympathy with those persons who seem to think it matters very little what men believe provided they do not believe "Popery." He abhors the practice of constructing statements of doctrine *simply* with a view to exclude error, *without* special regard to their *intrinsic* truth. This is ultra-protestantism, and wherever he finds it, he is sufficiently severe in condemning it. We need hardly observe that he finds this vice in the decrees of the council of Trent very frequently, indeed far more frequently than we can believe to be consistent with fairness or truth. We are not concerned to defend those decrees, and are thankful to be spared so impossible a task, we even concur in many of Mr. Smith's objections to them ; but we think

* Vol. I. App. p. xxiv.

he has mistaken the relation in which they stand to the Catholic Faith, and formed a very erroneous estimate of the magnitude of the errors which they were intended to condemn. Hence arises entire misconception of what it is that is attractive in the Roman system, and consequent loss of power in his attempt to strip it of that attractiveness. When we say he has mistaken the relation in which the decrees of Trent stand to the Catholic Faith, we mean that he appears to treat them as though they professed to be a full and complete exposition of Catholic doctrine; he argues that undue prominence is given to one point, and that another point of greater importance is passed over without any notice; as for example, that in the chapter on justification, while much is said of the state of justified man, comparatively little is said of the great objective work of CHRIST already accomplished, "*per Jesum Christum*" is made a mere expletive of a sentence.

Now all *such* objections can have no place, when we remember that the declared purpose of the council was not to draw up an exposition of the whole faith, but to condemn errors then prevalent, and to protect those points of the faith which such errors had impugned.

If the Fathers assembled at Trent professed to do no more than this, we have no right to charge them with undervaluing truths, which, it may be, were only not mentioned because they were not disputed. If it can be shown (and we think Mr. Smith has shown it) that in excluding an error they have missed the truth, and fallen into the opposite error, this is a fair objection, but even to this kind of objection its due weight cannot be assigned by one who has formed a wrong estimate of the error they had to oppose.

Some of our readers may remember a saying of the late Mr. Froude:* "*Certainly the Council of Trent had no fair chance of getting at the truth, if they saw no alternative between transubstantiation and Jewellism.*" We are not going to discuss this question, since the work we are reviewing is incomplete, and has not yet entered upon it, but, whatever may be thought of Mr. Froude's remark, we have no hesitation in adapting his words to another doctrine which our author has discussed at length, and in a manner, we are bound to say, very far from satisfactory in the latter of his hitherto published volumes; we mean the doctrine of justification. Certainly the Council had no fair chance of getting at the truth, if they saw no alternative between what has been called the high Roman doctrine and Lutheranism; and we will add, certainly Mr. Smith has no fair chance of getting at the truth, if he thinks that Luther's doctrine is the doctrine of S. Paul, and ignores the influence which the great Reformer's horrible and outrageous statements had and rightly had upon the structure of the Tridentine decrees.

To speak as Mr. Smith does of our justification as the objective

* Remains, Vol. I., p. 339.

work of CHRIST already accomplished, and to say that the formal cause of it is our LORD's Resurrection just as the meritorious cause of it is His death; though announced with the utmost confidence and the greatest possible contempt for those benighted persons who speak of the formal cause as something imparted to man, is simply to miss entirely the point at issue; no Christian denies it. Mr. Newman, for example, when he wrote on Justification, spoke of "the bold, nay correct, language of Luther, that CHRIST Himself is the form of our justification,"* and very similar language may be found in S. Thomas, and in Petavius. The question in dispute between Catholics and Protestants is not as to what CHRIST has done, but as to how what He has done takes effect upon us, and if the consideration of this question in all its bearings be the "morbid subjectivity" which Mr. Smith finds in Mr. Newman's sermons, we can only quote our friend Archdeacon Hare, and exclaim, "Oh! may we never be healthy, if this be morbid." But we proceed to make some extracts from the work now before us. In vol. ii. p. 11, we read as follows:—

"This process of justifying the many sinners of mankind by the salvation bringing grace of God in His Incarnate Son, is the great fact registered in heaven by the symbol of the lamb slain, and yet is but the first of the eternal melodies, of which the song of the lamb is composed. The work must not be confused with man's reception and use of this transcendent gift of God. The wondrous and most gracious justification of itself, must be seen and pondered *per se*, as Luther saw it *objectively* shining like the sun through all the mists of self-justification by subjective righteousness."

Now we neither deny nor affirm that Luther had a true view of this great work as seen objectively, but, if words have any meaning, when it is appropriated by man it becomes subjective.—Subjective views are then only false when they have no objects corresponding to them; when man's imaginations of what must be or ought to be are elevated into the rank of things which are. Subjective righteousness has no necessary connexion with self-justification; not if it be the righteousness of CHRIST so realized as to change the heart of the believer, but if a man imagines he is justified when he is not so, this is self-justification; it is false and ruinous subjectivity; and it is none the less so, for his having ever so clear an apprehension of what CHRIST has done to purchase the justification of mankind.

The fact is that our author in his laudable zeal against merely subjective religion, the religion which dwells upon and is satisfied with impressions without examining the grounds it has for believing that there are any realities corresponding to them, has overlooked part of the object he is contemplating, and the very part respecting which Luther's doctrine is erroneous, nay detestable, and the

* Page 409.

council of Trent, to say the least, far more nearly approaches to the truth. When we speak of justification, if we descend from the regions of mere logical abstraction, the object spoken of is—God justifying man—man who is justified is capable of being viewed *objectively* just as well as God Who justifies. Again, when we speak of man we mean a collection of individuals all of whom are by the precious death and resurrection of CHRIST justified potentially, i. e. made capable of salvation; some of whom are justified actually, i. e. made heirs of salvation. Mr. Smith surely was dreaming when he spoke of “an idol of individual justification,” (p. 13,) as though there were no such thing; he might just as well speak of a bugbear of individual condemnation. A man does not cease to be an individual by becoming a member of a body; and, whatever may be darkly hinted in Holy Scripture concerning the extent of the effects of the Atonement to be disclosed hereafter, justification is principally revealed to us as taking effect upon members of a body, i. e., upon rational and responsible individuals. Hence the question, what it is for an individual to be in a justified state is not one of “morbid subjectivity,” but of vital importance to every one who would have a well grounded hope of his own salvation. We confidently assert that S. Paul dwells to the full as much on the work CHRIST is now doing by His Spirit in the hearts of the faithful in His own person at the right hand of His FATHER, as on the perfected work of His death and resurrection, and teaches that it is quite as necessary to keep in mind the former of these as the latter. It is a perfectly gratuitous assertion* that according to Mr. Knox’s theory, each member of the body of CHRIST is to forget the status of the body which has been with such costly agony achieved by its head, and to present its [his] own individual “substance of righteousness,” as his justification before God. “Each member has to transact for himself the awful atonement of fallen man with right and eternal justice, to isolate himself from the security, and peace, and triumph of the body.” What each member has to do is to recollect that although the body is justified, and himself as a member of the body, yet that he will be cast out of the body, and so forfeit his own share in its justification unless he brings forth good fruit.

Now, this is what Luther denied. He said, “*vides quam dives sit homo Christianus, etiam volens non potest perdere salutem quantiscumque peccatis nisi nolit credere, nulla enim peccata eum possunt damnare nisi sola incredulitas.*”† And further, “*Sufficit quod agnovimus per divitias gloriæ Dei agnum qui tollit peccata mundi; ab hoc non evellet nos peccatum, etiam si millies millies uno die fornicemur aut occidamus.*”‡ And this we are told is the doctrine of S. Paul! Surely, when men’s minds were being poisoned

* Smith, Vol. II. p. 55.

† De capt. Babyl. t. ii. p. 284.

‡ Ep. ad Melaneth. a. 1521.

with such Antichristian abominations, of which it were easy to multiply instances, we need not attribute the most pointed contradictions of them that could be drawn up to such a motive as a desire to maintain indulgences, supererogation, &c., though, of course, it was but natural that they who had always been taught to believe these doctrines would be little disposed to question their truth, because they were denied by the inventor of the Lutheran doctrine of justification by faith only. Let not Mr. Smith deceive himself; these doctrines must be refuted by arguments applying directly to themselves, not by setting up theories of justification, which can never entirely eliminate them without undermining the foundation of morality and destroying all reverence for Holy Scripture. This is just what Lutheranism does, if consistently acted out. Its tendency is to call S. James' an epistle of straw; to represent the most solemn warnings of the New Testament as terrors which affect not the believer, but are introduced merely for the purposes of temporal expediency; to sanction bigamy, for the purpose of advancing its cause, and (to use Dr. Mill's words*) "to

* We subjoin Dr. Mill's judgment of the Lutheran theory.† "My distaste for Luther as a theological teacher was founded solely on the reading of the reformer's own work, 'The Commentary on the Epistle to the Galatians.' Had I not been most fully persuaded by somewhat more than insulated passages of that work, that the extract from the letter to Melancthon (*Deus non facit salvos ficti peccatores. Esto peccator et pecca fortiter, sed fortius fide et gaude in Christo*) contained nothing beyond what the writer had repeatedly and deliberately asserted concerning the grace of the Gospel, I should not have admitted so startling a passage without suspicion. I must denounce this passage, however softened, as a most flagrant and revolting outrage on the infinite grace, which it professes to magnify. The repugnance, the utter contrariety of its whole tone and spirit throughout, to that in which Holy Scripture meets the self-same topics (for which I need point no more than to the places quoted by Luther himself in 2 S. Pet. iii., Rom. vii., and 1 S. John ii.) must be, I am persuaded, apparent to the veriest babe in CHRIST who compares them, and certainly no less so to every well exercised Christian, whom a determinate prepossession for the author as a reformer, or as a hero, has not made willing to disguise the thorough contrariety from himself. The charge of ignorance of the Gospel is often made against those who scruple statements resembling or approaching to this; nor should I wonder to see it urged by one who argues that because the blessed promise to the faithful is that sin shall not have dominion over them, because they are not under the law but under grace, *therefore* it is safe and right to lay it down as dogmatic truth, that if we sin ever so wilfully after receiving justifying grace, we shall (all apparent Apostolical declarations notwithstanding) be saved nevertheless through Him, whom our sins crucify afresh, if only we confidently trust that He will thus save us. Now, to all pretences of superior light and profundity that may come in aid of such statements, and to all the unscrupulous denunciation of those who reprove them, as if they were for purchasing heaven by paltry works, and hostile to the joy that is there for the recovery of the penitent, there is a sufficient, and I hope, intelligible answer. There are those who believe with no less force and earnestness than Luther himself, that their sole resource is in a mercy which meets them as sinners,—which bears with their sins,—which can convert and restore them after repeated and aggravated sins; who yet see closely conjoined with the strong declaration in 1 S. John i. 8—10, which they are so injuriously suspected of overlooking, its purpose no less strongly expressed THAT YE SIN NOT; the declaration equally strong that WHOEVER ABIDETH IN HIM, SINNETH NOT; nay that HE CANNOT SIN, BECAUSE HE IS BORN OF GOD; moreover, that there is a sin unto death. There are those to whom

† Five Sermons on the Nature of Christianity, note, p. 130.

face with brazen front the scandal of an indefensible wrong." These are some of the natural and legitimate fruits of Luther's so-called justifying faith. Of course, in proportion as a man *has* living faith, such doings and such teaching are impossible, for Luther teaches a man to feel quite at ease, notwithstanding any amount of sin, provided he can *persuade himself* that he believes CHRIST has died for him. His system is one of morbid but yet pestilent and deadly subjectivity; it teaches men to rely upon a mere imagination—a subjective belief which has no corresponding object in the revealed will of God; and we thankfully acknowledge that Mr. Smith's own teaching is so far at variance with it, that we think he can have but very small acquaintance with the writings of Luther and others, against whom the decrees of Trent were directed. But still his abstract view of justification (for it is a misuse of the term to call it objective) is plainly insufficient. For as long as it is certain that at the great day of the LORD we shall be judged individually; and what believer in the New Testament can doubt it? so long must it be certain that in the *ultimate* result of justification to us, which is the point of primary practical importance, we are justified individually; and to say this does not at all imply, as Mr. Smith seems to think, that we have to transact our atonement for ourselves; but only that unless CHRIST's righteousness has imparted to us personally a certain character, *made in us an objective difference*, we shall then find that we are not justified, however much we may have believed that we were so—a *merely subjective difference*. Now, although Mr. Smith uses these words, objective and subjective, correctly when he speaks of the Creed as the objective faith, and any one's apprehension of it as subjective faith,* yet, we think, he does not keep their "differentia" steadily in view; he seems often to speak as though he thought everything within us was subjective, and everything external to us objective, which is by no means the case. There may be objective realities within us which have never become subjective to our minds, as well as subjective ideas in our minds, which exist only there, and have not, or at least cannot be proved to have any objects corresponding

these assertions of the contrariety to sin of the heavenly nature we have received, while they minister the only adequate grounds of penitence and contrition, furnish also the strongest motive for adherence to their only SAVIOUR from sin, GOD Incarnate, to whom consequently every view of the Gospel that fails to urge these considerations is an object of suspicion, every one that slights them of dislike, but every one that contradicts them (as do these assertions of Luther in set terms), of deprecation and abhorrence. The emphasis repeatedly laid on such statements shows too plainly that it was no dialectic sport, but a weighty religious proposition, that he wished to exhibit. And so thinking, I believe we cannot too strongly denounce that mode of contra-distinguishing things once deemed identical, justifying faith and obedience, from which such deductions seemed to him and others, to follow as by logical consequence, a mode of thought (as unknown to Augustine as to Kempis, and to S. Paul as to either) by which men are led to conceive the practical as a beggarly element, or of second-rate consideration in religion," &c.

* Page 13.

to them in *rerum naturâ*. For example, if a man has unconsciously imbibed such a hatred of "Popery," as causes him to put the worst possible construction upon every Papal decree, this passion exists objectively in his mind; it is there so that others can perceive it; but it is not in his mind subjectively, inasmuch as he has never taken notice of it. Or, to take an instance more nearly to our present purpose, "Many will say to ME in that day, LORD, LORD, have we not prophesied in Thy Name? and in Thy Name have cast out devils? and in Thy Name done many wonderful works? And then will I profess unto them, I never knew you: depart from ME, ye that work iniquity." These miserable men were subjectively in a state of justification, whilst objectively they were in a state of condemnation; the latter is the state they were really in, the former the state they supposed themselves to be in. The view they took of their state (the subjective view of it) was, that they were justified; the real (objective) state was, that CHRIST never knew them. But what has this to do with the question whether we are justified by CHRIST's personal righteousness, His obedience long since past, we merely believing in its sufficiency, or by a power actually derived to us from the righteousness of Him with whom we are incorporated, His mysterious presence energising within us so as to destroy the works of the devil, to keep sin from having dominion over us, and to overcome the world? These are not the one objective justification and the other subjective: if they be, the former certainly is the subjective view. CHRIST's righteousness becomes subjective, when we merely apprehend what it is; and no one surely ever said that we are justified merely by having an idea of CHRIST's righteousness, even if that subjective idea corresponded as nearly as possible with the objective reality; the nearest approach to this we ever heard of is Luther's assertion that we are justified merely by believing in its sufficiency to cover our sins, whether we forsake them or not. This is merely subjective justification, i. e., it is simply imaginary, if the fact be, in the really existing objective economy of redemption, that the "differentia" between the justified and the unjustified is this, that CHRIST dwells in the hearts of the former, and enables them to bear such fruit as without HIM no man can bear. And if this latter be the real state of the case, then the "substance of righteousness," of which Mr. Knox speaks, is *objective*, a gift really and actually existing in the hearts of those to whom it is given, possibly even without its being subjective at all, that is, without their being conscious of it, just as the amount of service they have done to CHRIST is not subjective to those blessed souls who shall say, "LORD, when saw we Thee an hungred and fed Thee? or thirsty, and gave Thee drink? When saw we Thee a stranger and took Thee in? or naked, and clothed Thee? Or when saw we Thee sick, or in prison, and came unto Thee? And the KING shall answer and say unto them, Verily I say unto you,

inasmuch as ye have done it unto one of the least of these My brethren, ye have done it unto Me."

This misapplication of the terms subjective and objective occurs again in Mr. Smith's account of Abraham's justification. He says, very truly, (p. 16,) "If we keep firmly fixed in our minds the eternal justifying work of the LORD from heaven, we shall enter into the fervid appeals of the Apostle Paul against mixing up something of the law or self towards appearing righteous before God, attempted by certain members of the Galatian and Roman Churches. Nor shall we need the elaborate efforts of writers, who profess to reconcile S. Paul and S. James, as if there were any even apparent difference* in their statement of the justification of Abraham. He by faith realized the righteousness of God before its justifying act was solemnized; what matters it whether we regard with S. Paul the *mental*, or with S. James the more illustrative, and as it were, manual obedience of his faith?" Thus far truly, but then he goes on "his faith and works, and use of circumcision, and his life and death, may all be elements of his *subjective* appropriation of the great gift of God, but affect in no degree whatever the objective justification itself:" to this we demur; his faith, works, &c., are more than elements of his *subjective* appropriation of the great gift of God; they *are* the gift of God *objectively* displayed in him; they do not affect the *abstract* justification of mankind, but they do affect the concrete—*objective*—justification of *Abraham*; they differentiate him from all who have not *such* faith *as issues in obedience*, and therefore are not justified.

With the exception of the mistake we have now endeavoured to point out, we have hardly noticed any thing from which we differ in Mr. Smith's own statement of the doctrine of justification, some parts of which are truly Catholic, eloquent and edifying; but we must add, that whereas the statements of Chemnitz and many other Lutherans differ widely enough from those of Luther, Mr. Smith differs from him *toto cœlo*; we are convinced that if the Tridentine Fathers had had to deal with such a statement as his "preliminary dissertation on justification," instead of Luther's detestable "pecca fortiter" principle, their decrees would have assumed a somewhat different form; nor do we think we should find it very difficult to attach a theory of supererogation and indulgences to Mr. Smith's doctrine of justification, if we believed those doctrines to be in themselves either desirable or defensible; he admits that man may fall from justification by his own act—but we abstain from the idle and not very innocent employment of building up vain imaginations.

* We believe even this might be truly said before Luther had perplexed the matter "by contra-distinguishing things once deemed identical," (see Mill, quoted above, p. 156) but this made such efforts necessary. When will "true Protestants" acknowledge this?

We proceed to give a specimen of Smith teaching, which contrasts very favourably with Smith engaged in controversy :

"As the HOLY SPIRIT, in measure proportioned to the revelation *then* of CHRIST before His Incarnation, was the Divine Agent, by whom the pre Christian faithful prospectively realized this righteousness set before them, so also is the HOLY SPIRIT, in the fuller measure of the assumption of the Manhood into God, the same Divine Agent, whereby Christians are incorporated in the Body of CHRIST, and enjoy the unimpeded circulation (communion) of the same righteousness. The two sacraments are the symbols and means of this incorporation and new life, as they are also the memorials of the finished work of CHRIST's justifying man. In baptism, the child of Adam lays aside his relationship to Adam, dies to it by a sinless and meritorious death, even the death of CHRIST,* 'being buried with CHRIST by baptism into His death,' and rises from the waters of baptism in a renewed humanity, justified and headed by CHRIST. The death is unto sin once, the new life is unto righteousness, and the children of wrath arise the children of grace. By natural generation they are members of a manhood, whose head was guilty, whose guilt and carnal mind of enmity towards God's law pervade the whole body; by sacramental incorporation into CHRIST, they are born again members of a manhood, whose Head was righteous, whose Justification and whose Spirit of Life belong to the whole Body. In the Eucharist the same justification, the same sinless and sacrificial death, the same resurrection to life is shown forth; the Christian's same incorporation into the Head is verified and renewed, the Righteousness of God is lived upon, the goodness of the Divine nature is partaken of, and that blood, which was typically sprinkled over every thing to make the Jew prospectively righteous, is given to the Christian, freely flowing as the blood of the New Testament for the remission of sins, and the everlasting Life's Blood of the One Body throughout every member."†

"Do doubts and disputes," he continues, "from the Babel strife of tongues arise? Are faithful Christians tempted in hopeless zealotism to transact the awful work of atonement with *Δις* for themselves, to seek justification in 'inherent sanctification,' or some other subtler self-righteousness, mediating for themselves with absolute Deity and His eternal justice, while naming the name of the merit of CHRIST?" [We certainly never met with any one, who had experienced such a temptation.] "All such doubts and disputes are referred, under the eloquent teaching of the sacraments, to the Head of the Body; His office is to justify the Body; incorporation and abiding in Him is the member's peace and assurance for ever."

We had thought that "abiding in" was not very different from inhering in; and that if we abide in CHRIST, He, of His surpassing mercy, does really, though we cannot tell how, abide in us. The LORD our righteousness abides or inheres in us; and the difference

* "If one died for all, then all died." 2 Cor. v. 15.

† Page 34.

which His presence makes in our inward man is what is meant by inherent righteousness. We imagine that Mr. Smith means to express the very same thing, when he says "the saints are clothed with, and bear about them the *use* they have made of their union with their *justifying* head;"* and which he very improperly calls the "subjective enjoyment of the objective righteousness of CHRIST,"† for if he means to say that this use and enjoyment are merely subjective, i. e., merely an impression produced upon our minds in the way of nature by what we have heard of CHRIST's righteousness; and conduct resulting from such impression also in the way of nature; just as a man would alter his way of life, if it were brought to his knowledge that human rulers would punish him unless he did so, then we cannot distinguish his view from Pelagianism; we believe that this "use of CHRIST's righteousness" is a gift of God with which our will co-operates, it is inherent righteousness, that whereby the justified differ from those who are not justified. We wish Mr. Smith had explained how he understands such passages as 2 Cor. v. 10; Gal. vi. 7, 8; Philip. iii. 10; Col. i. 28, &c. &c., which militate directly against Luther's "*abjicienda est persona*," and his own unintelligible assertion that we "lay aside our own personality to become members of the body of CHRIST."‡ We suspect that his metaphysics are as crude as those of any modern theory that can be mentioned. It is self-evident, that together with our own personality our own personal responsibility must be laid aside. In the name of common sense, who or what are the saints, if they are not individuals, and what is the justification of Abraham but the justification of an individual? Is there not a morbid objectivity in all this kind of talk?

A notion has latterly been very prevalent, we are told, § that the orthodox fathers must be given up as witnesses of justification by faith; and certainly they did not live upon abstractions such as mankind, but believed that CHRIST dwelt in the heart of every justified individual. Mr. Smith's apology for them is as follows:—

"The fact is, that the orthodox fathers, particularly those most conversant with the Scriptures, and S. Paul's triumphant refutation of justification by any subjective works of the natural man" [What have these to do with objective works of the spiritual man?] "*took for granted the truth itself, and lived in it.*" It was to them a new creation altogether; and they no more doubted or misunderstood their redemption by CHRIST JESUS, and the source of their Christian life, than the fact of their deriving their natural existence, burdened with sin and death, from the root of the first Adam."

Most true, and may not the same be said of many pious Roman Catholics? We really do not see any thing in the Tridentine

* Page 38.

† Page 40.

‡ Page 55.

§ Page 53.

decrees on justification when viewed as opposed to Antinomianism which need prevent them; little as we can endure the language of some of their divines, such as Vasquez. And Bishop Andrewes, strongly as he objects to some of their statements, says—"Yea, the very schoolmen themselves, take them from their questions, quodlibets, and comments on the sentences, let them be in their soliloquies, meditations or devotions, and specially in directing how to deal with men in their last agony, quando judex præ foribus est; then take Anselm, take Bonaventure, take Gerson, you would not wish to find JEHOVA justitia nostra better or more pregnantly acknowledged than in them you shall find it."* He instances also Bellarmine, Gregory of Valentia and Stapleton. How different is this from Mr. Smith's chapter on "the Tridentine theory of justification." He says, "the subject found them wholly unprepared, and the only clear view they had was of the effects produced by Luther's statement of justification by faith upon the whole system of indulgences, supererogation, additional sacraments and purgatory." It would have been but fair to add, on Christian holiness and the observance of the decalogue. We do not pretend to a complete acquaintance with the history of the council of Trent; but who that has read anything of the ante-Tridentine writers will believe, without the fullest possible proof, that the subject found them wholly unprepared. Certainly, a new and monstrous doctrine was broached, which they might well have found it difficult to deal with, had their own doctrine been in a far more satisfactory state than it was in. Nothing, says Mochler,† "more distressing for the Church could possibly occur, than to see herself called upon to set a limit to the idea of the magnitude of original sin. For it becomes the Christian to give himself up with all his soul to an infinite grief at that alienation from God, and at that misery, wherein fallen humanity is sunk." And nearly the same may be said of being called upon to define the state of man justified; for it becomes the Christian to hang wholly upon the merits of his Redeemer; but we must not put out of sight how subversive of all religion and morality Luther's doctrine on both these points really is, which Mr. Smith does most entirely.

Farther, there is a cavilling spirit throughout Mr. Smith's volume; witness his noticing the bad, (i. e., unclassical) Latin of the decrees; he forgets that Latin is still a living language, and we even doubt if all his criticisms could be maintained; e. g. is not "*nisi ipsi illius gratiæ defuerint*" very like Horace's "*haud mihi deero*," and Cicero's "*Nos consules Reipublicæ desumus*." Again he notices the expression "*the Second Adam*," and says, "*the writer of the decree was evidently not aware of the meaning of the last Adam*." We confess to ignorance of this mighty difference; certainly Adam means man, and in the very next verse S. Paul calls the last Adam,

* Sermons, v. 6, p. 118.

† V. i. p. 94, Engl. transl.

the *second man*. He says of "the formal cause," that however captivating it has proved to some in our own days, we shall find, if we give a deeper attention to it than its framers and admirers seem to have given, that its formality is but a name for putting off CHRIST; and then he shows his depth by totally missing the point in question, and having recourse to his abstractions.

The formal cause* of the justification of a member of CHRIST is, to all who know what is meant by formal cause, something within that member, which makes him to be what he is, a justified person. Luther said, that faith could do this, not the Faith, but a man's faith, credence, what Mr. Smith calls subjective faith, [a term which means the impression produced by the objective creed on the mind to which it is presented] the mere act of believing, though accompanied by doings ever so much at variance with the belief. The Council of Trent said, the gift of righteousness which includes faith that worketh by love. We doubt whether it is scientifically correct to say that the Resurrection of CHRIST is the formal cause of God's justifying, but if one single man since CHRIST's Resurrection, whether by falling away or otherwise, is actually not justified, that is quite enough to prove that the fact of CHRIST's Resurrection is not the formal cause of man's being justified.

We are shocked beyond measure at the assertion, "The Tridentine legislators are interested only in the personal justification of each Romanist," (p. 75,) as if the collective justification of the elect were not made up of the personal justification of each one of them, and as if Luther was not interested in the personal justification of each Lutheran, and told him to sin stoutly provided he believed more stoutly. May we never be true Protestants, if such are not interested in the personal justification of each true Protestant, and know not that putting this on a wrong ground is the way to shut men out from participating in the general justification. "What," asks our author, "if the believing in CHRIST's one, perfect and sufficient sacrifice, oblation, and satisfaction, be the formal cause of substantiating justice in the soul? What if it be the only cause?" What indeed? Why man's act is set in the place of God's act; that is all: but Mr. Smith knows better than this, were he not too angry to know what he is saying just here. So utter a misapprehension pervades this chapter that we hardly know how to deal with particulars. The writer does not know what is meant by *certitudo fidei*, *cui non potest subesse falsum*, viz. a certainty as great as that with which we acknowledge the truth of the Creed, (they who hold which, says Mr. Smith, p. 18, "are infallible in their faithfulness,") and has got hold of a wrong reading of the passage in Conc. Trid. Sess. vi. c. 9, "*certitudinem*" for "*certitu-*

* Formal cause is certainly a difficult expression, but Mr. Smith can hardly know what is the logical meaning of form, since he thinks they contradict themselves who speak of *fides caritate formata*, and of charity as a fruit of faith; as though it were not a trite illustration, that apple-bearing is the form of an apple tree.

dine," which makes confusion doubly confounded. He translates it, "no one can know the certainty of faith, in which there may not be something false, that he has obtained the grace of God;" with which assertion he may be as angry as he pleases, for we are totally unable to attach to it any meaning at all. The "vain confidence of heretics" is that a man may so certainly know himself to be predestinated, that he is as certain of his own salvation as he is of the truth of the Creed. We have heard that a clergyman in our own neighbourhood told his people he was as certain of his own salvation as that he stood in the pulpit, and that they had not faith unless they were so too; but whether we are misinformed or not as to this instance, this is the *inanis confidentia hereticorum* which is here most justly condemned, and may easily be shown to have existed. S. Paul told the Corinthians it was in vain to think they were anything but reprobates except CHRIST was in them, and he told them also what must be the effects of CHRIST being in them; but he never told them they must know it was impossible they could ever become reprobates. "*Christiani est pectoris,*" says Grotius, "*horrescere ea dogmata quæ pietati nocent; quale illud est non à Grotio confictum sed edictum sæpe, et à nonnullis defensum: Pecca fortiter, sed crede fortius; et, nihil nocebunt tibi centum homicidia et mille stupra. Hi sunt genuini fructus illius dogmatis credere quemquam debere CHRISTUM pro se nominatum esse mortuum; Justitiam CHRISTI sibi imputari, quasi ipse eam præstitisset, certo se perseveraturum; certo et absolutè salutem sibi destinatam: peccata fidelium, utut magna et gravia esse possint, non imputari ipsis propter fidem in JESUM CHRISTUM; posse eos cadere in rebellionem, homicidium, adulterium, prodicionem et id genus alia flagitia; nihilominus tamen eos pro certo firmoque habere, se nunquam aut totaliter aut finaliter excidere, neque excidere posse ex paternâ Deo caritate, et gratia ergo se; sed è contrario DEUM PATREM ipsorum, ex æterno suo amore, misericordiâ et gratiâ omnia ipsorum præterita, præsentia, et futura peccata in CHRISTO tegere atque remittere. Hæc sunt nimirum cogitata Christiani pectoris, D. Riveto judice. Non unus Marlortus docet, fidelium peccata omnia esse venialia, non imputari, non ob id eos separari a gratiâ DEI; non posse eos mori in peccatis; nullis flagitiis renatos fidem perdere posse, et similia multa, quæ non sunt Grotii somnia aut commenta, sed eorum qui se Reformatos vocant communia placita."** If "true Protestants" would protest against these abominations instead of lauding their inventors as saints and heroes; and instead of putting the worst possible construction on the Tridentine Decrees, would fairly view them in the light which the works of the first Protestants throw upon them, we should have much better hope of their doing service to the Church of England.

* "*Rivetiani Apologetici Discussio,*" Op. t. iii. p. 734; ed. Lond. 1679.

Mr. Smith we are sure would protest against Luther, if he were better acquainted with him. His volumes, in spite of all we have said against them, contain much thoughtfulness and piety, and sound refutation of some Puritan errors, and correct interpretation of Scripture; in fact, such elements as leave us not without hope that his work may be continued in a manner better calculated to accomplish its object.

CONVOCAATION AND SYNODS.

Some Reasons against the Revival of Convocation. By the REV. SANDERSON ROBINS, M.A. London: Pickering.

It obviously belongs to the functions of the Church, as a teacher of the truth, that it should be able to speak, and that, not only by the preservation of Holy Scriptures, by Creeds, by Rites, and by Prayers, nor, again, only by the living voices of its individual pastors, but by the concentrated expression of those voices by the collected clergy, with the consent of the diffused people; on the one hand because it has to adapt its teaching to the special circumstances of time and place, whilst written documents are fixed in a sort of marble perpetuity: and on the other, because the living voices of individuals need to be united, harmonized, and enforced. And the divinely appointed means for this end is Synods; whereof there is one standing example and pattern in the assembly of the Apostles at Jerusalem. The Church was riven by doubts and disputations: one said one thing, and one another; the authority of Apostles was alleged for views they did not hold, and persons went out from Jerusalem, the centre of unity, with the *prestige* attaching to those who had been trained in the Mother Church, spreading erroneous notions as with authority. Under such circumstances an assembly of the rulers of the Church, and an explicit and published declaration of the truth as they held it, was the natural and effectual remedy. And such it has been in every successive age of the Church. The kinds of Synods are four: the whole Church speaking through the *general* or *ecumenical* council, to which all the Bishops of the Church throughout all the world are called, and ought if possible to be present; the *national* council, at which the Archbishops and Bishops of a particular kingdom or nation are assembled under the presidency of the Primate; the *provincial*, consisting of the Bishops of the province under the Archbishop; the *diocesan*, of the Clergy of a diocese under their Bishop.* We mention a national

* See Benedict XIV. (Lambertini) de Synodo Diocesana, l. 1, 2.

Synod particularly, because, as such Synods are not those of a particular ecclesiastical district, and did not exist when all were in one empire, as in the first centuries, some may look on them with less favour. They have, however, it need scarcely be said, the highest ecclesiastical sanction.

Now each of these kinds of Synods has its special office and its peculiar use,—in that it is called on either to provide for the wants of the whole, or any portion of the Church, or to maintain communication between the whole and the parts. And as each has its proper function, belonging to the healthy state and operation of the Church, so the maintenance of them is not indeed at all times absolutely essential, but yet most conducive to the well-being of the Church. The holding of Synods is not a sign of disease, it is rather that natural and healthful action which provides for the proper operation of the spiritual body, and anticipates the commencement of disease.

We are led to these remarks by the pamphlet which we have placed at the head of this article. It is indeed a well-intentioned and an ably executed attempt to satisfy English Churchmen under the suspension of the Synodical functions of our own branch of the Church. It is well-intentioned; for, as Mr. Robins says:

“Nothing sustains the spirit of agitation so much as the belief in a grievance; nothing therefore would tend more effectually to its mitigation than to show the evil to be less than it seems; and still more, if it could be proved that wise and dutiful affection to the Church must lead us, on consideration, to submit to the present restraint, not only without resistance, but without repining.”

A spirit of thankfulness for the blessings we do enjoy, of readiness to see the good that comes out of evil, of resignation to the Divine dispositions, is plainly Christian; but it is quite consistent with knowing and feeling that our Church is not in a good condition, and with endeavouring to improve it. The perception of the evil incidental to a state abstractedly better, or of the good incidental to our own, may sober our disquietude, and inspire patience and submission, without chilling our zeal or checking our exertions for a change. Mr. Robins, however, carries his well-intentioned endeavours too far. He argues not only that we may be content without Synods, which we might be were there not special and imminent need of them, but also that we are better without them. He argues not only against Convocation, in which some of the best Churchmen would agree with him, but even against all Synods whatever. The reasons against the revival of Convocation are derived partly from its anomalous constitution, partly from the disrespect of its actual workings. In the former grounds we should be more disposed to agree with him. There is no doubt

that our Convocations are anomalous in their constitution and design, and that they have strangely usurped the place of the provincial and national Synods of earlier times. And it is well known that those who a few years ago were most devoted to the work of liberating and elevating our Church—wise and far-sighted men—said that Convocation would not work; nay, we believe that when there was a very strong disposition in the Church generally, and in the members of Convocation, to press for the restoration of its sittings, it was the eloquence and earnestness of Archdeacon Manning which turned them from their purpose. Still it is not to be forgotten that Convocation is the recognised constitutional organ of the Church at this time; recognised by the laws and constitution of the country, with acknowledged powers, with a settled constitution, with a real existence, and only dormant functions; and again, that it is the only form of Church Synod which would give to the Presbyters that direct influence which the circumstances of the English Church seem to require; now that our Bishops are appointed by the Crown, unchecked by the need of consent either of Chapters, or Clergy, or people; and again, that from our isolated position neither Crown nor Bishop are restrained by any influences of other branches of the Church Catholic.

The following passage from the speech of Archdeacon Wilberforce at St. Martin's Hall, states the argument for Convocation considered as an established part of our system:

“It appears to me to be a matter self-evident, that if the Church is to exercise in this way the functions with which she has been entrusted, it must be through the renewal and perpetuation of ancient synodal power, according to the existing constitution. I do not mean to say that the two Convocations cannot reform themselves; that they cannot adapt their constitution to present circumstances; they would doubtless be required to do so as the first step to give efficiency to their action. But what I mean is this—and it would be well that it should be habitually in our recollection—that such a movement must proceed upon the principle of giving efficiency to the existing system; and that we must not come at this time of day, in the nineteenth century, with a new constitution, and fresh laws for the Church of England, as though she were now starting for the first time in the world. She has an ancient history—established traditions and associations—to bind her to the past, and a great name in the catalogue of ancient worthies. She can fall back upon her past history, and produce an effect upon her people by reference to those ancient truths which she has preached—those associations with which she is connected, and those affections which have gone deep into the hearts of her people.”

That part of Mr. Robins's observations which bears upon the defects and constitution of Convocation and its many anomalies, strikes us as peculiarly English, and very like the temper of a late

statesman. He takes the matter practically, exposes the actual faults of the machine, and tries to show that it cannot work; the following passage is in substance very much the same as was given in our last number, and to the remarks then made on the subject we refer our readers.

“At present there exists no general rule for the election of proctors; in one diocese the custom differs altogether from that which is followed in another. The lower house in the province of Canterbury consists of nearly one hundred and fifty members, of whom more than two-thirds belong to the cathedral bodies; and it is doubtful whether the precentors, chancellors, and treasurers might not be summoned in addition, as we know that they have been. The preponderance given to the capitular clergy may have been at first intended to secure influence to those whose situation implied the opportunity of ecclesiastical study; but the present state of the representation is altogether unjust; the increase of parochial clergy on the one side, and the decrease of those in cathedrals on the other, would make a change in the franchise indispensable. The relation between the two provinces is also full of difficulties which could not be easily removed. Sometimes the convocation of York has simply received and registered the decrees of Canterbury. Sometimes the Archbishop and his Suffragans have subscribed in behalf of the province, as in 1562; sometimes the northern clergy have appointed proxies to act in their name, as in 1662. If it were proposed, as it probably would be, that the two convocations should be united, the difference of their constitutions would present formidable obstacles. In the province of Canterbury there are two houses; in York, the bishops and presbyters sit together; while in the latter, the representatives of the parochial clergy are proportionately more numerous than in the former, and equal in amount those of the cathedrals. The question of independence, again, between the two Metropolitans could hardly be avoided in a national council, and we know with what warmth it used to be agitated; in 1555, which was the last occasion on which the two provinces were summoned together, it was obviated by the legantine authority of Cardinal Pole. Even if the English dioceses, by mutual accommodation, could be all represented in a national council, the case of the Irish Church would still remain for very perplexing consideration. The union with the Church of England, which under one aspect is very real, has never been acknowledged by any synodical act on either side; and yet, if any movement were made by authority in the one church, there must be joint and correspondent action in the other. It would not be easy to devise the means by which this could be secured.”

And well worthy of serious consideration as these matters are, in order that we may understand what Convocation is, and may not be expecting greater results from it than it can reasonably afford, still we must not be too much afraid. It is true there is some-

thing fearful in the idea that the Bishops of the province or of the nation—for Bishops alone vote in provincial and national Synods—should make an heretical determination; but, even if they did, it would not be irremediable, nor unexampled in branches, still living, of the Catholic Church. Nor, again, are the questions of detail so difficult, e. g., whether the Irish (and the Scottish) Prelates should be joined in the *national* Synod, or who should preside. The Synod of London, A. D. 1075, might safely be taken as a model,—the Archbishop of Canterbury presiding, York on his right hand, and London on his left, and Winchester next to York. And, at all events, by arrangements first settled in separate provincial Synods, the union of the Scottish, Irish, and even of the Colonial Bishops in one great Anglican Synod, might be brought about. Where the need is felt, and the object desired, canonical means would not be wanting to effect it.

Mr. Robins, however, does not merely dwell on the practical difficulties and the points of detail which impede the working of our Convocations, or provincial and national Synods; he goes at length into the evils to which all ecclesiastical assemblies are exposed, and which have in fact occurred in so many instances; and especially he dwells on the contentions and consequent scandals which attended the later years of the actual sittings of our own Convocation. Now there is no need that we should in any way close our eyes against these facts; it is better to look on the whole subject fairly and honestly; to admit that ecclesiastical Synods are arenas for disputation, that they may draw out the passions of anger and jealousy, and be conducted with violence, and amid artifice and chicanery. There is nothing strange in all this to one who considers the general laws and analogies of the Divine government, which elicits good out of the confusion, the passions, and indirectly out of the sins of mankind. Let it not be forgotten that there was a "very sharp contention" between two great Apostles, and that it was after "much disputing" in the council at Jerusalem that S. Peter spoke, and S. James proposed, what all acquiesced in. It is through a marvellous process of variation and contention that truth is elicited in the world and in the Church at large; and why should it be otherwise in the case of Synods? We must, we repeat, look to the result. Think of those four great councils which of old, when men had had time to see their infinite value, were accounted of as corresponding to the four Gospels, what were they in the eyes of those who looked only to the outward appearance? Surely we have heard enough of—and have seen how to regard aright—the complaints of that most holy, gentle, and unworldly man, S. Gregory Nazianzen. What could be said more strong against Synods than he said? "I am determined," are his words, "to shun every Synod of Bishops, for I never yet saw a Synod which ended well, and which did not add to existing evils

rather than remove them." Now had the view of this holy man been followed out, where would (humanly speaking) have been those great safeguards of the Faith, the Creeds and Canons of Councils? Nay, we may go further. He included in his condemnation the Council of Constantinople, which edited the Nicene Creed as the Church has ever since received it, and has been venerated as one of the greatest Councils of the Church. In the Council of Nice violent contentions prevailed; cotemporaries brought allegations of unfairness against it; yet of this the same S. Gregory says, "it was the HOLY SPIRIT which brought the fathers to unity." Of the next two general Councils it is notorious that that of Chalcedon was carried on amidst contentions and strife such as never was witnessed in any other Synod, and with which all the accumulated divisions of English Convocations scarcely bear even the very slightest comparison. Yet out of these contentions came forth those enunciations of the truth which have been the unspeakably blessed heritage of the Church in all succeeding times. Let us only have confidence in our Church, and in the blessing of God and His guidance being bestowed upon our Synods, and we need not fear that the bright and clear sky will come out to view when the wild storms have passed away; the brighter and clearer in proportion to the violence which has preceded. There is, however, one consideration which ought not to be lost sight of when the contentions of the Convocations of 1700 and the following years are alleged as arguments against holding any Synods now; it is the very obvious improvement in the tone of our Divines, and in the depth of their theology, and of their practical spirit. Witness the meeting in S. Martin's Hall. How rarely has the Christian world witnessed an assembly which breathed so deep a Christian spirit! or when did we ever see in England controversy carried on in a temper such as has characterized the best and truest of our English Churchmen at this time. Nay, in our Convocations, during their brief sittings,—with all the disadvantages arising from inexperience of business, want of familiarity, with the routine and those forms which are the great preservatives of order in large assemblies, with all the excitement arising from the knowledge that their sitting must be short, and much must be said and done in it,—we believe that the temper of the meetings has been blameless. Want of order there may have been—it was unavoidable where persons had not any received and traditional order—but it was only that which a few meetings would have overcome. And certainly that mutual knowledge of each other's views, and that sifting of them and their consequences which only discussion can give, would, we are sure, bring persons to a better understanding. Mr. Gorham's subterfuges might then be hunted down, and those who were disposed to favour or to connive at them be reduced to confessing themselves mistaken.

Lastly, we are bound to remember the real good which was done for the Church of England by the latest and most decried Convocations. Here again we shall avail ourselves of the eloquent arguments of Archdeacon Wilberforce.

"The past history of our country is anything but discouraging as regards the manner of our proceeding. Look to the operation of the episcopal synods one hundred years ago, and you will find reasons sufficient to conclude that had they been allowed to proceed they would have effected much good, and in all probability have averted much evil. Look to the various plans that were then in agitation. In turning to the various subjects that were before the convocation in the latter days of Queen Anne, I find there were three principal objects in view—some better manner of securing the ordination of fit persons to the sacred ministry—a greater care to be taken in the education and instruction of those who were to be confirmed—and a more efficient system of church discipline. Now let honourable gentlemen think what would have been the effect had these three plans been properly prepared and duly considered, by the representatives of the Church of England in the beginning of the last century. Again, if you look to the history of those times you will find that in the reign of Queen Anne the objects which are so eagerly pursued in these later times then also occupied men's minds, and just as the suspension of the convocation marked a deep sleep into which our fathers were falling, these projects were abandoned. I remember Mandeville, in one of his infidel works, says it is strange to see how, in the time of Queen Anne, the building of schools was a perfect mania. Then again, with regard to the supply of colonial churches, it has usually been shown to us that in Queen Anne's time the same plans were projected as we have been so thankful in these later times to see effected—the extension of Bishops to the colonies. Here again I may refer to Bishop Beveridge's labours to extend the daily service; but all these things went to sleep with the coming in of a new dynasty, and the unfortunate political circumstances of the time acted, as we know they did, to destroy the synodal action of the Church of England."

We now pass on to open a subject to which we have long desired to draw the attention of our readers; we mean that of Diocesan Synods. We enter upon this subject, because we consider it important that Churchmen should know what are the inherent powers of the Church, and what is their correct canonical exercise, in order to be prepared for whatever may happen; not to mention the great good which may be derived from the restoration of such meetings. The few last years have shown a general sense of the need of such mutual discussion and combined action; the various forms of clerical meetings, however irregular and monstrous in themselves, indicate a felt want. The more regular ruridecanal meetings and chapters show a desire on the part of those in authority to promote them; they yet however need the full perfection,

and the canonical authority of proper synods—synods, which the experience of past ages, and, we may trust, the Divine sanction, combine to authorise and to lead us to look forward to with hope. The first beginning of such a synod, in a meeting of the Bishop and his Presbyters for counsel, is doubtless as early as the first ages of the Christian Church. We see the image of it in S. James and the Presbyters at Jerusalem, (Acts xxi. 18.) It is a natural fruit of the relation of the Bishop and Presbyter; it is the mutual aiding each of the other, and combining for united action which is suggested by Christian wisdom and charity. The Epistles of S. Ignatius imply such united action, and do not allow us to contemplate Bishops acting without Presbyters, any more than Presbyters without Bishops. So S. Cyprian distinctly states his own practice of consulting with the Presbyters and the laity of his church, and doing nothing without their advice. There are many other traces of such meetings in primitive times; the earliest however, of which the acts are preserved, are in the sixth century.

The proper diocesan Synod is an assembly of the clergy within a given diocese, convoked and presided over by the Bishop, or some one deputed by him, to treat and deliberate on matters belonging to the pastoral office. The clergy holding benefices with cure of souls, are the body, who, among ourselves, would form almost the entire synod, and who would be canonically obliged to attend; others, as canons, might have a right to be present, and others, again, as unbeneficed clerks, might be required in particular cases to be present, but without the power of voting.

The diocesan synod, according to the ancient constitution of our own as well as of other churches, was appointed to meet twice a year, in spring and autumn. So Lyndwood, "*Synodi dicuntur conventus sive congregationes senum et Presbyterorum, quæ debent fieri per episcopum annuatim;*" see the other authorities given afterwards. The Latin rule is, for the Bishop to give notice of the days of meeting for each year, on the feast of the Epiphany—and as the time drew near, the preparation for it—if the rules of S. Charles Borromeo may be considered as indicative of the spirit of the Church—was, that in every parish in the diocese, for some weeks before the synod, there should be offered, each Thursday, prayers, (or the mass) for the aid of the HOLY SPIRIT, and on the Sunday preceding the assembly, a Communion: each portion of the diocese being deeply interested in the result of the synod. The synod was commenced with the celebration of the Holy Communion and special prayers, repeated every day whilst it continued; exhortations or sermons were made by the Bishop, or clergy appointed by him; all the parochial clergy were bound to attend; their names were called, and the absent were censured. Some of the laity were also present, at least during a part of the proceedings.

The old rule was, that the synod should last for three days, and

in earlier and more simple times, the clergy took with them provision for that time ; afterwards, persons were appointed to make all necessary arrangements for their reception and lodging.

Here, perhaps, we shall best realize the practice of our own Church in early times, by giving a few of the canons of the Anglo-Saxon Church on the subject—and then the form of procedure and the devotions used by our ancestors at an early, though probably not so early a period as that.

Canons enacted under king Edgar.

“ 3. We enjoin that they at every synod, have every year books and garments for divine ministry, and ink and vellum for their ordinances ; and provision for three days.

“ 4. And we enjoin that every priest at the synod have his clerk, and an orderly man for servant, and no ignorant person who loves folly ; but let all go with decorum, and with fear of God Almighty.

“ 5. And we enjoin, that every priest declare in the synod, if there be aught prejudicial to him, and if any man have highly injured him : and let them then all take it up as it had been done to them all, and so aid, that satisfaction be made, as the Bishop shall direct.

“ 6. And we enjoin that every priest declare in the synod if, in his parish, he know any man contumacious to God, or miserably sunk in deadly sins, whom he cannot incline to make satisfaction, or dare not for worldly opinion.”—Thorpe’s Ancient Laws, p. 395.

“ *Modus tenendi Synodos in Anglia primævis temporibus. Ex MS. Cotton. Cleop. c. viii. f. 85, V. Ord. Rom. in Bibl. Patr. tom. xii.*

[*Spelm. vol. ii. p. 1, seqq.*]

“ Sancta synodus bis in anno decrevit habere concilia ; unum æstate, aliud tempore autumnii. Quisquis autem clericorum ad hæc non venerit, absque necessitatis causa, anno integro non præsumat missam celebrare. Prima die, et secunda, et tertia, hora convenienti, quando episcopo vel ejus vicario visum fuerit, omnes sequentur cruce cum letania, et ingrediuntur synodum, ejectis omnibus ab ecclesia, obseratisque foribus cunctis. Tunc ad unam januam, per quam sacerdotes ingrediantur, ostiarii stent et sella ponatur in medio, et super eam sacræ reliquiæ, et plenarium cum stola ponantur. Deinde convenientes omnes presbyteri intersint, et secundum ordinationis suæ tempus resideant. Post hos ingrediantur diaconi probabiles, quos ordo poposcerit interesse. Exinde introducantur laici bonæ conversationis, vel qui electione conjugali interesse meruerint. Tunc ingrediatur episcopus, si voluerit vel necessitas exegerit ; et si non aderit episcopus, ejus vicarius eadem faciat. Tunc dicat diaconus ‘ Orate,’ deinde ‘ Erigite vos,’ tunc episcopus versus ad orientem, mediocri voce dicat, ‘ Deus vobiscum.’ ‘ Deus humilium visitator, qui nos fraterna

dilectione consolaris, prætende societati nostræ gratiam tuam, ut per eos in quibus habitas, tuum in nobis sentiamus adventum.' Tunc procedens diaconus, cum subdiacono, thuribulo, et ceroferariis duobus, episcopo benedicente, legat evangelium secundum Lucam, 'Designavit Dominus et alios septuaginta duos' usque 'Dignus est enim operarius mercede sua.' Hymn. 'Veni Creator.' "Assumus, S. Spiritus, assumus peccati quidem immanitate detenti, et in nomine tuo specialiter congregati; veni ad nos, dignare illabi cordibus nostris; doce nos quid agamus, quo gradiamur; ostende qualiter tibi in omnibus placeamus, quidque efficere valeamus: esto solus et suggestor et effector judiciorum nostrorum, qui solus cum Deo Patre et ejus Filio nomen possides gloriosum. Non nos patiaris perturbatores esse justitiæ, qui summæ veritatis diligis æquitatem, ut in sinistrum nos non ignorantia trahat, non favor inflectat, nec acceptio muneris vel personæ corrumpat; et junge nos tibi, solius gratiæ tuæ dono, ut simus in te unum, et in nullo deviemus a vero; quatenus in nomine tuo collecti, sic in cunctis teneamus cum moderatione pietatis justitiam, ut hic in nullo a te nostra dissentiat sententia, et in futuro pro bene gestis consequamur præmia sempiterna, præstante te, qui solus cum Deo Patre ejusque Filio vivis et regnas et dominaris Deus per omnia secula seculorum.' Deinde, cunctis in ordine cum silentio sedentibus, episcopus, vel, si noluerit, diaconus, alloquitur concilium cum exhortatione hujusmodi.

"Ecce sanctissimi sacerdotes et fratres, præmissis Deo precibus, fraternitatem vestram cum pia exhortatione conjuro, et per divinum nomen obtestor, ut ea quæ a nobis de Deo et sacris ordinibus, aut sanctis moribus vobis fuerint dicta, cum summa reverentia suscipiatis, et cum omni pietate intendatis; quod si forsitan aliquis nostrum aliter quam dicta fuerint senserit, sine aliquo scrupulo contentionis in nostrorum omnium collatione ea, de quibus ipse dubitaverit, conferenda deducat, qualiter, Domino mediante, aut doceri possit aut doceat. Deinde, simili vos obtestatione conjuro, ut nullus vestrum in judicando aut personam accipiat, aut quolibet favore vel munere pulsatus a veritate discedat; sed cum tanta pietate quicquid cœtui nostro se judicandum intulerit retractare, ut nec discordans contentio ad subversionem justitiæ inter nos locum inveniatur, nec item inquirenda æquitatem, vigor nostri ordinis, vel sollicitudo tepescat.' Post hanc exhortationem, quisquis clericorum velit, conserat querelam; et admonendi sunt, ut nullus ad synodum veniat jejunos; vel inde secedat antequam generaliter secessio adveniat; et sic synodus primæ diei solvatur.

"Benedictio primæ diei.

"Qui dispersos Israel congregat, ipse vos hic et ubique custodiat, Amen; et non solum vos custodiat, sed ovium suarum custodes idoneos efficiat, Amen. Ut cum summo pastore Christo,

de gregum suorum pastione gaudeatis in cælo, Amen. Quod ipse præstare dignetur.'

"Secunda die, similiter ut prima, ingrediantur synodum cum plena processione; et dum steterit in loco suo episcopus, vel ejus vicarius, dicat diaconus, 'Orate,' deinde, 'Erigite vos.' Tunc episcopus versus ad orientem, mediocri voce dicat, 'Dominus vobiscum.' 'Et cum spiritu tuo.'

"Deus qui nobis famulis tuis, præsentiae tuæ signa manifestas, mitte super nos Spiritum charitatis, ut in adventu fratrum conservorumque nostrorum gratia nobis tuæ largitatis augeatur per Dominum.' Postea legatur evangelium. . . . 'Convocatis ille duodecim apostolis,' usque 'Evangelizantes et curantes ubique.' Tunc omnes laici egrediantur, et legatur a diacono Homilia S. Gregorii, a versu, 'Messis quidam multa,' usque 'Patres minime esse recognoscunt.' Deinde, si clerici non habeant querelam, laici intromittantur; illis etiam audientibus, lectio recitetur Nicæni concilii. 'Judices non nisi jejuni leges et judicia discernant.' Quisquis ex laicis habet querelam, judicibus proferat; et synodus secundæ diei sic solvatur.

"Benedictio secundæ diei.

"Dominus mentis et linguæ corporalis, et spiritualis, det vobis incrementa gratiæ sacerdotalis, Amen; atque vobis ad dexteram constitutis, participium tribuat regni cælestis, Amen. Quod ipse præstare dignetur, qui nos ante constitutionem mundi prædestinatos, et ante finem sæculi justificatos præcivit, per infinita secula seculorum, Amen.'

"De tertia die.

"Tertia die, ut prima, ingrediantur synodum, cum plena processione. Et dum steterit in loco suo episcopus vel vicarius ejus, dicat diaconus, 'Orate;' deinde 'Erigite vos.' Tunc episcopus versus ad orientem, mediocri voce dicat 'Dominus vobiscum.' 'Et cum spiritu tuo.'

"Protege, Domine, quæsumus, nos famulos tuos subsidiis mentis et corporis, et spiritualibus enutrens alimentis, propitius redde securos ab hostibus universis, per Dominum.' Postea legatur evangelium, 'Misit ille xii. discipulos, præcipiens eis, et dicens, In viam gentium ne abieritis,' usque 'Et simplices sicut columbæ.' Deinde, si quæ sint quæstiones et querelæ, conferantur. Postea vero, episcopus moneat clerum, et doceat populum; atque in fine prædicationis remissionem peccatorum faciat. Deinde diaconus alta voce imponat, 'Te Deum laudamus,' interim canente populo 'Kyrie eleyson' finita ea laude, dicat diaconus hanc antiphonam, 'In viam pacis;' cum Psalmo, 'Benedictus Dominus Deus Israelis:' finita autem, dicat diaconus alta voce; 'Humiliate vos ad benedictionem.'

"Omnipotens Dei Filius, qui et initium et finis, complementum

vobis tribuat charitatis, Amen : et qui vos ad expletionem hujus fecit pervenire synodi, absolutos vos efficiat ab omni contagione delicti, Amen : ut ab omni reatu liberiores effecti, absoluti etiam per donum Spiritus S. felici reditu vestrarum sedium cubilia repetatis illæsi, Amen : quod ipse præstare dignetur, qui cum Patre et Spiritu Sancto, etc."

It will appear generally from these documents what provision was made for the regular return and devout celebration of these Synods. We may now briefly refer to their objects and uses. One of the first was to promulgate for reception in that diocese the decrees of any provincial, national, or general council, which had been held. The next point in importance was the making of constitutions for the diocese ; this was only occasionally called for, but it is obviously one of the most grave objects of the assembly. The subjects of the constitutions were, if necessary, first the confession of the Catholic faith, with special reference to, and correction of, any errors which might prevail at the time, declaring the sense of the Church, and guiding the clergy in their teaching. This confession, as also the other portions of the constitutions, was prepared previously by the Bishop with the advice of theologians and canonists, and then submitted to the approval of the clergy. It came with the weight, not only of authority, but of well considered and careful statement, correcting misapprehension, and putting forward counterbalancing truths in such a way as to gain the approval of the assembled clergy. It is indeed held by later canonists of the Latin Church that the consent of the clergy is not necessary to the validity of these constitutions, and that the *placets* with which they assented to them were not requisite to give them force ; the episcopal authority promulgating them in a Synod being sufficient for their obligation. Others, however, more naturally, and we conceive more in accordance with ancient practice, maintain that the consent of the majority is necessary. After the constitutions on matters of faith followed those which concerned the administration of the Sacraments, the rules for preaching, catechizing, and other exercises of the ministerial office ; whatever, indeed, needed regulation and a settled uniformity within that particular diocese. What is now done by the suggestion of Bishops in their charges, or in pastoral letters, is most properly subject matter for the Synod of the diocese, e. g., the late Bishop of Oxford's suggestions for observing the rule of baptizing publicly, and of gradually restoring service on other days than Sundays, or those of the present Bishop for the more frequent celebration of the Holy Communion, or those less successful attempts of the Bishops of London and Exeter for restoring uniformity in Divine Service. Again, matters connected with the practical management of parishes, schools, and societies, would here be considered and determined, and that with special

reference to the needs of the diocese; and after the Bishop had acquainted himself by previous inquiry among his clergy as to what was needed and what would work. These subjects, once settled, would not need to come again before the Synod, and so in practice we find records of them but of very rare occurrence, according as some Bishop of special zeal engaged in reforming or establishing what was good in his diocese. The ordinary employment of the Synods was considering complaints and charges against the clergy, as the Anglo-Saxon Canons show; visitations according to our notion being combined with the Synods. On this point we might derive many useful hints from the rules laid down by the Latin canonists: e. g., six clergy were nominated for the approval of the Synod, out of whom three, appointed for each occasion by the Bishop, were to examine all candidates for institution. We should find a similar advantage in having persons appointed by the clergy to assist in examining for ordination, or trying in causes of discipline. At the Latin Synods, indeed, sub-committees, so to say, of the clergy, examined the charges brought forward against clerks, and disputes between clergy and laity, and reported to the Bishop. Everything, indeed, which in every way concerned the well-working of the Church within that particular diocese, was a fit subject for their consideration and inquiry.

Many instances of such Synods may be found in our own Church. Several of the constitutions—Synodal Constitutions, as they are called,—are preserved, nor are they confined to the period preceding the Reformation. We find in Wilkins two instances since that time, and there is reason for thinking that more might be found if the registers of sees were examined, for both these are of the diocese of S. Asaph, and both are derived from the MSS. of Tanner, the great antiquary, then Bishop of S. Asaph. If Bishops of other sees were as fond of searching into old MSS. as Tanner was, it seems not unlikely that others might be found. We subjoin some extracts from the constitutions of each of the Synods, to show what the practical working of such assemblies might be.

“ARCHIEPISC. CANT. REG. ANGLIÆ. ANNO CHRISTI 1561.
MATT. PARKER, 2. ELIZAB. 3.

“*Concilium diœcesanum Assaphense celebratum in ecclesia cathedrali Assaphensi, a Thoma (Davies) episcopo Assaphen. die Mercurii 12 Novembris. Ex MS. penes Thom. episc. Assaph.*

“Quibus die et loco reverendus pater dominus Thomas Assaphen. episcopus, convocato coram eo clero decanatus de Rose, statuit, ordinavit, et injunxit eis has ordinationes sequentes, ab eis et eorum quolibet in suis respectivè ecclesiis observandas.

“That every of them have the catechisme yn the mother tonge

yn Welshe red and declared yn their several churches every Sunday with the answer made therunto accordingly, and in the Englyshe tonge at — on Sundays and holydays.

“That no parson, vycar, or curat shall from hensfort marry any persons withyn any of ther churches, onlesse the banes be thre tymes solemnly asked with distinct dayes, except they be sufficiently dispensyd with.

“That every parson and vycar do from hensforth kepe resydenche and hospytalyty competent, accordynge to the valuacion of ther several lyvyngs and benefyces, and meyntheyn ther howses and buyldings longynge to the same yn dew and sufficyent reparacion.

“That every parson and vycar do exhorte and move the syke persons, makynge ther testaments, that every one of them do geve to the reparacion of the cathedral church; and also to the pore mens boxe some part of ther goods.

“Item, That every parson, vycar, and curat yn ther several churches do name, appoint, and assigne three or four honest, sayge, and discrete persons of ther paryshes, which tender the glory of God, the quenes majestys godly procedings, and the decent order of the people, to be overseers, who shall see good rule and order yn the church in tyme of dyvyne servyce; and yf any misruled person be, that he may be presentyd by them; and yf any by ther discretyon appoyntyd to that purpose, do refuse to do his dewty theryn, that I be forthwyth certified of the name of such refuser, and that they so appoyntyd, do from tyme to tyme certyfye yf any offenders or mysruled persons be found withyn the same churches.

“Item, That yn tyme of servyce sed or songe yn the church, so often as the name of JEsus beyng owr savyor, shall be rehersed and pronownced, dew reverence be made of all persons yonge and olde with lowlyness of curtesy, and entendynge of mens heds; for seeing that yn tyme of the letany songe or seyde, and all other godly prayers, the peple shall universally knele upon ther knees, and use themselves devoutly durynge tyme of the same.

“Item, That the parsons, vycars, and curats, or one of them yn every of ther churches, do come together on Wenisdays and Frydays, being not holy days, and ther devoutly syng or sey the letany, and exhorte the people to come wyth devotion to here the same, with other preyers, at howers and tymes convenient and accostomed.

“Item, That no preste, parson, vycar, curat, or mynister shall serve any more than one cure, wythowt very urgent cause; cawse theryn had, and the special lychence of the seyde bushope obteynyd.

“Item, That all mynisters and reders of the publyke prayers and chapters yn the church do reade the same distynctly, apertly, and leyserly withowt any mumbling or rashe redynge of the same, wherby the peple may be more edified and styrred to better devociouns.

“Item, That every parson, vycar, curat, and mynister shall use

and were decent and semely apparell, that ys to wyt, a short gown, and a hatt to ryde, and a long gown, and a square capp with a tippet, when they come before ther ordynary, to the end the dew reverence may be done to them by other, according to ther vocation to such ministry.

"Item, That after the pistill and gospell ys red yn Englyshe yn the Churche, the same also to be forthwyth there red in Welshe, aptly and distinctly.

"Item, That no person withyn any of your several paryshea, beyng notably knowen to be yn any malyce or rancor, or owt of the order of charyty with any of his neighbors, shall presume to come to receyve the holy communion, onless the same be fyrst openly reconcylyd before the hole congregation; and hys reconsilyacion taken, he may then be admyttyd to receive that holy mystery.

"Item, Wher heretofore yn sondrie churches yn my dyoces ther hath been a mynyster callyd the lady prest, receyving stypende of the paryshe; and now that office ys not necessary, I mynding not to put ony paryshe to more chargis, then heretofore they stode yn chardge with, consyderynge, that the teaching of children is very necessary, do desyer and also requier all good chrystians in my dioces to pay such their stypend, accustomed to be payd to the lady prest, to such scolemaster, as shall be thought mete by me, with the assent of the paryshes; whereby idelness of yowth may be avoyded, and the same kept to learning, and brought upp yn love and fear of God, and knowledge of ther dewties toward the worlde."

"ARCHIEPISC. CANT. REG. ANGLIÆ. ANNO CHRISTI 1683.
GUIL. SANCROFT 6. CAROL. II. 35, 36.

"*Certain orders treated and agreed upon by the right reverend father in God William, lord bishop of S. Asaph, and the whole clergy of this diocese, at a synod begun at S. Asaph, the fourth day of July, anno Domini 1683. Ex MS. penes Tho. episc. Assaven.*

"For the more decent and orderly administration of the holy offices, it is proposed, ordained, and agreed, as hereafter followeth:

"I. *Concerning the sacrament of the LORD's Supper.*

"1. Whensoever the sacrament of the LORD's supper is to be administered, the bread and the wine shall be viewed and approved on some week day before by the minister; and on the day of celebration, the bread shall be decently cut by the minister before prayers, and then a sufficient quantity of that wine, together with the bread so cut, prepared, and proportioned to the number of communicants, is to be set on the table, covered with a napkin, immediately before the prayer for the church militant, and nothing else to be suffered to stand on the table. And that always on the

Lord's day before, the minister shall give notice of the administration of the communion, and shall then require every one, that intends to receive, that he shall give in his name to the minister on some day in the week, before he comes to communicate. And if any one shall neglect to give in his name, and yet come to the communion, the minister shall take notice of every such person, and shall within ten days at the farthest, give in their names to the rural dean, to the end that they may be transmitted to the bishop.

"2. That in case the minister shall see any reason to fear, that any of those that have given in their names, hath not knowledge of those things that are necessary to be known, in order to the due performance of this duty, that then the minister shall take all possible care to instruct him, before he comes to receive. And to the end that none may want a general instruction, the minister shall, at least twice in the year preach upon that subject of preparation for the sacrament, or shall read those two homilies in Welsh, entituled "Of Common Prayer, and sacraments, and of the worthy receiving of the sacrament."

* * * * *

"II. *Concerning baptism.*

"1. The baptismal font is to be kept always clean, and the water is to be renewed before every ministration of baptism.

"2. Whensoever there is any private baptism, it shall be certified publicly according to the rubric of that office in the liturgy.

"III. *Concerning burial.*

"1. That at all burials, the minister, in his surplice, go no further to meet the corpse, than the gate of the churchyard.

"2. That no unbaptized person, no 'felo de se,' or excommunicate be buried with the office. And that no 'felo de se' be interred in the church or churchyard, in any case. And that no excommunicate person be interred there, without special leave of the bishop.

"IV. *Of excommunication and absolution.*

"That for the denouncing of persons to be excommunicated in any parish, letters, under the seal of the court, shall be directed to the minister of the parish, and thereupon the said minister shall make serious application in private to such person or persons, so to be denounced, and endeavour to persuade him or them, by their speedy submission to the ordinary, to prevent such denunciation; and for this work, the minister shall have one whole week's time allowed him: if he prevail, he is to suspend the denunciation, and to signify the reason to the court with all convenient speed; but in case his endeavour takes no effect, that then, with the usual

certificate of the execution of such letters, he certify also such previous notice, and private admonition given to such person or persons, as aforesaid. And in case the minister believes that the party to be denounced, hath any particular prejudice against him, then he is speedily to inform the bishop thereof, to the end he may employ some other person to give that charitable admonition, as aforesaid.

“For the denouncing any person excommunicate in any judicial cause, it shall suffice, that the minister publish the excommunication in the usual form, that being a sufficient ground for a ‘significavit,’ in case the person do not submit in forty days. When any person is decreed to be excommunicate for any criminal cause, there shall be three Sundays allowed for his denunciation as follows :

“On the first Sunday, there shall be read by the minister of the parish, after the Nicene creed, the first form prescribed, to desire the prayers of the congregation for that person to implore the grace and mercy of God to bring him to repentance.

“On the second Sunday there shall be read by the minister of the parish the second form prescribed, which form shall also be read in the parish church of every parish adjoining to that, in which the said person liveth ; then the minister shall ask if there be any present, who can show any reasonable cause, why the denunciation ought to be farther delayed, than the next Lord’s day ? if any person answers and says, he hath such cause, the minister shall admonish him to show it to the bishop within that week.

“On the third Sunday, if there be no cause alleged to the contrary, there shall be read by the said minister, and also in every neighbouring parish, as aforesaid, and the church of the next market town, the third form, which is prescribed for denunciation, and then also there shall be a sermon preached in the said parish church by a minister, whom the bishop shall appoint for that purpose.

“Whosoever is thus excommunicate, is to be denounced again once every quarter in his parish church, and the church of the next market town, and the neighbouring parish, and the cathedral. When any clergyman is excommunicated, and does not submit within one month, he shall be denounced excommunicate in every church in the diocese, and a roll of the names of such, if any be, shall be published once a year in the cathedral, and every parish church and chapel within the diocese.

“The minister of every parish is to keep a book by him both of excommunications and absolution, that he may know who are, and who are not in church communion among his parishioners. And if one that is under excommunication remove out of his parish, then if the remove be out of his diocese, the incumbent shall speedily give notice thereof to the bishop, informing him into what

place this person is removed : but if he be gone into any other parish in this diocese, then the minister of that parish, in which he was denounced, shall certify the minister into whose parish he is removed, who thereupon shall enter the name into his book, as an excommunicate person, and shall declare it publicly, after the Nicene creed, on the next LORD'S day after the receipt of such certificate ; and as oft as any one shall be denounced, there shall be read, immediately after, the roll of all those persons, that remain under excommunication in that parish.

"That all absolutions in criminal causes, except where the bishop reserves them to himself, shall be decreed to be performed by the minister of the parish. And that where any penance is to be performed, the said minister is to have notice of it a fortnight before, which notice shall be given him by the penitent, or else the minister to give him no certificate of his performance. And that when the performing of a penance is fully certified to the court, a commission shall be directed to the minister of the parish to give absolution, as aforesaid.

"The minister may absolve any one 'in articulo mortis,' in case he believes him to be truly penitent, without a special commission.

"That as often as it shall appear to the minister, that any penitent hath any eminent change wrought in him, especially if it be such as may be of great and useful example to others in the like case, he shall, immediately after the Nicene creed, stir up the people to render due thanks to ALMIGHTY GOD, in a form prescribed for that purpose, to be read after the Nicene creed, as aforesaid."

And we cannot forbear to add one other instance from the life of a devoted Bishop of the sister Church.

"ARCHIEPISC. CANT. REG. ANGLIÆ. ANNO CHRISTI 1688.
GUIL. LAUD 5. CAROL. I. 14.

"*Decreta primæ synodi Kilmorensis ex vita Will. Bedell, episc. Kilmor. p. 79, et 237.*

"After the bishop had been for many years carrying on the reformation of the diocese, he resolved to hold a synod of all his clergy, and to establish some rules for the better government of the flock committed to him. The canons then established are as follows :

"In nomine Domini Dei et salvatoris nostri in Jesu Christi.

"Regnante in perpetuum, ac gubernante ecclesiam suam eodem Domino nostro Jesu Christo, annoque imperii serenissimi principis ac domini Caroli, Dei gratia Magnæ Britanniæ et Hiberniæ regis, decimoquarto, cum ad ecclesiam cathedralem Kilmo-

rensem, monitu Guilielmi episcopi, convenisset capitulum totius dioceseos, ad synodum diocesanam celebrandam, post fusas ad Deam preces pro publica pace, regisque et familie regie incolumitate, et peracta sacra synaxi, verba fecit episcopus de ejusmodi synodorum antiquitate, necessitate, et auctoritate, et cum venisset in consultationem, quibus rationibus et fidei sinceritas, et morum sanctitas et decor domus Dei, et ministrorum libertas conservari posset, nihil conducibilius visum est, quam ut ea, quæ et patribus bene ac prudenter antiquitus instituta sunt quasi postliminii jure revocarentur: atque tractatu inter nos habito, ad extremum, in hæc capitula unanimiter consensus est.

"I. Synodum diocesanam sive capitulum quotannis tertia et quarta feriæ secundæ hebdomadæ mensis Septembris in ecclesia Kilmorensi tenendam, eum diem huic conventui statum et solemnem fore sine ullo mandato; si res poscat in cæteris ordinationum temporibus presbyterium contrahi, episcopi mandatum expectandum.

"II. In episcopi absentia aut morbo, vicarius ejus, si presbyter fuerit, præsidebit; alioqui archidiaconus, qui de jure vicarius est episcopi.

"III. Vicarius episcopi in posterum nullus constituatur aut confirmetur, qui laicus est, nec quisquam prorsus nisi durante duntaxat beneplacito.

"IV. Ut archidiaconus de triennio in triennium diocesin personaliter visitet, singularum ecclesiarum, sedinque mansionalium sartatecta tueatur, libros et ornamenta in indiculo descriptos habeat, defectus omnes supplendos curet; episcopalis procurationis dimidium habeat, ea conditione ut episcopus illo anno non visitet.

"V. Ut secundum pristinam et antiquam hujus dioceseos Kilmorensis constitutionem in tribus ejus regionibus, tres decani sint, ab ipsis ministris ejusdem decanatus eligendi, qui vitam et mores cleri jugi circumspectione custodiant, et ad episcopum referant, ejusque mandata accipiant, et quoties opus erit, per apparitorem decanatus ad compresbyteros suos transmittant.

"VI. In quovis decanatu, in oppido ejus principali, conventus sive capitulum sit ministrorum quolibet saltem mense, ubi lectis plene publicis precibus concionentur per vices sine longis precibus et procemiis.

"VII. Advocationes ecclesiarum nondum vacantium, quæ ad collationem episcopi spectant, nemini conferantur aut confirmentur.

"VIII. Possessiones ecclesiæ non alienentur aut locentur contra regni jura, nempe terrarum mensalium nulla sit locatio, nisi quo ad episcopus in sede aut vita supersit, cæterarum in plures annos, quam leges sinunt; aut prioribus locationibus triennio minus nondum expletis.

"IX. Ut corpora defunctorum deinceps in ecclesiis non humentur, sed nec intra quintum pedem a pariete extrorsum.

"X. Ut mulieres in sacrario non sedeant, sed infra cancellos, et quidem a viris.

"XI. Ut sacrarium in consistorium non convertatur, aut sacra mensa notariis aut scribis sit pro pluteo.

"XII. Ne in funeribus mulieres luctum aut ululatum faciant.

"XIII. Ut ossa defunctorum in cœmeteriis non coacerventur, sed tradantur sepulturæ.

"XIV. Ut matricula sit, in quam referantur nomina eorum, qui ad sacros ordines admissi sunt aut instituti, aut admissi ad beneficia, sive ad curam animarum cooptati, clericorum item parochialium et ludimagistrorum, neque deinceps ad literas testimoniales in visitationibus exhibendas adigatur.

"XV. Ne quis minister oblationes ad funera, baptismum, eucharistiam, nuptias, post puerperium, aut portionem canonicam cuiquam locet.

"XVI. Ne quis ejusmodi oblata acerbe exigat, præsertim a pauperibus.

"XVII. Ut fas sit ministro a sacra cœna repellere eos, qui se ingerunt ad synaxin, neque nomina sua pridie paracho significarunt.

"XVIII. Ut pueri saltem a septimo ætatis anno, donec confirmentur per manuum impositionem, stent inter catechumenos, factoque catalogo, singulis dominicis certus eorum numero sistatur in ecclesia examinandus.

"XIX. Si quis minister quemquam ex fratribus suis alibi accusaverit, priusquam episcopo denunciât, ab ejus consortio cæteri omnes abstinebunt.

"XX. Clerici comam ne nutrant, et habitu clericali, prout synodo Dubliniensi institutum est, incedant.

"XXI. Œconomi parochiarum provideant, ne in ecclesia tempore cultus divini pueruli discursent, utque canes arceantur constitutis ostiariis, vel multa imposita, si quis semel atque iterum admonitus canem secum in ecclesiam introduxerit.

"XXII. Ut nulla excommunicationis sententia fuerat ab uno solo ministro, sed ab episcopo, assistentibus quotquot in capitulo fuerint præsentibus.

"Hæc decreta synodalia quoniam ex usu hujus dioceseos futura credimus, et ipsi observabimus, et quantum in nobis est, ab aliis observanda curabimus, adeoque manus sue quisque subscriptione corroboremus.

"Septemb. 15. 1638."

We conclude with this observation. It may be said that the need is supplied by our Bishops' charges, private suggestions, and letters. We conceive that it is not: for in these cases there is neither the advantage of previous discussion, nor the sense on the part of the Bishop that he has to submit his views to the approval of his clergy; nor, again, is there the willing conformity which is

obtained to rules to the framing of which one has oneself consented: nor the authority of the clergy themselves or over others, which the united expression of view by a Bishop and the clergy of his diocese would give.

In the documents of the Church we find every now and then a collection of synodal constitutions of some diocese that had their origin in the earnestness of some individual Bishop—or in the revival of zeal in his diocese;—they reformed that diocese—but their good effect did not end there; they were adopted by other dioceses; we find their substance and their very words repeated in other constitutions. The stimulus was given by one Bishop and one diocese, for the practical reformation of the Church, for the correction of heretical opinions, for the better working of the system; and the effect was felt in the whole Church. Is there no Prelate in the English Church who will throw himself on the inherent powers of his office and of the Church?

We will only add, that the need of the Royal consent to the framing of canons does not extend to those of diocesan synods.

THE BAPTISMAL QUESTION AND THE SUPREMACY.

THE press continues to teem with pamphlets in defence of that article of the faith which has been assailed, and in assertion of the unalienable right of the Church of CHRIST, liberty to define her own doctrines. And though on some accounts one might fear lest when too many speak that which is spoken might lose its force, yet on others we rejoice at the protest which is rising from every class in society, and from every corner of the kingdom. For in God's Providence the press furnishes almost the only channel through which the Church in this land can be heard. Other and more legitimate means of utterance are denied us, and we can neither accept nor repudiate authoritatively the late decision. But in so far as consent must be had before any doctrine can be fastened upon a Church, just so far does this inundation of pamphlets acquit our own Communion of the charge of heresy. "The late events," said the Archdeacon of Chichester on a recent great occasion, "impress two questions on our attention:—1st, Has the judgment the authority of law? . . . that question is, I take it, authoritatively decided. 2ndly, Has it the consent of the Church? . . . I look to the Church as a body, and we have here to-day the first answer of that great body of the Church . . . and in that I find our justification." We extend the Archdeacon's principle to every means of expression used by the Church in default of Synodical

action, and we see in every protest and pamphlet a practical repudiation of the late construction put upon our formularies. So long as internal renunciation can outweigh external pressure, we cannot be said to deny the efficacy of Holy Baptism.

Of these tracts the most important is the "Call to Speak Out," being No. II. of "Church Matters in 1850," in which Mr. Keble, briefly indeed, but very plainly, examines the question which is generally agitating the Church, viz., how far it be incumbent on every true Catholic to suspend Communion with the Archbishops? The duty of renouncing Communion may be on moral or sacramental grounds. When on the former, it is a duty of "imperfect obligation," and indefinitely urgent according to each man's light and knowledge. When on the latter, it is absolutely imperative, inasmuch as any one knowingly communicating with a heretic lying under the formal censures of the Church, himself thereby incurs the taint of heresy. Now in this case there is no danger of the latter, inasmuch as Mr. Gorham, if ever formally condemned, has been as formally absolved, and besides, never was censured as a heretic, but only declared incompetent to demand institution according to the law of the Church of England. But there is very great danger of our being *morally* committed to the heresy of the prelates who favour Mr. Gorham.

"If we at all connive at it, we sin ourselves: as far as in us lies, we cause the Church of England to sin; we draw down God's judgments upon her; and we prepare the way for her to become, in no very long time, formally heretical, i.e. to cease from being a Church altogether. There is need, then, of anxious deliberation and of prompt action: but there is no need of hurry or excitement. Let no man's heart fail, as if perchance he were already out of the Church, but let each man pray in his heart, and calmly consider what he ought to do, in order that he and his children may continue in it."

This does appear to us a most grave and temperate statement of the case. Let any individual member of the Church consider what it is formally to renounce communion with his Archbishop. Surely it is equally to renounce the communion of all, whether aiding and abetting the prelates or not, who do not pursue the same line of conduct. It is, in fact, to seek another communion: there is no middle step. And till we are prepared to renounce our own baptism, our own orders, our own sacraments, we cannot venture to pronounce, even if we had the sufficient authority, any sentence of excommunication against our own rulers. For let none deceive themselves with words; to suspend communion is to excommunicate; it is to hand over to Satan; it is to pronounce an anathema. Are we prepared to proceed to these extremities? If not, then we are not prepared formally to renounce the communion of the Archbishops.

The effect of this conclusion is not to lull us into repose; it is not to persuade us that because no formal measures are open to us we are free to let the matter drop. The *moral* obligation is still upon us to discountenance by every means in our power the sin, though it be not competent to us to excommunicate the sinner. And the mode of meeting that moral obligation Mr. Keble in the tract before us very uncompromisingly lays down. He shows that we are in error to dwell exclusively on this present grievance—the time has passed for remedying it. “We ought to regard it as a providential call to examine the existing relations of Church and State, and see whether it be possible for us to acquiesce in them any longer without very grievous sin;” and he does not hesitate to press the alternative of a rupture between the spiritual and temporal powers as preferable to a continuance in the present state of things. We transcribe the paragraph in which he states the case.

“1. That we are denied these four privileges, which all other religionists have: viz., to declare our own doctrines; to confirm, vary, and repeal our own canons; to have a voice in the nomination of our own chief pastors; to grant or withhold our own Sacraments, according to our own proper rule as a religious body: 2. That there is no sufficient reason in the fact of our Church being ‘Established’ (whatever the word Establishment means) to justify such denial: but, 3. That if it should appear, on further consideration, that ‘Establishment’ is, in our case, incompatible with these liberties, we earnestly implore that measures may be speedily taken for relieving us of such painful support: and that for this obvious reason; that we had rather be a Church in earnest separate from the State, than a counterfeit Church in professed union with the State. This is our case in brief.”

This is just and legitimate reasoning,—we have inalienable rights,—we have also a political connection, originally organized for the support of those rights. So long as that end is subserved we will maintain the connection. But when the mutual relation of the two parts of the system ceases to be beneficial we will take all care to dissolve it.

This is the mode in which we must discharge the moral obligation laid upon us by the late events and by the whole existing condition of Church matters. We do not war with individuals. Our object is to defend the faith. It is not the excommunication of this or that heretic which will repair the breaches. We must start deeper, we must break down the system which is found to engender heresy. The age has passed when a formal sentence would have deterred others, and we should in these days gain nothing by cogent measures enacted against the mere instruments of error for the time being. This has been proved by many cases in which strong measures have been resorted to. A reaction has always ensued and left us to all appearance in a worse position. We are

living in an age of toleration when severity excites disgust ; success is far more likely to follow on moderation and perseverance. Let us leave the punishment of individuals to God ; and employ our energies in the loftier task of guarding the faith against future assaults ; shrinking from no consequences and deterred by no difficulties ; weighing indeed calmly the evils that must necessarily result from the disruption of ties of three centuries' standing, but resolved to encounter the worst that can come upon us, rather than place the faith of our children and our poor in jeopardy ; even if it should be necessary to pull down what till lately we have been accustomed to prize as our great support against heresy and schism, and destroy for ever in England the union of Church and State.

At the same time we must guard ourselves from the imputation of advocating any thing like a Free Church movement : that is to say, a secession of a certain number from the establishment who should form themselves into a body independent of the state while the establishment was still in full force. Granting to such a body the essential accessories of a true succession and undoubted orders, it could not be other than schismatical. What we would urge on the consideration of all true Churchmen is, a voluntary and universal movement on the part of the whole Church, in the event of other means failing, toward the dissolution of the establishment. The one could only be a transient bubble, born but to pass away, like the Nonjuring movement, leaving the evil untouched and the disease unhealed. The other would place the Church on its own basis, and permanently provide for the maintenance of the faith.

Sir Archibald Edmonstone has addressed a letter to the Bishop of Glasgow, in which this question is discussed. There is throughout so hearty and earnest a tone, that we regret we cannot fully agree with him. He is too sanguine, too confident of success. It is obvious that he fully expects the revival of convocation, the resignation on the part of the Crown of the obnoxious claim of supremacy, the recognition by Parliament of our rights and privileges. His letter is cheering, but it is, we fear, delusive. We will set Sir Archibald Edmonstone and Mr. Keble side by side. Sir Archibald says,—

“ A change in the Court of Appeal is absolutely necessary, for there must be perpetual confusion if the interpretation of our standards of orthodoxy is left in hands which churchmen cannot and ought not to acknowledge. But why consider this hopeless ? Why give up at once all idea of improvement of the Church's position ? Why may not the State be eventually brought to the acknowledgment of her inalienable rights ? ”

Now let Mr. Keble be heard.

“ Redress in such a wrong as we have suffered, and security against its recurrence, can only be had (humanly speaking) by one of two pro-

cesses: either the governing power in the State must allow the objectionable decision to be reviewed by proper authority, and the usurpation to be abated for the future; or the governing power in the Church must at all hazards demur to the State's interference, and disregard its enactments. But what chance is there of right being done by the State, seeing that in the House of Lords, the most favourable tribunal (as we may assume it to be) for such a purpose, nearly two-thirds have declined even taking into consideration the allowed anomalies in the constitution of the Court of Appeal, expressly because it might lead to a revision of the sentence?"

Here is plain common sense opposed to warm and enthusiastic theory. But we must not omit to mention the grounds of Sir Archibald's confidence. He thinks that the present gloomy appearance of things is all due to the influence of a hostile ministry. Let a friendly minister take the reins, and all will be well.

"We talk of the State as an impersonation inveterately hostile to the Church. The existing aspect of things may give some ground for the notion:—but never was the balance of political power more unsettled. Why may not the time arrive when the executive shall be in the hands of men determined to give effect to the principle, that safety belongs to a people only in the degree that its strength is exercised in the fear of God? It is no great stretch of imagination to suppose a minister shrinking from the responsibility attached to the disposal of Church offices, and conveying to the Royal ear that the Prerogative instead of being employed as a mere political engine, ought to be actually exercised by the Sovereign personally, not arbitrarily, but with the recognized counsel of certain individuals, whose position both in reference to Church and State would be a guarantee against the choice falling on unfitting persons."

Now, let us take the most favourable case we can conceive. We will suppose Mr. Gladstone prime minister, a man who has formally committed himself to the Church's side, and could have no pretence for refusing her demands. He would perhaps shrink from the responsibility named, and transfer it to the Sovereign. But how should we be the better? The appointments made during his period of holding office would so far be legitimate, but unless there were some security given that such change should be permanent, where were the improvement? We are fighting now for principles. And is any one wild enough to imagine that Parliament would suffer the Sovereign to grant that security, when even her House of Lords set at nought the almost unanimous vote of the Episcopal Bench? A glance at the House of Commons must be enough, one would think, to disabuse any one of such an idea. No; it is not the accidental bias of this or that minister on which we rest our hopes and fears. It is the House of Commons which rules the nation, and unless God change its character, and make Catholic what is now Latitudinarian, the Church can look for no liberty

while she is subject to the enactments of that heterogeneous assembly.

It is not the least gratifying sign of the Church's vitality that laymen are entering warmly into the contest, and bearing their part of the brunt of the battle. And especially we welcome the appearance of "Letters to the Primate on the danger to which the Laity are exposed," (Rivingtons,) by a layman, of which the first part has come to hand. They were originally addressed in manuscript, but are now published with his Grace's consent. They are written in a most earnest and devout spirit, contending for the faith as for the dearest object of the heart. They deserve to be universally read, for they cannot fail to carry conviction in all impartial minds, and we regret that it is not in our power to quote from them.

Mr. William Bramwell Smith has published a protest which, if it were less diffuse, and pruned somewhat of its verbose grandiloquence, would be a very useful treatise on the doctrine of Holy Baptism. It consists of two theses, preceded by an introduction, which were delivered from the pulpit. These two theses set forth, the one the nature of the new birth, as "a creation transmissive not instantaneous," the other the gradual progress of those who follow on to know the LORD, and their consequent internal perception of that great mystery of their regeneration.

We have received "A Plain Discourse on the One Faith," by Mr. Grueber, showing the way to keep it, to lose it, and to find it. This, and a "Plain Sermon on Baptismal Regeneration," by Mr. Hughes, are well suited to the capacities of the poor. The former gathers arguments in illustration of the unity and importance of the one faith from the existence of the multitude of sects with which we are surrounded, and except that it is very long, is adapted for general circulation. The latter examines, in a very plain and useful way, the teaching of Holy Scripture, the Fathers, and the Church of England: and being printed in a cheap form, will probably be distributed widely among the class for whom it is intended. It might be profitably given to all who, not understanding the exact meaning of terms, and out of hearing of the controversies of the day, would be glad to learn the grounds on which their hopes of salvation in Holy Baptism are based. We have only time to acknowledge sermons on the same subject by Archdeacon Bartholomew, Mr. Dampier, of Coggeshall, and Mr. Coope, Rector of Falmouth. From what has been said above, it will be plain that the declaration put forth by Archdeacons Manning and Wilberforce, and Dr. Mill, meets with our entire approval. It is well calculated to force the question upon the attention of those in authority. The struggle is only now beginning, and Churchmen must not relax their efforts.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES.

The Catholicity of the Church's Love, and the Humility of her Ceremonial. Four Letters in Reply to a Devout Layman. By an English Priest. London: Masters.

THIS is a small tract, but touches matters of grave import, upon which we propose to bestow a few words of comment. The Layman, to whom it is addressed, appears to have been startled at the views avowed by the writer in some previous work, and in a letter summed up his apprehensions in these two propositions:—that high Church principles would narrow the line of distinction between ourselves and Rome to a degree that would be unsafe: and, secondly, that ecclesiastical ceremonial must tend to minister to pride. In answer to the first, the writer enlarges on the *dictum* of Bishop Hall, that between the two churches “there are certain scholastic opinions of a middle rank, mere theological corollaries, or perhaps some outward ceremonies, wherein we dissent; principles of Christian religion there are not:” and then applies himself to combating the unfavourable feeling which is naturally produced in the mind by the hostile attitude which Rome nevertheless maintains against us. This he does, by reminding his friend, that upon our principles Rome is a branch of the Church Catholic; but upon her principles we are not. Consequently, there must be a great and sensible disparity between the feelings with which we regard each other.

The premises are indisputable; but we are not sure that they would lead us, in all respects, to the same conclusion with our author. We would rather argue in this manner:—So long as Rome regards us as without the pale of salvation, nothing, it is obvious, which we can say or do, will alter her disposition towards us. Consequently, what we have chiefly to think of in determining the attitude which we should ourselves maintain, is simply its effect upon ourselves and our own brethren. Now, if there is one lesson of practical wisdom more than another which the experience of the last few years has taught us, we conceive it to be this, the desirableness of abstaining as much as possible from the creation of *unnecessary* barriers between ourselves and other members of our communion. Of those who have left us, a large proportion, we are persuaded, if they would read their own hearts aright, could trace their dissatisfaction with the English Church, to the adopting, one by one, of practices unessential, which at length left them very little in common with ordinary English Churchmen: at least so the tempter whispered to them, charging them with dishonesty and want of candour; till at length, goaded by his stings, they resolved on purchasing present relief by a deliberate act of self-will.

2. That it is Protestant and not Catholic ceremonial which breeds pride, may be seen at a glance by entering any of the churches of the last fifty years. Which is it that exalts the clergyman in solitary grandeur to the obacuring of the altar, the sanctuary of the Most High? which teaches him to deck himself with rings, and perfumed and curiously

wrought cambric handkerchiefs? which to proclaim the good deeds of himself and two ungodly churchwardens, as office bearers, when "this church was repewed and enlarged?" which pays the most respect to worldly rank and riches? which teaches persons to talk most of the "reading" and preaching of Mr. So-and-so? The best answer to these cavils, perhaps, after all, may be found in the gospel for the day on which we are writing (S. Bartholomew's), where, immediately after our LORD had said "The kings of the Gentiles exercise lordship over them, but it shall not be so among you," He adds, "I appoint unto you a kingdom, as My FATHER hath appointed unto Me, that ye may eat and drink at My table in My kingdom, and sit on thrones judging the twelve tribes of Israel." The one kind of exaltation leads to pride; the other does not.

A few words on Baptism addressed to the Women of England by one of themselves. (Bell,) is not, as its title would lead one to suppose, the work of a professed theologian; but it is intentionally orthodox, and must help, along with a multitude of similar publications emanating from every quarter of the kingdom, to force the light of true doctrine at length even into those minds which have been most unwilling to receive it.

We can scarcely speak so favourably of a letter by the Rev. W. A. RAWLINSON, on *the Blessings of Baptism rightly received*, which professes, "while it repudiates the extravagant ideas of the Tractarian school, to uphold the true dignity and substantial use of this Sacrament." We are surprised to see the respectable name of Mr. J. H. Parker to a pamphlet containing a statement so offensive in itself, and betokening necessarily either ignorance or heresy.

The Baptismal Controversy has crossed over to Ireland; and the Church has found a vindicator of the orthodox doctrine in the person of Dr. COLLINS, Dean of Killala (*The Gorham Case, and the doctrine which it contains, considered*. London: J. W. Parker). The writer's statements are not in all points so precise as we could wish; but the pamphlet is excellently well suited for Ireland, and has some very sound and sensible remarks upon the causes which have led so generally in that country to the loss of the true doctrine.

Mr. HEYGATE's *Wedding Gift* (Rivingtons) breathes that same earnest, unaffected spirit of piety, which characterises all his other writings. Minuteness of detail, which might otherwise degenerate into dullness, is relieved by well-chosen selections from the most eloquent of Christian writers, as S. Chrysostom, and our own Taylor.

A new edition (the third) of SIR ARCHIBALD EDMONSTONE's *Christian Gentleman* has just appeared (Masters), re-arranged and considerably enlarged. This is the best testimony to its value. The preface contains some touching allusions to the trials with which the Church is now afflicted, showing that they sink deeply into the hearts of her most faithful lay members, as well as of her clergy.

Under the title of *Tracts on the Church*, Mr. Parker has published JONES of Nayland's *Essay on the Church*, and three or four others of that sound and useful writer's shorter controversial pieces.

Annie Moore, by the Rev. RICHARD LOWNDES, M.A. (London : J. Hughes), is a tale of country life, pleasantly written, and betokening a practical acquaintance with the habits of the poor. Mr. Lowndes is wrong in saying that the Apocryphal books were "written by persons who were not inspired by the HOLY SPIRIT." The homilies indeed state exactly the reverse. What is "Apocryphal," or doubtful in them, is only the measure or degree of their inspiration. This should be altered in another edition : in other respects, the theology of the writer is commendable.

We gladly welcome another volume of *Hymns* from Catholic sources, bearing the sanction of the venerable Bishop of S. Andrew's. (Edinburgh : Lendrum.) They are for the most part the same Hymns as those found in the Birmingham and Leeds selections, which we noticed two months since : but in several instances, the translation is decidedly better. We may mention especially the *Pange, lingua*, and the *Salvete, flores*. There is a full supply for the week-days, and "the hours :'' and a few Prose Anthems are added for the chief seasons of the Church. The demand for such a work betokens a higher state of Christian feeling in this distant diocese, as does the sanctioning it upon the part of the Bishop evince a more just sense of the episcopal office, than anything we have seen in England.

We have read with interest a *Sermon preached before the Tithe Redemption Trust*, by the Rev. JAMES DAVIES, Rector of Abbenhall. It betokens both vigour of expression, and depth of thought, beyond anything that we have seen issuing from this quarter. At the same time, we observe in it with regret, a certain self-reliance, and undervaluing of the traditions of the Church as well as of the world, which we are persuaded is at this time most needlessly impairing the influence of a very high-principled association of individuals. We will illustrate our meaning by two instances. While lamenting the paucity of the Church's agents, the writer must needs go out of his way to attack Sisters of Mercy ; and protesting against State-appointed Bishops, he advocates the choosing them by lot !

The *Sermons* of the Rev. R. TOMLINS, (Masters,) belong to that class of plain practical discourses which we are always glad to welcome. If not very much above the ordinary sermons of the day in literary pretension, they are distinguished by a tone of straightforward earnestness that cannot fail, under God's blessing, to tell upon men's minds. That great truth that Christians are to be built up, not suddenly perfected, is well enforced throughout this volume, and that this work of building up and perfecting must be by care and perseverance, step by step, by self-control and self-denial. As examples of the latter duty, we would name the sermons for Ash-Wednesday and Good Friday, with which we were specially struck.

NOTICE TO CORRESPONDENTS.

The Letter of our American correspondent is in type, and shall appear in our next Number.

Errata:—Page 163, line 31, for *Deo* read *Dei* ; for *ergo* read *erga*.

MORMONISM AND THE BURIAL OFFICE.

The Defence of a Refusal to Profane the "Order for the Burial of the Dead." With a Preface. Dedicated to the Members of "Church Unions." By JAMES BRADLY SWEET, M.A., Perpetual Curate of Woodville.

THE uneasiness caused by the present operation of the Burial Service, and the stringent laws which enforce its use, even in the most unsuitable circumstances, which originated in the feeling of its impropriety in various smaller and less palpable cases, has now an occasion for showing itself in a more definite form. It has the advantage of two very glaring instances to ground its claims upon; one occurring at Cambridge, in which the law took its course, and a faithful Priest was punished as unfaithful; the other related in this pamphlet, in which the same result would have ensued, had the friends of the deceased availed themselves of the law against Mr. Sweet. And, what brings out still more the awkwardness of our position is, the circumstance that Mr. Sweet's was no mere hasty effort to enforce discipline over the departed: in a former instance, he had presented persons for excommunication to the Bishop, (and would in the present case have done the same,) but his Lordship refused to act.

It is remarkable too, that while the former was a case of a breach of morals, the latter was one of falling from the Faith. And in this age, in which heresy and schism are fearfully underrated, it bears the features of a denial, not only of distinctively Christian doctrine, but even of our God Himself.* And adherence to these awfully blasphemous doctrines, and the teachers who disseminate them, was persevered in to the last by the wretched woman, in spite of remonstrances from the curate and two of the neighbours during her illness; and notwithstanding a knowledge of the intended refusal to give Christian Burial to any one of her persuasion who should die impenitent.

Mr. Sweet has prefaced "the Defence" with some remarks on the present state of the laws and canons relating to burial; in which, amongst other things, he well asserts the necessary connection between a proper system of discipline and a well-arranged use of funeral rites. An insight into this connection, and the difficulties of a restoration of the regulations with respect to this question, may very probably have operated with those, who, while they have acknowledged the evils of our present position, have yet, through fear of making matters worse, hindered the attempt for their amendment. But at the present time, when the revival of Convocation is looked for, and important changes must be anticipated, there is

at once an opportunity for fully discussing this question, and also for urging it upon the public mind as one of the crying abuses which must await the meeting of that Body for its entire removal. For it is particularly a Church question. And an ecclesiastical assembly alone, and that the proper representative of the English Church, can take in all its bearings and merits, and supply a full and efficient remedy.

Cases, like this one which has been so firmly, yet temperately, met by Mr. Sweet, may very probably be of frequent occurrence. And that, on account of the great spread of *Mormonism* in our land. In the north, especially about Liverpool, where they began, are they prevalent; and they seem gradually extending southwards. In London, like almost all other heresies, they have made a strong head. Their numbers in England have been computed at about 80,000.* Their very extravagance appears to help their progress. Their opposition to the Church too, the promise to their members of great spiritual gifts, and that adventurous novelty which tempts the curious Englishman, as well as their unscrupulous and cunning mode of diffusing their principles, must, we fear, yet further cause their propagation among our religiously-ignorant poor.

Mormonism has a distinct character from most of the other sects. There is a completeness about its system, a claim to Catholicity, and withal an adaptation to some of the spiritual wants of the age, which makes it more formidable than the other deviators from the Church's path. And this is the more remarkable, because its originators were not only illiterate men, but men totally incapable of planning the scheme which has been put into execution. It seems that Joseph Smith worked on with but little foresight, but rather fitting himself to the emergencies of his daily-altering position. At first he appears to have been led solely by a lucky idea, on Spaulding's book coming into his hands or into those of his longer-headed accomplice, Sidney Rigdon. There is, we believe, no evidence of his having comprehensive and novel plans in childhood or youth, like the geniuses who from time to time have accomplished startling enterprizes in the history of the world. His early, like his latter character, was rather marked by the low cunning of a professed swindler. All throughout his life, amid his successes, reverses, and recoveries, he appears to us as a mere tool, a man who clearly was moving on, he knew not how. And it is this character which makes us fear it the more; because, what is the very strength and evidence of true Religion, is thus seized upon by the great enemy of Religion. We have fearfully brought before our minds the words of Holy Writ; that "Satan has transformed himself into an angel of light."† In this way, Mormonism seems to accommodate itself to the spirit and wants of the age. It catches

* English Review, No. XXVI. p. 440.

† 2 Cor. xi. 14.

hold of truths, that have been neglected, and that have their counterpart in the yearnings of human nature, and moulds, exaggerates, and burnishes them, and then turns them to its own use.

Thus, for example, in the very name which it has given itself—"The Church of JESUS CHRIST of Latter-day Saints." In many Protestant countries, and, more than all, in America, the people have been deprived of the living existence of a powerful and perfect Church among them; at least, in any degree sufficient to satisfy the wants of their ever-increasing population. And so, where the Church has at present failed, Smith boldly declared that she had ceased; that she had never existed at all since the days of the Apostles, and yet that prophecy was to be accomplished by her rising up suddenly again in the "latter days." Thus he dexterously laid hold of the fervid descriptions of the Church in the prophecies of the Old Testament, and elated his followers by a hope of their present fulfilment. But in building up his Church he must copy the true one, and conform it to the type given in Holy Writ. So he introduces Baptism, always by immersion, (which by the way is often conducted in a sportive* manner), and teaches a doctrine concerning Baptism with fire, which is in some instances to succeed the other supernaturally, as it seems.† And he creates twelve Apostles, who are the chief missionaries; and also three bodies called "the Seventies, consisting of seventy elders respectively," to "travel and preach Mormonism throughout the world, under the direction of the 'twelve apostles.'"‡ Besides these, he pretended to revive the two priesthoods of Melchizedec and Aaron; the former he made to consist of high-priests and elders to preside over the spiritual affairs; and the latter, to contain the bishops (mere temporal officers), priests, and deacons, "to administer the ordinances, and manage the temporal concerns of the sect."§ In this and many other ways he introduced a very perfect organization into the sect, and thus by their unity as well as by their separation from the rest of mankind, imparted to it a deceitful similarity to the object of man's secret desires. And with this were associated, in enunciations which he profanely asserted were prophecies delivered directly from God, promises of the submission of all mankind to their opinions, belief in which was fostered by the amazing success that they had met with hitherto.

Again, it is well known that the Incarnation is a point of doctrine that has been much passed over in late years. Men have receded into Natural Religion. They have not realized the gracious and consoling fact, that our Blessed Lord is now in Heaven with His human Body. They have rather leaned on the infinity, the

* "The City of the Mormons," &c., p. 55.

† Compare "City of the Mormons," p. 48; "Book of Mormon," p. 515, 531, and 124.

‡ "The Prophet of the Nineteenth Century," p. 91.

§ Ibid. p. 89.

omnipotence, the majesty of the Eternal GODHEAD. Thus we have commonly heard Almighty GOD spoken of as "Providence," "the Almighty," "Goodness," &c. Not that we would object to these expressions. Uttered in reverence, they well befit finite creatures, mentioning their Infinite and All-powerful CREATOR. But the fact that these terms have been in some instances almost exclusively used, indicates the inclination that men have had to rest rather on the Infinity, than the Personality of the Eternal GODHEAD. And still more, that men have not been accustomed to think on the fact that there is One in Heaven Who is Incarnate now. Now,—if we may pass from these awful subjects to the blasphemy of Joseph Smith,—the latter truth has been seized by the Mormonites, and pushed to a most profane extent. Not content with adoring the wondrous reality of the present Incarnation of the SON of GOD, they dare to "deny that GOD is a SPIRIT, without body, parts, or passions, and assign to Him a human form, with human feelings and instruments of human enterprize."* Again, 1st, "The true GOD exists in time and space, and has as much relation to them as man or any other being,—He has extension, form, dimension, as well as man,—has body, parts, and passions; can eat, drink, talk, &c., as well as man,—is like man in form, and features, and size; even the wicked have seen Him, when on earth as one of their own species (!!). The FATHER is wholly material; He cannot be in two places at once; all spirits are material; the HOLY GHOST is very similar to Spirit of FATHER and SON,—but *this* is Omnipresent by existing in inexhaustible quantities."† Again: "There are Two Personages Who constitute the great, matchless, governing, and supreme power over all things,—by Whom all things were created and made, that are created and made, whether visible or invisible,—whether in heaven or on earth, or in the earth, under the earth, or throughout the immensity of space. They are the FATHER and the SON,—the FATHER being a Personage of Spirit, glory and power, possessing all perfection and fulness,—the SON, Who was in the bosom of the FATHER, a Personage of Tabernacle, *made* or *fashioned* like unto man, or being in the form and likeness of man, or rather man was formed after His likeness and in His image," &c.‡ In this way then, the Mormonites have unconsciously adapted their system to the feelings inherent in humanity, which desiderate the exaltation of their own nature, and its deifica-

* "Prophet of the Nineteenth Century," p. 95; "City of the Mormons," p. 38.

† Sweet, p. 5.

‡ "Book of Doctrine and Covenants;" Lecture V. On Faith; Sect. 5. Below it is said that the HOLY SPIRIT is "the mind" of the FATHER and of the SON. They further teach that "Every true Mormon is not only to be a God, and a Christ hereafter, but in his own belief has been a demigod, or at least an angel, from all eternity."—(Prophet of the Nineteenth Century, p. 95). And still further, that there may be many such Gods as GOD; in fact, the *possibility*, if not the *actuality*, of Polytheism.—(Sweet, p. 5, note. Caswall's "City of the Mormons," p. 34.)

tion, if we may so speak ; which has really been accomplished in the Person of the SON of GOD. But then, instead of keeping the two natures distinct, they have, in an awfully blasphemous manner humanised the GODHEAD. And this has produced a fearfully irreverent, a familiar way of speaking of Him, Whose Name they have thus begun to profane. Their expressions would be too horrible to mention, were it not with a view of bringing out the main features, and thus aiding in the hinderance and prevention of this detestable heresy. They have thus been known then to call the "true" SPIRIT, as distinguished from Him whom they say we "ignorantly worship" by the phrase of "the good old-fashioned Almighty HOLY GHOST."*!!! And their "prophet" and "revelator," Joseph Smith has been heard to declare that "he was as good as JESUS CHRIST."†!!! But to whatever lengths they have carried their doctrine, still the circumstance is remarkable, that they have chosen this side on which to start ; the side, that is, which has been hitherto for the last years overlooked among us, but which is now engaging men's sympathies, and is receiving more of the attention which is due to it.

Another characteristic of this sect is one which is common to several others of the present day, viz., the Montanism, which has shown itself in the various ages of the Church. The Irvingites, and the followers of Joanna Southcote, present instances of this. It has indeed marked most of the fanaticism of mankind. But the particular point here is, that a new start has been claimed for the effusion of the HOLY GHOST. In the dissenting sects they have usually denied the transmission of spiritual gifts, and, instead of that have maintained the principle of continued effusions poured upon individuals picked out directly by God Himself, and not ordained by man. But the Mormonites maintain a new day of Pentecost, a fresh beginning for the powers of the HOLY GHOST. The Methodists and other dissenters take their grounds on a principle opposed to the principle of the Church. The Mormonites, on the other hand, take the Church principle, and apply it to themselves alone. The chief channel for these gifts was the prophet, Joseph Smith himself, whom accordingly the book of Mormon is made to foretell, in the same way as the Old Testament prophesied of our LORD. For this object he altered Spaulding's book† to suit his own circumstances, and made a whole scheme of Mormonism, which was crowned by his appearance to reconstruct the Christian

* Sweet, p. 6.

† "Prophet of the Nineteenth Century," p. 88.

‡ Perhaps it may be as well to state that the Book of Mormon was originally written by one Solomon Spaulding, as an historical romance, to connect the aborigines of America with the lost tribes of Judah. He composed it quite in ignorance of the use for which it was destined. But it fell into Joseph Smith's, or his coadjutor, Sidney Rigdon's, hands, and with some alteration came out as the Book of Mormon, supposed to have been translated from golden plates.

Church. Besides which, he has made free use of the Bible, which they hold only in a form, as translated and adapted by himself. And to make the Canon complete by an addition of a New Testament to the old one which he thus prepared and issued, he also gave to the world a collection of Revelations, or "Covenants and Commandments," which were severally produced by him from time to time with the most unblushing boldness, to meet his difficulties, and encourage and direct his followers. Besides this claim of special spiritual powers for the wants of the whole human race, he still further imitated the Work of God by appointing a particular day for the "endowment," as he called it. It may be as well to give the account of it from their historian :

"The 'house of the LORD' being now sufficiently complete, the two priesthoods" (i. e., the Melchisedechian and Aaronic) "appeared in their proper places, and the building was solemnly dedicated. The assembly met within its gates; great numbers of people from a distance, as well as from the neighbourhood, being convened for the occasion. They spent the day in fasting and prayer, in washing their bodies with pure water, and in perfuming them with *eau de Cologne*. They also washed each other's feet, and anointed each other with 'holy oil,' pronouncing mutual benedictions in the Name of the LORD. These ceremonies commenced with the prophet and his two colleagues. In the evening they all met to receive the long expected 'endowment.' They first broke their fast by partaking of what they called 'the LORD's Supper,' in which they ate a little light wheaten bread, and drank freely of pure wine, which the prophet declared would not hurt them, since it had been 'consecrated to the LORD.' A marvellous spirit of prophecy soon ensued, which vented itself mainly in blessings on their friends, and curses on their enemies, in which latter class their Missourian* opponents, and all 'sectarian' preachers received their full share. After spending the night in alternate blessings and curings, the meeting separated. An eye-witness declares, that 'if he should be so unhappy as to go to the regions of despair, he never expects to hear language more awful or more becoming the infernal pit' than what he heard on that horrible night. Nor did the 'consecrated wine' (or rather the *cup of devils*) exhale its inspiration on that occasion. For several days, and even for weeks, the elders went from house to house prophesying, blessing, and cursing, as the occasion required, until it was supposed that the last days had truly come, and that the SPIRIT of the LORD was poured out upon all flesh. In sending them forth again, Smith told his elders that, as they were now endowed with power to build up the kingdom, they must call upon God, and follow the directions of His SPIRIT."†

Now it has been well remarked that one of the sins of this day

* They had settled at an early period of their career in Missouri County, and had fallen out with the natives, on account chiefly of their dishonesty.

† Caswall's "Prophet of the Nineteenth Century," pp. 124—126.

is the refusal to see the HOLY GHOST in the Church. Men have disregarded His indwelling in the collective body of the Church, in the duly ordained ministers, and in themselves. And so instead of the legitimate habitation prepared for Him by God, they have been inclined to look out for one which they themselves should make ready. In some manner, to satisfy the cravings of their nature, they must look for Him, and hear His Voice; and not having been taught early, and deeply, and frequently enough to watch for Him in the proper quarter, they devise a place of their own where to find Him. Not that Joseph Smith cared for this: but that the scheme of which he was the agent adapted itself in this way to the present necessities of mankind.

The last peculiarity of Mormonism which we shall notice is the literal interpretation of Scripture which is in vogue among them. Thus in their plans of Baptism with water, and with the HOLY GHOST and fire before alluded to, also of Baptisms for the dead, which are performed as follows: they say that several souls are in purgatory, and can only be delivered by Baptism: accordingly, as these men themselves cannot be baptized, some of their relations may be for them; which being duly performed, they are delivered, and enter into heaven.* The same thing is exemplified in their anointings of the sick. In supposed obedience to S. James' command† they pray over them, anoint them with oil, and also use imposition of hands, and refuse all medical attendance. There is an obvious danger in this on account of the frequent failure of these means for the recovery of the diseased person, which they escape in the following manner. If he is healed, they ascribe it to *faith*; if partly healed, it is *according to his faith*; and if no good effect is produced, it is *because of his unbelief*.‡ They also literally interpret the promises of the restoration of the tribes, and of the greatness of the latter days, besides other points. Now the vagueness of the habit of the interpretation of Scripture, and the neglect of its literal meaning, which has been common amongst us, has been too often noticed to need more than a passing remark here. It has been especially animadverted upon by the venerable professor of Hebrew at Oxford, in his "Scriptural Views of Holy Baptism."§ And in this case it is clear how much men will, in an unsatisfactory state of explanation of the words of the sacred volume, and a habit of glossing over the difficulties, and deep and definite truths contained therein, long, perhaps unconsciously to themselves, for some more explicit method of interpretation; and, if they be ignorant and unstable in the

* "Prophet of the Nineteenth Century," p. 97. "City of the Mormons," pp. 65 and 77, Appendix. "Book of Doctrine and Covenants," pp. 300, 315, 318, 319.

† S. James v. 14, 15.

‡ "Prophet of the Nineteenth Century," p. 87. Sweet, p. 8. "Doctrine and Covenants." 1 Cor. xv. 22.

§ Pp. 39, 40.

faith, seize on any scheme which has the appearance of supplying what they are in search of.

We do not, of course, mean to assert that any of the afore-mentioned particulars in which men have become more susceptible of Mormonism would of themselves account for the apostacy of any individuals to this odious heresy, but only that they are thereby rendered more liable to embrace it. Thus in our opposition to its spread it will be necessary to fortify our people with sound doctrine and definite views of these and such like points, viz., on the nature of the Church ; on the Incarnation of our LORD, and His two-fold Nature ; on the Indwelling of the HOLY GHOST in the Church : and to supply them with sound, and literal, and precise habits of understanding the sacred volume, with more deference to authority respecting it than they now in many cases possess. Thus shall we occupy the ground which Mormonism profanely seeks to enter, and shall satisfy those yearnings with a true "angel of light," which Satan in his garb attempts to meet for his own evil purposes. It is very remarkable that in the present day some of the sects break off on a kind of "High Church" direction. Some years ago the tendency was wholly towards the opposite quarter ; but now, not only do some, like the Mormonites, take a Church line, but even the old ones put on an ecclesiastical dress. Unitarians, and Baptists, and Independents erect buildings in correct style to resemble churches,* and decorate them with the sacred symbol of our religion. Wesleyans imitate our "Daily Service." And in the former case the Irvingites are a remarkable instance of a sect combining some Church principles with others of a sectarian character. This fact furnishes indeed a better hope for the success of the present movement. But at the same time, with reference to the opposition to these new dissenters, it supplies us with a hint that we must pre-occupy their ground with teaching the true doctrines of which they possess only the distortions and excesses.

But another way of opposing Mormonism will of course be found in laying before our people those vicious and unsightly characteristics of it which its crafty disseminators keep in the back-ground, and hide altogether from their new converts. They manage indeed to collect the evil to head quarters, where it is more likely to be smothered, and send the better, or rather the more self-commanding and prudent brethren, to make converts abroad. These again organize the better and most enthusiastic of their converts as missionaries under them, without letting them see the excesses committed at home. It is indeed a hollow system, and this is a point which perhaps more than anything reveals its weakness. But the character of Joseph Smith will afford abundant materials for common sense arguments, and such as an honest mind must

* For an account of the opening of one of this kind at Banbury, see "Oxford Herald" of the 24th ult.

understand. He was a drunkard,* a deeply immoral† man, a palpable blasphemer,‡ a hard-hearted, covetous man, a murderer,§ and from the contradictory character of his so-called "revelations," evidently a most ungodly and profane claimant of the highest spiritual gifts. Besides, the pilfering and cheating of the Mormonites was excessive, and though it was formally disclaimed by him, was yet, as there is pretty good evidence to show, sanctioned and even recommended by the prophet himself, in supposed imitation of the Apostles, who stole corn while walking in the fields!|| There are too, of course, many other salient points of evil like these, which, together with them, might be circulated about the parish in a small tract when the danger of their approach was imminent.

But, after all, these endeavours to impede them must in their degree prove powerless against the danger without the help of that for which Mr. Sweet pleads in the pamphlet before us, and of which we are so woefully in need,—a good system of ecclesiastical discipline. This instance shows, that with all their rejection of Christian faith, with all their—we will not call it irreverence, but—daring blasphemy against God and His Church, and though they die in hardened impenitence, yet that up to the present time they have not conquered their instinctive desire for ecclesiastical burial. A system then which would withhold this from them in glaring cases of impenitence, and also would cause an exclusion of them from the Church's offices during lifetime, in fact, an excommunication,—not, indeed, left to the fallible judgment of one priest, who might possibly not be free from private personal feelings—but—acting under well-arranged canons, and exerting itself through the highest ecclesiastical authorities, would present the best "militant" front against these miserable heretics. It may indeed be alleged, that they do now in fact shut themselves out from the blessings of the Church, and practically excommunicate themselves. But,—without noticing the nullity of this with respect to their burial,—being self-chosen, it cannot be a punishment; it cannot make them feel that they lie under the ban of the Church's displeasure, and through it, of God's; it cannot make them prize those privileges which they may thus at their will participate in or wholly disregard.

Besides which, we must remember that these opinions are embraced almost exclusively by the lower classes, who are led, not so much by calm reasoning as by their affections, their hopes and their fears, and the views of unseen things which they derive from

* City of the Mormons, p. 49. Prophet of the Nineteenth Century, p. 222.

† English Review, No. XXVI. p. 438. Prophet of the Nineteenth Century, pp. 226, 227.

‡ Ib. p. 88, &c.

§ He caused Governor Boggs, of Missouri County, to be assassinated.

|| City of the Mormons, p. 51. From his own *Sermon*!

what they themselves see and experience. Generally speaking, they do not mark out a way for themselves, but swim along with the tide. Consequently, where a channel equally deep with the outlet of errors cannot be provided, the tide must be restrained and forced out of a wrong direction into the right one by dams. And, considering the head that Mormonism has made, and the liabilities to it which exist among us, and considering the extreme blasphemy and yet specious form of some of its errors, considering too that the existence of these and such-like men in the midst of us must imperil those around them, as Jonah nearly caused the loss of the ship, we shall see in a yet stronger view the need of some way of casting them out, that both we may be freed from the danger they would lay upon us, and that they, like the prophet, may, by this act of casting out, be induced to repent, and may be "saved in the day of the LORD."

Note to p. 199.—Baptizing for the dead was done in imitation of the Marcionites, of whose practice S. Chrysostom ("*Crysostum*," Joseph Smith,) gives the following account. "After any catechumen was dead, they hid a living man under the bed of the deceased, then coming to the dead man, they spake to him, and asked him whether he would receive baptism; and he making no answer, the other answered for him, and said he would be baptized in his stead; and so they baptized the living for the dead, as if they were acting a comedy upon the stage; so great was the power of Satan in the minds of these vain men." (Hom. 40, in 1 Cor. p. 688.) This practice they derived from the difficult passage in 1 Cor. xv. 29, which probably relates to the faith in the resurrection of the dead in which Christians are baptized, and to the profession of this in the creed by the baptized person. (Vid. Bingham, XI. c. iv. § 4. Suicer in v. *Edvrius*. Corn. à Lapide ad loc.)

The circumstances of the Cambridge case have already been made public through the medium of the Arches Court. We will only further add, therefore, that a petition is in course of signature, entreating the Bishops of the Church to come forward and protect their Clergy from the painful alternative of profaning the Service, or rendering themselves liable to prosecution in the Ecclesiastical Court. Clergymen who have not already signed will do well to send their names at once to the Rev. Mr. Witts, King's College, Cambridge.

VEUILLOT'S FREE THINKERS.

The Free Thinkers. By LOUIS VEUILLOT. Paris, Lecoffre and Co. 1848. (*Les Libres Penseurs, par Louis Veuillot. Paris : Jacques Lecoffre et Cie., Libraires, Rue du Vieux-Colombier 29. 1848.*)

IN accordance with the suggestion of an American correspondent, whose letter will be found in another part of our present Number, we proceed to give our readers some idea of this powerful and interesting volume. We regret that our language concerning it cannot be that of unqualified approval, but our admiration for what we conceive to be its genuine and sterling merits is at least sincere. Before however we proceed to utter any definite praise or disparagement, it will be necessary to make some slight sketch of its contents, leaving detail to be filled up as the course of our criticism proceeds.

M. Veuillot's *Free Thinkers* is a moderately sized volume extending in length to nearly 500 pages. It consists of a series of sketches of French society, and is of course directed against the varied forms of unbelief which abound there, as everywhere, in these later days. What indeed M. Veuillot thinks respecting the general condition of that society may be gathered from the solemn motto which he has prefixed to his pages; "Son of man, can these bones live?—LORD GOD, Thou knowest." (*Fili hominis, putasne vivent ossa ista? Domine, tu nosti.**)

The work is divided into seven books, of which the titles stand as follows: I. Writers. II. Journals, (i.e., Newspapers) and Journalists. III. Female Authors. IV. Hypocrites, (*Tartufes*.) V. Persecutors. VI. The public. VII. The people who do not think at all.—In all the departments of thought, into which such themes naturally lead us, M. Veuillot attacks existing evils with a fearlessness of purpose and brilliancy of execution which do honour alike both to his heart and intellect. The world is met upon its own ground and vanquished with its own weapons. Satire of all shades from the broad sarcasm to the most delicate irony is unsparingly employed: but employed, be it remembered, in a righteous cause, directed to the rendering ridiculous that which merits ridicule and exposing the contemptible nature of pretensions which from the first only deserved contempt. He strives to point out to religion the really pitiable condition of her exulting foes and would-be condescending patrons: in short "to hold as 'twere, the mirror up to nature; to show virtue her own feature, scorn her own image,

* Ezek. xxxvii. 3. We quote the Latin after M. Veuillot, but the Vulgate has in full the *Et dixi*: and *Domine Deus*, as in our own version.

and the very age and body of the times his form and pressure."² A noble task! boldly undertaken and, as we have said, not unworthily achieved; yet not in such wise as to have escaped certain dangers and consequent blemishes. These we proceed at once to indicate, that we may pass onward to the far pleasanter process of extracting passages for the amusement and edification of our readers.

The composition of the book must, we think, in one respect exclude it from the very highest literary rank. The essays and sketches, although grouped under the several headings above-mentioned, are yet to a great extent unconnected and disjointed; and the volume thereby fails in that *concinnitas*, that harmonised adjustment of parts and easy progression from one step to the next, which is so justly maintained by Coleridge† and others, to be the acmè of good oratory and good writing. It may be urged that the author had loftier ends in view, and that it is unworthy of any seriously minded critic to refer to such topics at all. Well! we have no wish to dwell upon mere literary defects: but M. Louis Veuillot would have small right to complain of any who should criticise him in this point of view. He is far from despising such aids to the furtherance of his aims as spring from skill in composition: the excellence of his style and purity of his diction are among the leading points of praise from the lips of his eulogists; and he makes merry with the productions of *feuilletonistes* of the day, not only on account of their bad morals, but likewise on the score of their bad French. We hasten however to more important considerations. Here is a layman who does battle for the Church against the world with weapons partly furnished from the armoury of the foe. The attempt, however admirable and even necessary, yet carries with it its own peculiar dangers. What are these dangers and how far has M. Veuillot suffered from them? Let us try to examine.

1. The danger of self-deceit. We may declaim against the folly and vanity of the world, its idolatrous respect for rank and wealth, its endless round of dissipation, and yet in our hearts cherish dislike of what we blame, simply because such temptations lie not in our path. Of self-deceit in general, Bishop Butler has declared, "that every man may take for granted that he has a great deal of it, till from the strictest observation upon himself, he finds particular reason to think otherwise."[†] And this is more especially the case as regards the influence exercised upon our minds by the presence of worldly and adventitious advantages. At one time the grapes are out of our reach and therefore are sour; at

* Hamlet, Act III. Scene 2.

† Friend, Vol. III. page 108, *et seq.* We may add the judgment of a living author of rare gifts, though but too often, alas! misused, Sir E. Bulwer Lytton, Preface to "The last of the Barons."

‡ Sermon on Self-Deceit.

another time we are unconsciously yielding to the temptation of undue deference to those above us, or else resenting some slight received from them with a bitterness of which the vehemence and duration prove our non-possession of the religious indifference to such matters on which we had been wont to plume ourselves. This peril is too serious and too little resisted to be passed over in silence: it is not however one of those snares into which we conceive M. Veuillot to have fallen. No: his distrust of the world springs, we believe, from experience of its ways and from deep conviction of their hollowness. His reproofs are not those of one who contrives to mix flattery with his blame, nor do they sound like the voice of soreness from disappointed ambition. His allusions to himself are plain and unvarnished. "My father was a simple labourer—I myself longtime bore the yoke imposed by the free thinkers—by Divine grace I am now freed from it, and as a Catholic, and one of the people, am doubly their opponent."—(Preface.)

2. Danger the second, from which our author is not, in our judgment, so free. In thus combating evil we run the risk not merely of imitating its own activity (which is right and necessary) but of combining with vigorous action the worldly spirit of turmoil and of restlessness. Let us pause to say a word on this temptation likewise, for it is one that touches English Churchmen closely. On the one hand there is a listless imaginative temperament which, however reverent and pious, wants energy to carry out in act its own good thoughts and resolutions: which needs continually to employ with fervour the prayer of our own saintly Bishop:* "Turn thou my dreamings into earnestness." But the contrary danger is more largely to be dreaded in a country like England, and a century like the present. The Church movement of the last fifteen years has called forth from spiritual slumber earnest and intelligent minds, many of whom are devoting to good works the energies which would have been bestowed upon frivolous or unworthy objects. We often gaze with admiration on their singleness of purpose and untiring zeal: and feel that if something else be wanting to aid their Christian progress and advancement to religious maturity, we are at least not the persons to rebuke or exhort our betters. But that something still is wanting; we mean, the balance of repose and of sense of the unseen. Unapproachable indeed may be that highest type of character, exhibited in the One perfect Son of Adam, who is also Very God,† Who not only commenced His toilsome Ministry with the long fast and solitude of forty days, but even after the sun had set upon His works of mercy, continued through the entire night,† to address the FATHER, with Whom He dwelt in glory from all eternity, through a new

* Bishop Andrewes' Devotions. Third Day.

† S. Luke vi. 12.

medium, through the thoughts and feelings of that human nature, which for our sakes He had adopted. But the example, however far above us, was not meant to be wholly uninfluential. Do our earnest lay-coadjutors in the Church's battles, always remember this? Do they know the value of occasional retirement? Do they ever expend the same care and thought on self-inspection and contemplation of the great objective realities of the Christian faith,* as on the external works of district visiting, and managing societies? Have they any deeply-implanted fear of heresy? Do fast-days occupy any place whatever in their theory and practice of self-discipline? If not, let them beware lest in working actively for their spiritual mother, they press into her service too much semblance of the world's activity and walk as those on whom, despite many virtues, the shadow of the Invisible has never fallen with a sobering depth and power. Excellent is that advice given to the "Statesman,"† not only to keep a Sabbatical day in every week, but likewise a Sabbatical hour in every day: and very beautiful the thought of Saint Gregory, that they who would minister to the needs of their fellow creatures, must strive to imitate the holy Angels upon Jacob's ladder, descending to bless the slumberer below and yet ever and anon ascending to refresh their spirits with glimpses of the heaven that is above.‡

Now this same spirit of repose we have occasionally sighed for, as we proceeded with the volume now before us. Not that the wish is wholly ungratified, far from it. There are marked exceptions to the vivid and excitable character which pervades a large portion of M. Veuillot's work. Throughout his *tableaux* of modern French society, there is constant reference to the one tree, (to adopt an image from his Preface,) which can alone sweeten these bitter waters.§ *La croix seule sauvera le monde!* this is his constant lesson, which he tries to enforce, not merely by displaying the emptiness of the things of earth, but likewise by passages of awe and pathos, by reminding men of the terrors of judgment, by pictures of the misery of sin, and of the blessedness of self-sacrifice even in this life.|| But despite many pages of rare beauty in this calmer style, he seems to us occasionally too fierce and bitter, too unreserved, imbued with too much of the spirit of an advocate and partisan. Even in an intellectual point of view, this is to be regretted.

* Aids in the difficult task of Meditation may be found in "The Young Churchman's Manual," (Masters,) in some volumes of the Devotional Series, edited by Dr. Hook, (Bell, London,) and in a very excellent little volume called, "Daily Steps towards Heaven," (J. H. Parker, London.) We need hardly mention Bishop Jeremy Taylor's Life of CHRIST, and the well-known adaptations from Avrillon and others.

† In Mr. Henry Taylor's book so named.

‡ S. Greg. Magn. de Cura Pastoralis. Pars 2nda. Cap. V.

§ Exodus xv. 23—25.

|| Isaiah lvii. 20, 21; S. Mark x. 29, 30.

"From nature excitation comes, and moods
Of calmness equally are nature's gift,"

writes our deceased Laureate in his posthumous poem, and doubtless even nature would suggest to those who study her secrets, the gracefulness and power gained by the alternation of tranquillity with emotion ;* but there remains a nobler, loftier spirit of repose, which is not thus to be attained. That rare collectedness, that avoidance of all rash overstatement, that felicitous power of saying right things at right times to the right people ; it is not in its higher aspects the gift of Nature, it is the work of the HOLY GHOST in the hearts of the regenerate. So few in number are its happy possessors, that we are not giving utterance to any harsh sentiment in asserting that we do not recognize the full presence of this grace in the author of the "Free Thinkers." Small reason have we to imagine any exaggeration in his portraiture of the classes who live without GOD in the world, but we should be slow to accept at his hands representations of any other school of religionists than that to which he himself belongs, of Anglicans or Russians, or even of Gallicans and Jansenists.

3. There is yet another serious danger of which M. Louis Veuillot seems aware, but notwithstanding in some degree a victim. There are forms of sin which it is perilous even to name. Yet they must at times be dragged from their lurking places and openly rebuked : and much misery has arisen from the neglect of this duty. But then such language is to be employed as shall really render hateful that which it exposes and not, in the very phrases of its condemnation, suggest impure ideas and images. Is this quite possible ? Not always : for to men, who have indulged their passions, temptations and miserable thoughts will be presented by words, which the innocent can read without confusion or distress.† But for this very reason, the greater care is needed in works intended for general reading. That they have tried to render evil odious is the excuse frequently put forth for the coarse language of Juvenal and Persius ; justly, perhaps, as regards Persius, but certainly not always so for his successor. "What remedy," says M. Veuillot, "do our numerous Aristophaneses propose ? They are themselves more shameless than their pictures. The drunken slave inspired in the Spartan children only the taste for drunkenness ; the painting of the vice has become the preaching of it."‡ Ah ! we would speak gently where the line between undue squeamishness and danger of suggestiveness is so difficult to draw ; but still, M. Veuillot, you have passed that line, you have in some places told us too much of the sins of books and men, you have imparted

* Compare Mr. Henry Taylor's "Notes upon Life." P. 153.

† Titus i. 15. The reader may advantageously refer to the forceful language of Bishop Taylor in his "Holy Living." Chap. ii. sect. 3, *ad init.*

‡ Page 286.

needful knowledge in needless nakedness of phrase, and thereby diminished both the circulation and the usefulness of your volume. Perhaps after all, it may have been unavoidable; yet we regret it, more especially for the sake of female readers, for many portions are calculated to inspire with holy thoughts those who would read them with a chastened heart.

Such were our first impressions as we turned the pages of the "Libres Penseurs." One consideration, however, somewhat checked our confidence in the justness of the conclusions we were forming. M. Veillot is a Frenchman writing for Frenchmen: no sincerity of religious principle will wholly obliterate, or was meant in this world to obliterate, our differences of race and national temperament; and could we ever again attain to our sighed-for unity in that community, "where there is neither Greek nor Jew, Barbarian, Scythian, bond nor free," the substratum of the most solid union would still leave room for these accidental peculiarities. And these features of the present volume which least satisfy our taste and judgment, may perhaps, we thought, be excusable, perhaps be absolutely needful in pages intended to win the ear of France, and tell her of her fearful dangers and her only grounds of hope. A degree of plainness of rebuke may be requisite there, which in England would be found repulsive and injurious to the writer's cause.

But a brief visit to the chambers of a very estimable Priest, the *Curé* of one of the most important churches in Paris, convinced us that our strictures did not arise from mere John Bullism. On the contrary, our friend criticised M. Veillot's book in much such terms as we have employed concerning it, remarking that though he had great powers, and was one of the most cutting (*un des plus acérés*) writers of the day, against infidelity and vice, he had in the present instance produced a volume, which a mother could not safely place in the hands of her daughter.

But our readers are probably becoming impatient to see some specimens and judge for themselves. We will do our best, promising, however, that the difficulties of translation are considerable, for the coinage of new words and metaphorical usages of old ones by recent French writers are very frequent. With the style, though it may often seem abrupt and harsh in a foreign dress, we do not attempt to meddle: judging it better to risk some little violence to the Queen's English, than to give an incorrect impression of the terseness and vigour of the original.

And, firstly, who are these "free thinkers" whom this work essays to combat? M. Veillot shall reply in the opening words of his own preface.

"I term free thinkers," (as they name themselves,) the men of letters, or those who imagine themselves such, who, by books, dis-

courses and ordinary practice labour with set purpose (*sciennment*) to destroy in France revealed religion and its divine morality. Professors, writers, legislators, bankers, courtiers, industrial classes, and men of business, they are everything, they do everything, they are supreme; they have placed us in our present situation, they toil in it and make it worse."

Our author makes his first onslaught on the poets of the day; but they are after all, in his estimation, rather weak and foolish, than deliberately wicked. It is the *soi disant* philosopher who is the more guilty. "The folly of the poet is in fact only that of the senses and of vanity; the philosopher plunges himself into the dark foolishness of pride." P. 5.

Here is the picture of the pretended lover of wisdom, as he exists in France in this enlightened nineteenth century.

"The philosopher says, that until he appeared, men knew not how to think, but that he will teach them that necessary art; that hitherto, the world has not been in possession of the truth, but that he is about to discover or create it, and present to the human race this rare gift. Whereupon, he enters into himself, gags, bolts, and padlocks his conscience, and proposes to himself a few problems, as the following: *Do I exist? Is there a world? Is there a God?* He writes a volume to find out whether he exists, and arrives at doubt. He is hissed, he is more enraged than a poet; but do not hope that he will argue: *I am hissed, and I am angry, therefore I am*: no such thing. Without trying to see even whether he is hissed subjectively or objectively, he goes on considering whether he *is*, in the middle of some young men from Cantal and the Limousin, who have taken him as a guide in the art of thinking, and who say to him: Perhaps after all you do not exist. He concocts a second volume full of solecisms, where at last, cost what it may, he ends by proving to himself, that he exists. He is hissed, and is furious. Still these hisses do not prevent his inquiring whether there is a world. Another volume, wherein he gives the proofs, objective and subjective of the existence of the world. The youths from the Cantal and the Limousin cry bravo, and manage so well, that their master is employed by the State to teach wisdom publicly. However, he has not yet finished his task. Man exists, the world exists; so much is granted; Now, is there a God? This requires many volumes. Reasons for, reasons against. The reasons against are the strongest; nevertheless, the philosopher decides for the existence of God. And why? Because it is more convenient to acknowledge a God, and more agreeable to prove that there is none. To offend God is a trifle; to deny Him is sometimes to offend men, and stop the way to promotion. There are chairs everywhere for the deist, but none for the atheist. Now even beyond proving that he *is*, the philosopher wishes for place.

"For the rest, the God whom he chooses to confess is not *the dead Deity of scholasticism*—in other terms, the Christian's God. It is an

entirely new One, made in mosaic, of fragments torn from all the systems which the Church has vanquished, and of which humanity has felt the emptiness and misery. This novel Deity has not yet had time to frame his law; and meanwhile, until some kind of moral system springs from his dogmas, as yet in a state of nonentity, (from which indeed he has hardly extricated himself,) he leaves to his children a comfortable liberty, under the surveillance of *gendarmes* and artillery." Pp. 6, 7.

The following *dicta*, which seem to us to contain much truth, occur in an account of a small man, called from his birth-place *De Jouy*, whom some equally small men tried to push into renown. Not only, said they, had he written operas, comedies, vaudevilles, &c., but he had shown remarkable signs of precocious genius. Unable to keep the dull beaten track, he had furtively given himself a special education. "*A douze ans*," says M. de Jouy's eulogist, "*à douze ans, messieurs, il savait Voltaire par cœur, Voltaire qui savait tant de choses. C'était, vous le voyez, un humaniste précoce.*" (!!) Of the writings of this *humaniste*, alas, for posterity, no single syllable remains.

"Men of this kind, after passing their youth in the second-rate pleasures of self-love and the senses, end amidst the bickerings of the counting-house. But he had read Voltaire, he knew him by heart; mistaking a happy memory for genius, he fancied it must be the same thing to write as to recite. The instinct of weakness made him seek success in the beaten track of public opinion. Nothing proves more certainly the absence of all literary vocation. The writer who has not once, at least, quarrelled with the taste of the masses; who has never dared, never ventured, to speak against the opinion of the many; who has never dreamed, never tried, to open for himself a path, against the torrent of general folly; is no real author: he has neither the spirit, or the courage, or the independence of mind, which gives life and form to literary labours: he is only a bourgeois who bellows with the rest. If he has good lungs and tolerable luck, the rabble take him up; they flatter and carry him in triumph until a powerful, or even a daring mind arises, and laughs in the face of the conqueror. Then the crowd stops short, wearied of its idol. It shrugs its shoulders and upsets the hero of the day, leaving him solitary and bruised, on the side of the road that it has quitted. This was the fate of M. de Jouy and of many others: and it will be the destiny of many more who do not the least expect it."—Pp. 31, 32.

A very slight acquaintance with the light literature of France during the last decade or so of years will suffice to show the justice of the next extract, as a piece of criticism.

"Inventive writers are rare, and not very productive; imitators abound, and their ingenuity is admirable. The moment a work of any originality appears, twenty scribblers, who lurked beneath the shadow

of unheard of *feuilletons*, copying old ones without any one's interference, and gaining a miserable living, swarm on the track of the inventor. At the first attempt they equal him. To-morrow ten newspapers will have their literature in the latest fashion; next day the publishers (*gérants*) will close their doors against romances in twelve volumes, there are too many. If the mark on the fabric were taken out, who could distinguish the work of the favourite author? Everywhere the same merits, the same defects. Does M. Sue fabricate* better than M. Rabou? Has not M. Rabou as great beauty of style as M. Sue? Is not M. Castille worth both put together, for story-making and for style? I do not think M. Dumas himself knows the difference between M. Maquet's writing and his own. . . . How many *Lamartinian* verses are there on the quays, quite as good as Lamartine's, which nevertheless are sent up from the provinces by the young Brindavoine, or Brindosier? That ode, so swollen, so twisted, so be-rhymed, and bedecked, bespangled with colours, and covered with bells, like a Spanish mule, it is not Hugo's, it is by Esquiros. . . . This singular aptitude at imitation is the sure sign of literary poverty. There is no lasting success: for what Brindosier, Brindavoine, Esquiros, Bidart, and Poulard can copy perfectly, cannot be good. If men of worth would draw their inspiration from the true sources of the beautiful, if their writings emanated from the secret depths of meditation and of the heart, if they had studied man by the clear brilliance of truth, and not by the little lantern lights of the imagination, Poulard and Bidart would no more think of copying them than they think of imitating Molière, Montaigne, or Pascal."—Pp. 32, 33, 35.

M. Veuillot's sketches not unfrequently tend to illustrate some of the positions of our chief Doctors. Thus, for example, let the reader first con well these weighty words of a Cambridge Professor, and then compare with them the succeeding picture of the Parisian editor.

"The whole strain of the world's maxims attests that its unbelieving character is yet unaltered. Blind to the great Light that has been in it and condemned it,—blind to the sentence of corruption abiding in it and executed continually—it still holds forth the path of wealth, honour, and distinction as the great good, the chief end of man's being. If fleshly appetite is to be subdued, if malignant passions are to be controlled, it is solely in subserviency to the prime objects of worldly pursuit: but as far as may consist with the supremacy of that, their evil indulgence is uncensured, nay smiled upon. . . . The world's law, sternly rigorous in its exaction, has no recognition of the revealed law of God: His righteous will and authority is wholly excluded, as well from all share of the sanction when the laws agree, as from all right of protest against the opposed decision, when they are contrary. And, therefore, no wonder if the world treats with bitter scorn the least pretence of recognizing a sanction higher than its own; and accompanies with a hatred or fear, proportioned to the assumed scorn, every suspicion of sincerity in following out such a sanction."

* In the original, *charpente*.

Thus far Dr. Mill,* speaking in general terms. We can only make room for part of a particular instance of the temper thus described.

"Aristides leaves his hard couch at early dawn. He lights his lamp, (for it is still dark), and his day begins. He breakfasts on a little dry bread and water, and sets himself to his task. . . . He is gentle, modest, not embittered by criticism; he always declares that he is but too favourably dealt with. Here is a rule of life, the penances, the zealous labours, the humility of a monk. And yet Aristides hates both the monks and their religion. He is a sneering scholar, and a sensual philosopher; he does not believe in a future life: his works speak of nothing but feasting and love. If he labours, it is in order that he may win admiration while he lives and after his death; if he is humble, it is to avoid enemies, for he dreads bon-mots; if he follows a severe and frugal diet, it is in the hope of curing indigestion."—Pp. 37, 38.

In another place we were forcibly reminded of the eloquent language of Archdeacon Grant on the difficulty of persuading parents to send sons as Evangelists to the heathen.

"It will be esteemed a cutting reproach, that for gain, for honour, for a profession—every profession but that of CHRIST'S service—men will give, and sacrifice themselves, their talents, their youth, their home; that parents will part with their children, and gladly send them to earth's utmost limits to gather those earthly benefits which perish in the using; but grudge them, and count them thrown away, if devoted to purposes which will exist when earth itself has perished, and will make their memories blessed for evermore."†

It is time to give a sample of M. Veuillot's loftier strains. There was a young French poet, of the name of Gilbert, whose early productions gave remarkable promise of excellence. But his powers were not permitted to attain maturity. Born in 1751, he was killed by a fall from his horse, at the age of twenty-nine.‡ The (so-called) liberal gentry of the day have taken upon themselves to imagine that the vigour of thought and expression displayed by the youthful bard incontestably prove that he must in due time have become one of themselves. How could a man of real genius possibly bow his neck, in such an era, to the yoke of Religion!

"Now, they pity thee, it is their latest injury. Do they think that if thou wert still living, thou wouldst join *them*? are they ignorant that they could bestow nothing upon thee, and that thou wouldst accept nothing at their hands but their hatred? For they *can* hate, in

* "Sermons on the Temptation in the Wilderness," (Deighton and Rivingtons) pp. 89, 90.

† Grant's Bampton Lectures, p. 295.

‡ M. Veuillot does not give any account of Gilbert's life. A sketch of it may be found in the *Biographie Universelle*.

order that they may be able, degraded as they are, to pay some homage to virtue! . . . But you, whose genius is illumined by the torch of faith, you whom they leave in poverty, not because the sacred fire is wanting in you, but because it consumes you, and is too holy; you whom they dare not despise, but whom they persecute, O brother of Gilbert, if there be yet one left amongst us, do not grieve to die! You dream only of noble undertakings; do not murmur that you are unable even to trace the least sketch of one, upon some page devoted to oblivion! The great and holy work that you were intended to accomplish here below, was to oppose a pure heart, to the attempts of those brutal hands whose gold and whose caresses are bestowed only upon talent when degraded. Die as did the martyrs of old, rather than touch the base incense demanded by the idols of the world. You will never go to the academy, but you will be admitted into heaven; and that is your destiny."—Pp. 61–63.

Our next citation will sound to many a little Frenchified and rhetorical. Yet we believe that it will find a response in the experiences, not merely of poets, but of many others among our brethren of the pen, who have attempted such kinds of composition as require the slightest exercise of imagination.

"Whatever thou hast written with much pleasure or with much thought, will never be thoroughly worthless. The page, erased, rewritten, copied again, will be good; the page written off at once, without stops, without commas, without corrections, without orthography, will be excellent. How rich is the thought, when it scarcely allows time to complete the words! Take confidently to the printer those chosen pages. What can the public say, when thou offerest it nothing that thou hast not written with the sweat on thy brow, or a smile on thy lips, or pity in thine heart and tears in thine eyes? For my part, I forgive thee some roughness, some negligence, and forget the requirements of the accidence. The muse has spoken to thee: she has bestowed on thee the right to raise thy voice, or thou hast won it by thine exertions. Speak then; I may perhaps oppose thee; but I shall listen to thee."—P. 63.

The first book concludes with a very fearful description of the last days of one of these literary favourites of the hour; and is intended as a lesson that concerns them all: *ex uno disce omnes*.

"Yet a few seasons, I will assign the long period of ten years, and some will be before their Judge, the supreme Judge of men and of men's actions—before God, that God Whom they at present outrage, whose commandments they transgress, whose Name and doctrine they blaspheme; He will demand account of what they have done."—P. 70.

The miserable man, whom M. Veillot knew, is pictured as dreading death and yet clinging to his old atmosphere of bad thoughts, his old hankering after public praise. Mourning like a

prince dethroned, like a coquette deserted by those she charmed of yore, he became his own persecutor and ransacked his early writings in order to amend their faults and give them yet one chance of favour.

"He possessed at the entry of a valley a solitary mansion. A thousand fair flowers bloomed in his garden, the honeysuckle and clematis adorned its walls. One heard the bullfinches and blackbirds sing, the bells ring, the brook babble; the lightest breeze that passed made the chesnuts rustle, the poplars, the plane trees, bearing from the neighbouring woods those fresh and penetrating odours which, when we meet them again, seem to bring back to us our life and youth."

"This lovely spot, this admiration of the passer-by who beheld through the open gate the rich clusters of the clematis flowers, became the scene and instrument of his punishment."—P. 72.

Alas! it had been the witness of the owner's vanities, of his luxuries, of his deeper sins. Chastisement, as must ever be the case if it be not blest from above, proved only irritating and hardening: the advice to beg for mercy only called forth the reply, *I cannot!*

"He was found one morning lifeless on the threshold of his studio. The book which death had snatched from his hands was one of his own books. The prayer of the Priest never entered into those retreats, that sink of voluptuousness and pride. People unknown, distant heirs, assembled, carried off the corpse, threw it into a ditch and went away well satisfied. A newspaper communicated the intelligence, and it was the last time that the press mentioned that name, lately so much talked of, already forgotten, already unknown."—P. 74.

Few will dispute the power and reality of such writing as this. The picture of external nature (of which M. Veuillot seems a genuine and hearty lover) rather enhances the idea of misery. The scent-breathing gale, we may observe in passing, has received homage from the eloquence of Plato, and the poetry of Shakspeare.*

The second book upon Newspapers and their Editors need not long detain us. The writer's position as *Redacteur* of the *Univers* naturally causes acquaintance with the machinery of the Paris press: and some of his revelations are curious. Take *e.g.* the following:

"The Newspapers call all subjects that are not purely political, *lateral questions*. These lateral questions are sold to people who treat them as they wish. Some honest patriots bought, with a view of defending therein their own opinions, a newspaper which was particularly honest and particularly independent, but which did not pay. On taking possession of it, they found the lateral questions were all sold:

* Plato de Republ. Shakspeare. Twelfth Night, *ad init.* We may add Milton.

the question of negroes, sold for three thousand francs a month, to slave owners; the linen question sold to the manufacturers in the north; the question of iron, sold to the manufacturers in the south; the wine question sold to the proprietors of Bordeaux, etc. etc. altogether eighty thousand francs a year."

What a miserable blow to all political faith and honesty! We trust that we shall not seem to trench upon party politics by the insertion of one more amusing *morceau* from this part of the volume.

"The *National* and the *Reforme** are such great friends of equality, that they never consent to soil their lips with the name of a gentleman; they take care to purify it first by removing the *de*. They say: M. Montalivet, M. la Rochejaquelein, M. Montalembert: but they make an exception on behalf of the democratic gentlemen. They willingly write Dupont de l'Eure (without a parenthesis,)[†] and it is through them alone that we learn the nobility of M. de Vaulabelle."

The third book, concerning authoresses, is, sad to say, the most painful of all its disclosures. This is melancholy, but not perhaps strange. *Corruptio optimi pessima*. That feminine nature, so accessible to all sacred instincts, which has furnished, through Divine grace, the loftiest pattern of *merely* human holiness in the person of the Blessed Virgin Mother, is doubly wicked when it consents to become the servant and instrument of the Evil One. The books of religious women, especially in the department of tale-writing, frequently display a tact in appreciation of details and seizure of the more delicate springs of human action, which the stronger, but ruder, intellect of man can hardly hope to rival. Let these same powers once be diverted into a wrong channel, and similar results ensue upon the side of evil. Such an one, traitress to her sex, misleads and ruins the hearts of sisters, who might have revolted from the like snare, if only set before them by the less skilful hands of men.

At the head of these female writers in France stands Madame Dudevant, better known by her feigned appellation of *Georges Sand*. We cannot bring ourselves to give the details of the novels of this school commented upon in this book. Suffice it to say, that they consist of attempts to throw the veil of sentimentality and romance over hideous and flagrant breaches of the seventh commandment. The imitators of *Georges Sand* seem, from M. Veillot's account, to copy all her faults without the occasionally redeeming points which he considers her writings to possess. His specimen pages M. Veillot declares to be the least scandalous of a romance, not worse

* Well known Parisian prints.

† It should be Dupont (de l'Eure); the designation being simply given for the sake of distinction from other Duponts.

than a hundred others : and even these we prefer to leave untranslated. But they come out day by day in *feuilletons*,* and well may our author exclaim—

“ The *feuilleton* is a disease, a gangrene. What can one hope from a country where thirty thousand persons, thirty thousand heads of families, will pay a newspaper office for the pleasure of receiving every morning at their homes the defence and the glorification of women of bad morals ? ”

As an offset to these fictions M. Veillot presents us with some true accounts of three *élèves* of a Convent called “ *le Couvent des Oiseaux*.” In one respect these pages contain more allusion than other portions of the book to distinctively Roman doctrine. Waiving that, we should pronounce them to be the most graceful and soothing in the entire volume. They are too long for extraction and difficult to do justice to by selection. Yet the following words concerning one who was not trained for a nun's life, but the more ordinary vocation of a wife and parent, may perhaps be permitted to suggest some pious thoughts.

“ The riches of this noble heart seemed to increase and to shine with redoubled brightness under the influence of maternal affection. It is to be remarked that in modern romances, especially in those of our Free-thinkers, there is no question of children, or of maternity. It is a matter which those ladies ignore ; they know nothing of such feelings. Their heroines are all that can be wished in every way, but not mothers. The emotions which Angela expresses in the following lines will have therefore for the readers of such works the double charm of novelty and truth. ‘ God has granted me a happiness which I am far from deserving, that of thinking that in a few months I shall become the mother of a child whose soul He will intrust to me to preserve it for Him. If you could but know how many duties this thought implies for me ! I feel that I ought to be more pious, more pure, more virtuous ; that I ought not to allow myself any worldly thought or desire, or resentment ; that I ought to think only of God, and act only for Him, in order that my child may receive from me, with its life, the fear and love of God ; for I believe that if these feelings could be deeply graven in my own heart, I should communicate them to my child.’ ”—Pp. 161, 162.

This third part concludes with an eloquent comparison of the two careers respectively depicted in the *feuilletons* of the *Presse*, and

* The following just description of a *feuilleton* is from Dr. Wordsworth :

“ *Feuilletons*, that is to say, a certain quantity of subsidiary matter ranged in dwarf columns in the lower part of three sides of the paper (like notes at the foot of a text), the subject of which is taken from real or imaginary life. Thus the public is presented, day by day, with a great number of romances, published by instalments. . . . We may have a fair idea of this kind of publication by supposing chapters of *Pickwick* or *Oliver Twist*, published day by day in the base of the columns of the ‘ *Times* ’ or ‘ *Morning Post*. ’ ”—*Diary in France*, p. 66.

these sketches of Angela and her companions ; and an appeal to the unhappy authoresses of the former.

" Say on which side lies power, where is generosity, where is feeling, where moral beauty, where honour, where true poetry ? You cannot so much as dream of any thing that is glorious and lovely ; there can be no glory and loveliness for you, except in repentance, and that you will not choose, because it would humble you. You say that society has ruined you ? Yes, like all others whom it ruins, because you have consented therein, because you willed it. This Christian lady, Angela, might have been ruined like you, and that in the absence of all the improbable circumstances you imagine : but even in these circumstances she could have been saved, and it lies in your power to be saved like her. It is enough to believe in JESUS CHRIST. You do not believe in Him, that is evident. And what are the reasons wherefore you believe not ? Ah ! there is the point on which, with all your audacity, you never speak frankly ; for it is precisely those reasons which render you objects of horror." Pp. 167, 8.

In the following book, the fourth of our edition,* we find this portrait of Parisian students. The author, we must premise, after a day of hard toil and many public and private anxieties, is passing through a slumber-stricken street at midnight.

" On a sudden the street was filled with cries, with songs, with shoutings. A hundred students were coming from a ball along with some young girls, and were returning to their rooms (*au pays latin*). They were not drunk, but never did the lowest populace of the *faubourgs*, in the fever of the *vin bleu*, trouble the air with more loathsome and degraded vociferations than these gentry out of pure good will.

" Many a father of a family must have shuddered and prayed God to protect the slumber of his children.

" Yet these young men are the hope of the country and of the future ; and I, a toiling labourer who enter, saying my prayers, into an abode of which chastity guards the threshold, I am nothing but a vile jesuit, a perverse citizen, an enemy of liberty, a poisoner of consciences ! Amongst these *free thinkers*, who sing as they come from their dancing, is perhaps one who will some day come and take me, in the midst of my family and my books, and who will cut my throat, to increase by so much the happiness, the freedom and the dignity of the human race." Pp. 178, 9.

A curious feature in this work is its personality, which exceeds, we think, that of any of our political novels. But it is not only adversaries, as M. Sue, M. Quinet and others, who are mentioned by name : the objects of the writer's respect and admiration are likewise openly introduced, nor is he sparing of revelations concern-

* We understand that a later edition, which has not come into our possession, has an additional book inserted here.

ing himself. Among his laic heroes, M. de Montalembert appears, as might be expected, to occupy the highest place. Our next citation will introduce that member of the priesthood for whom his partiality is the most marked. Our author is rebuking those fine gentlemen among the French clergy, who must needs walk about in the smart garments of the laity. Better, says M. Veuillot, to have the most faded hat, the most over-worn cassock.

"I was, one day, following in the street one of these cassocks, ill made and worn, but still clean; but the brush, by dint of rubbing, had made it shine and look white. It swept against shoes rusted by age; it was surmounted by a hat.—Ah! *monsieur l'abbé*, I spare your nerves and will not describe this hat.

"Mercy, said I to myself, there is a poor priest to whom it were a good work to give a cassock! Nevertheless the passers-by saluted with respect this ill-clad priest: and, after having bowed, turned back to look at him again. I quickened my pace and in my turn saluted him.

"It was the *père de Ravignan*. He had just come from preaching, and was going to Notre-Dame. He was hurrying, because he had visited a sick person on his way.

"Who shall tell how many consoling and salutary tears have fallen on the worn cassock of the *père de Ravignan*? how many knees, once proud, have grazed the dust which covers his rusted shoes?" P. 196.

We too have seen and have once held converse with de Ravignan. While engaged upon the thorny ground of controversial topics, it appeared to us as if the very sincerity of his own convictions and the manner in which they formed a part of his inward being, prevented him, despite all his acuteness and depth of understanding, from fairly considering or even imagining the position of an English churchman. But points of difference set apart, there was that about this great preacher which must render the memory of that interview an undying one. The clear articulate accents, the quickness of thought, the alternate enthusiasm and soberness of the speaker, the evidences of a kindly and most feeling heart, the devotedness of the entire man to the things that are not of this world—all these features tend to impress de Ravignan's image on the mind of him who has once been in his presence. And then that beautiful head, where intellect triumphs over matter and yet intellect in its turn succumbs to spirit! a style of countenance always rare, as seldom met with, we think, in France as in England. We have rivals to him in the English Church, whom we will not now name, but our *beau idéal* of a French priest is certainly Xavier de Ravignan.*

* There is an admirable and speaking likeness of de Ravignan, engraved by Bry, 134, *Rue du Bac, Paris*. The *éditeur* of this print (taken some four years since, and therefore rather younger in appearance than its prototype is now) lives at No. 21, *Quai Voltaire*—which sounds somewhat strangely.

Book the fifth, upon persecutors, furnishes us with sad histories of the way in which the most unexceptional plans to relieve misery in France are thwarted by the jealousy of the state. The accounts of the *Confrerie* of S. Vincent de Paul are full of interest, but too long for our article. The same reason compels us to omit the recital of the petty crusades of provincial mayors against the revival of religious feeling, as displayed in the foundation of schools and hospitals. M. Veuillot's picture of the state of prison discipline in France is very afflicting. It is possible that his standard of what should be the object of a gaol Chaplain may be higher than ours in England; but the excellent men, who at Reading and elsewhere have laboured in the task of amelioration, have at least, we imagine, been *comparatively* unshackled in the execution of their plans. Our magistrates probably have not suggested that the prayers employed in prison, might be advantageously curtailed by making acts of faith, hope and charity on three several days instead of altogether in the same service; nor that the "greatest of these" need not be enforced on the inmates of a prison, as they cannot be in a position to practise it.*

Then again, there is described a sample of the master manufacturers, corresponding in England to our cotton-lords.† We can hardly find language strong enough to express our horror at the facts related;—for facts we must presume them to be, when such a writer not merely gives his name, but adds (in a note)‡ an emphatic avowal of their correctness. We have been in the way of learning something concerning the condition of our own factory classes; we are not wholly ignorant of their heavy toils and numerous temptations; but we do assert with confidence that, if any mill-owner in Leeds or Manchester had dared to use his authority over his underlings, as this French representative of the class is here pourtrayed as having used it, not merely would the majesty of English law have interposed, but the culprit could hardly have hoped to wait for the halting step§ of legal punishment: the populace would be tempted to take power into their own hands, and no bystander, however he might regret the mode, could pronounce the chastisement other than deserved. Sundays that know no hallowed rest, whole villages of souls demoralized and oppressed, maidens seduced or violated by him who lives on their labour and should be their protector, hearts maddened into acts of desperation—if these things move not the justice which this earth awards, the more surely will they bring down upon the miserable perpetrator the fulfilment of that awful pledge, "Vengeance is Mine; I will repay, saith the LORD."

* Page 258.

† Pages 274—280.

‡ The words of the note are these: *Je n'invente rien: lisez les enquêtes sur la situation morale des classes ouvrières, lisez la "Gazette de Tribunaux," visitez les familles d'ouvriers dans les villes industrielles.* p. 279.

§ *Pede poena claudio.*

We turn with some sense of relief to the subject of the French bar, though even here there is enough that it is painful to reflect upon. The scenes which have been enacted at some of our capital trials in England during the last ten years, and the style of defence adopted by the prisoner's counsel, make us chary of upholding our native land as wholly a model for imitation in these respects. There is indeed one sketch* which if translated might be mistaken for a representation of a scene on this side of the channel. It is that of a crack *avocat* going down into a provincial town under what we should call a special retainer. The excitement caused by his appearance, the disquiet of the hapless defendants who have, on their side, right, equity, and the judges themselves, but not this *Mattre Aspic*—the animation and wrath by which the counsel not only earns his money but sustains his reputation—the hard words dealt out to the opposing parties—the fever of alternate excitement and laughter in which he keeps his audience—the final blow of his insulting peroration;—it is not only on the continent that these delights may be enjoyed. Nor is it there only that our good Master Aspic, having clutched his fee, kindly informs the guests with whom he dines at the mayor's table, how completely his clients were in the wrong, and having done full justice to the *pauvre diable* whom he defamed in the morning, hastens back to the capital fully satisfied with the impression he has left among the people of the provinces. But then against such exhibitions, we have to place in England what Lord Chatham called "the unsullied purity of the Ermine" on the bench: we have to consider the high personal character of a large portion of our barristers and the invaluable efforts of many in the most sacred of causes—the cause of God's Church in their mother country, and its dependencies. How far France can plead the latter offset we are not prepared to say; but if M. Veillot's account be fair, her judges are less unimpeachable than our own. Certain novelettes from the hands of men the very antipodes of M. Veillot in sentiment, rather go to prove the correctness of his representations on this as on very many other topics:† and the narrative of a trial at Brussels in the sixth book of this volume,‡ at which Parisian counsel pleaded, is worse than anything we have heard of here.

But we cannot proceed much further with details. The chief faults of this work we have already notified: but we have a word more to say concerning some of them. That the author is sometimes too savage against his foes is a charge which we need not press; he himself with much candour seems to admit that it is one of his great snares and temptations. In accusing him of displaying too much of the spirit of a partisan, we alluded to that disposition, apparently but too common in France, of ignoring the sins

* Page 88.

† These were criticised *en masse* in the Edinburgh Review for the Autumn of 1843.

‡ Pages 291—300.

and corruptions of the Gallican Church in the century before the Great Revolution, and speaking as if the civil rulers had been under no provocation to chain her arm. We had marked some passages in proof of this, but are unable to afford time and space for them. Once only in M. Veuillot's work do we see a token of the opposite tone and temper.

The writer's singular unreserve respecting his own life is very contrary to English taste. Here is a specimen which occurs in the midst of one of the earlier sketches :

"**LORD**, I have desired, according to my humble strength, to work for Thy glory ; I have sacrificed to that end some of the dearest wishes of my heart ; I have given Thee the hours of sleep, and the days of summer. How often, Thou knowest it, during the mornings of autumn, have I taken my pen, my weapon, and have stayed there, face to face with one of Thine enemies, resisting the song of the birds, who called me to go out and enjoy the last leaves and the first mists ! **LORD**, grant me as a reward, to labour as earnestly to attain heaven, as this poor fool does, to gain hisses !"

Yet even these and similar passages possess a charm and freshness of their own, and as in some way linked with this characteristic, we must take into account the noblest feature of the volume—its wonderful moral courage ;—that virtue which acute observers* declare to be at so low an ebb in these days of civilization ; that virtue which one of our political novelists† has termed "the rarest and most admirable quality of public life." Which of us would put our names to a volume half so brave ; to such notices for example as the following addressed to the leading democrats ?

"Since I have studied them, I do not recollect having ever detected in them a noble or generous impulse ; I have ever found them violent, false, full of craft and insolence, having no other argument to use but the Moloch of steel, the triangular cleaver which they term, *liberté, égalité, fraternité*."—Preface.

The *world* in France (we use the term as before, as employed in the Divine discourses related by S. John,‡) is certainly to the outward eye a worse world than ours in England—more shameless and abandoned, more openly the enemy of **CHRIST** our **LORD**. Hasty observers see this and infer that there is no religion in the land. They have been to the opera, dined luxuriously at Very's, talked with a *Vicomte*, who declaimed against the *tristesse* of an English Sunday, and from these premises they have formed a decided opinion, as to the absence of all religion in France. No religion forsooth ! in

* E.g. Mr. J. S. Mill, the Logician and Economist.

† The Author of *Coningsby*.

‡ Chapters xiv. to xvii.

a country where hundreds resign all earthly comforts and take up the cross in silence, where the inmates of hospitals are tended by unpaid sisterhoods, where missionary and children are taught on the like terms! No religion in a land where all missionary enterprise is rife! no religion in one of the few countries (so far as we know), which during this present century has recruited the noble army of Martyrs!*

We have wished to consider M. Veuillot's book simply as the attack of a Christian against infidelity. He himself declares that utter unbelief, and not the prevalence of any creeds which even he would term heresy, is the object of the *Libres Penseurs*. He has fought on the barricades against anarchy in the year 1848; and was imprisoned for a month by the government of poor Louis Philippe for an article in the *Univers*; so that it is not by words only that he has struggled. And what are his expectations for France? Let us listen to him once more.

"I will go to the barricades, with an aching heart, to rescue the State from imminent and certain danger: and not at all to imply that I think it in a healthy state or in a right path. Thanks to those cruel victories, something is still left standing, the vessel is not yet upset, *there is a ray of hope, a miracle is still possible: God is so good!* I struggle then, with tears, against this unhappy people, because of all the evils that threaten it the greatest, the most irreparable would be, its triumph."—Preface.

And yet again to his concluding chapter:

"It is not a foolish, but generous, impulse of the human mind; it is a conspiracy of all the lowest passions of mankind. Its object is, not to advance any particular heresy; but to stifle all religion. If there be, in the crowd, men of genius who think they have found something better than Christianity, they are few; they are not noticed, they have no influence. The mass consists of wretches who have their own reasons for hating the Divine law; of artisans who gain their living by corrupting it, and of a number of fools who think they must struggle to prevent the clergy from taking their goods, their wives, and their children. All these grow furious, declaim, scribble, compile, print, and reprint. From the infamous archives of atheism proceed a thousand nameless platitudes, newly arranged by minds equal to understanding them, but too dull to invent them. The puppies of to-day plume themselves on the cast-off garments of those whom the last century despised. They invoke Voltaire; Voltaire would have blushed to own them. Voltaire is dead; Thersites now heads the battle, and Tabarin sounds the charge.

* * * * *

"They blaspheme the light, they outrage virtue. They see that the

* We allude to the Martyrs in Cochin-China.

strength of the Church consists in the respect that she commands, and in the good that she does; they neither will have the Church respected, nor allow her to do any good. They have determined that her wisdom shall no longer enlighten the ignorant, that her voice shall no longer console the unhappy, that her hand shall no longer feed the hungry. They have said to the child of the people, 'The Christian Brother poisons thee.' They have told the sick man in the hospital, 'The Sister of Charity is killing thee.'

* * * * *

"If the people complain, they will tell them, they are free, and that superstition no longer darkens their souls. If they perish, they will bring cannon against them. There will be no longer a Church, but powder and shot will always be at hand!

"Oh! Christians, fight and pray! Fight, to retard, if it be only for an instant, this catastrophe, alas! how near. Pray, that God may shorten its duration.

"Pray above all, that you may merit the grace that God reserves for you, of dying holily, or living usefully. Many amongst you will die, they will be the seed; but many will be preserved to watch the soil, and gather in the fruits. For if God works, who can doubt of the harvest?

"They thought to annihilate you, they opened a trench, they have made an abyss. They will fall into it with you; but they only will not escape from it.

"The foxes brought a flame, and said to it: 'Burn up the birds!' The fire has done its work; the forest is destroyed; the lions have perished in the flames, the foxes are smothered in their holes. But the birds have winged their flight to heaven.

"Terrible, terrible, are Thy judgments, O Lord God of Hosts!"

Then amidst the smoking ruins steps forth one servant of the Cross; the language of the Psalms is on his lips.

"O miracle! the man of God advances, and life springs up beneath his feet. The earth blossoms, the wounded and dead arise, the dry bones themselves are clothed with new flesh; all the dust that the breath of anger has not scattered for ever, revives and lifts its voice to praise the LORD

LORD, something seems to tell me that my bodily eyes shall not see that day; but with the eyes of the spirit I see it, and I await it, with unshaken hope. Thou wilt conquer, Thou wilt punish, Thou wilt be just; and when Thou shalt have punished, Thy mercy will burst forth, powerful, immense, infinite.

"Thy vengeance is already begun, but it has not yet interrupted the course of Thy mercies. All are warned, and no one, as yet, is struck. LORD, have pity on souls! By the blood of JESUS CHRIST, by the prayers of the blessed Virgin, by Thine innumerable lovingkindnesses, lessen the prey of eternal death!"

Other considerations we leave for another day. The internal

difficulties of the two millions (among the thirty millions of population) whom the French call practising Catholics; the evidences of evils among them which some would represent as existing in the English Church alone; the serious quarrel between M. Veuillot's Journal, the *Univers*, and the present Archbishop of Paris,* involving some of the deepest questions that can agitate the mind, and tending to cause a division hardly less serious than that which exists among ourselves—these are grave and solemn topics; but at present we confine ourselves to the main question raised by the book, the struggle in France between religion and the spirit that either denies a God or refuses to believe His revelation.

THE LIFE OF ANSELM.

The Life of Anselm, Archbishop of Canterbury. Translated and abridged from the German of F. R. Hasse, Professor of Evangelical Theology in the University of Bonn. By the REV. WILLIAM TURNER, M.A., Vicar of Boxgrove. Rivingtons. 1850.

THERE is no complaint more frequently made against theological disputants than the apparently trifling character of the subjects upon which they quarrel. The philosophical historians and essayists of the last century, when they wished to strike a blow at the Church, found no weapon so ready as that which was furnished by the frivolity of the topics handled by the ecclesiastical chroniclers, to whom they referred. In our own day it is still a favourite objection of latitudinarians, that Churchmen argue for a vestment or a formulary with more earnestness than they display in their advocacy of what the critics assume to be the essential points of their cause. This popular line of remark might have some foundation, if it could be shown that one party in the conflict had always enjoyed the privilege of selecting its battle-field. Let it be proved that the issues have been deliberately chosen by Churchmen, and it will be then time to comment on their frivolity or their importance. For we can hardly suppose that the critics in their philosophical indifference would claim that Christians should concede without discussion each point in question, until one happened to arise, on the urgency of which every one was agreed. The truth is, that history affords very few instances in which the questions at issue have been precisely such as either of the contending parties would have fixed upon. That march of events, which Divine pro-

* See the *Guardian* and *Morning Chronicle* Newspapers.

vidence has ordered, and which has so often baffled the calculations of the keenest observers, not unfrequently places in our path the very objects we should have been most solicitous to avoid,—the questions, on which our views are sure to appear at the greatest disadvantage in the eyes of the world. Yet their discussion cannot be declined. Our antagonists would be the first to condemn us, if we refused to consider them; for the pertinacity, with which they maintain the indifference of the whole dispute, is generally found to be identical with a firm resolution not to accept the view opposite to their own. Thus it happens that on trifles, matters of detail, ceremonial observances, documentary phraseology, is waged the warfare, by which the prosperity, and almost the existence of a nation or a Church is to be decided. They become not merely the watchwords, but the principles, of those who contend about them. The advocacy or the condemnation of a measure once raised to this kind of prominence represents the whole sentiments, the entire character, and tone of the public men, who are called upon to declare themselves for or against it. To ignore its existence becomes impossible. It is felt that to concede a series of details on the ground of their indifference is virtually to concede the principle on which those details are founded. Such a concession would in itself convey the impression that the truth of the view involved in them was distrusted by its own supporters: the establishment of the opposite system would do more than any argument to win for itself an indiscriminating but popular support. We demur then on reasonable grounds to the hasty censure passed on so many earnest assertors of principles which may seem unimportant to such as have not studied their bearings. We maintain that it is almost always impossible to arrange a conflict of opinion so as to present the opposing statements of truth nakedly to view; we protest against the historical criticism that would fix upon the mighty men of old the responsibility of the devices, which the course of events or the necessity of their times had emblazoned on the banners under which they fought.

Our readers will have no difficulty in applying what we have thus suggested to the history of the great controversy about investitures in the twelfth century. It has been matter of scorn to Hume and his admirers that the Church should have so stoutly resisted the prerogative, long exercised by the European kings, of conferring benefices by delivering the ring and the crosier to the Prelate elect. It is not denied that simony had increased in the Church to an extent quite unprecedented, and quite inconsistent with the due fulfilment of her spiritual work. It is confessed that some remedy was needed against the monstrous evil, and that nothing would be of real avail, unless the gross abuse of patronage, of which princes were guilty, could be redressed by the Church. But that her voice should be raised against a ceremony,—that

a sacred character should be attributed to the insignia of the Pastoral office,—that it should be a point of conscience to refuse the crosier which had been offered by a layman's hand,—these things have been condemned as the scruples of a monkish superstition or the pretexts of an unseemly avidity for ecclesiastical power.

And thus it has come to pass that English historians, while they paid a tribute of praise, which could hardly be denied, to the learning, the piety, and the simplicity of S. Anselm, have thought it needful to apologize on his behalf for the tenacity with which he refused to recognize the right of two kings to grant Investitures within their realm. It is true that the decision of this question in favour of the Church would not in terms have given her the real privilege she claimed—the election of her own Bishops; she might still have been compelled to accept the nominees of the Crown. Yet it is plain that the delivery of the pastoral staff was the symbol, in which men recognized the power of bestowing spiritual functions. The fortunate ecclesiastic, who had well executed his Sovereign's business, or liberally purchased his favour, received from the Royal hand, not merely the marks of feudal subjection, but the very instruments of that sacred authority, which belonged to him only as the servant of the King of kings. Hitherto unconsecrated, unrecognized, in any way by the Church as admitted to the number of her chief pastors, he yet appeared to the eyes of men furnished with the insignia of her Episcopacy; that he should receive apostolical consecration seemed no more than a formal completion of what was already virtually accomplished. Plainly then it was of infinite importance that the ecclesiastical element should vindicate to itself its own integrity, and that a distinction should be made,—not only in treatises and homilies, but in the public ceremonial before the eyes of men,—between the homage which the possessor of lands and manors owed to his liege lord, and the pastoral charge which he could derive from no other than the Great Shepherd of the sheep. Anselm would have obtained more than this if he could; he would have freed the prelates from the necessity of taking the oath of fealty, as well as from the obligation of receiving investiture. But he was contented to abide by the Papal decision, which rescued the Investitures from the power of the Prince, while it reserved to him the homage, which he claimed as from a subject holding lands within his realm.* This settlement

* The Archbishop appears indeed to have viewed the possibility of such a decision in the king's favour with great uneasiness, but not so much for the reason assigned in Mr. Turner's translation of Hasse's life, as on account of the hardship which might be inflicted on tender consciences. Thus he writes to his firm friend Hugo, Archbishop of Lyons, in anticipation of such a result. "*Dubito quid me facere oporteat, si aliquis Religiosus electus homo Regis pro Episcopatu vel Abbatia fieri respuat. Durum enim mihi videtur, ut hoc illi præcipiam per obedientiam; et si non fecero, videtur irreligiosis hoc facere volentibus, laxare accedendi indigne ad dignitates audaciam.*" Ep. III. 123. We do not learn however that the dilemma actually arose.

of the great controversy, which S. Anselm's firmness had procured, was made known only just in time to allow the aged Primate's return to the country, where his high position had been so full of trials. Important as it was for the peace of the Church in England, it had yet more remarkable consequences as the precursor of the famous Concordat between Calixtus II. and the Emperor Henry V., in 1122; the conclusion of a struggle by which Europe had been for half a century convulsed.

The time, at which this struggle commenced in England, was in great measure determined by the personal history and character of Anselm. It was natural that an insular Church should be slow to feel the influences by which Germany and Italy were so powerfully moved; it was probable that she would be affected by interests and feelings peculiar to herself. That this had been to some extent experienced in fact, the history of the times immediately preceding the Conquest will prove. In spite of the violent and uncompromising agitation of the monastic orders, in which Dunstan had taken so memorable a part, there remained a spirit of independence among the clergy by no means satisfactory to the Papal See. That independence was unfortunately exhibited too often in the attempt to maintain abuses and the determination to persevere in profitable or sensual indulgences. Here then, as in other parts of Europe, Rome could interfere in behalf of religion and morality; she extended her own power by upholding what was pure and upright against a system of robbery and vice. For it should never be forgotten that the mighty power, which gradually established itself at Rome in the latter half of the eleventh century, and of which Hildebrand was the life, was essentially a *reforming* power. They, who claim the title of reformers now, may be unwilling to admit Gregory VII. into their ranks; but it is clear that a more zealous reformer never lived. By himself, or by the hands of the preceding Popes, whom he guided in all things, he was enabled to attack the crying enormities of his time,—corruption in the disposal of benefices, and laxity in the lives of ecclesiastics. His success in these endeavours secured indeed at the same time the establishment of the Papal power; but this result (whatever opinion we may form of it) cannot change the character of the design, which he had clearly prosecuted. Nor ought we to allow even the sense of wrong, which Hildebrand's arrogance and inhumanity naturally aroused, to blind our eyes to the proofs of his zeal in a righteous cause. The very fact that such men as Anselm were the devoted adherents of his system should make us hesitate how we adopt the vulgar declamation, which would ascribe all his efforts to a secular ambition, and allow no loftier object to his struggles than a determination to exalt the honour and dignity of the Pontifical throne. In England, however, the two designs almost of necessity coincided; the same spirit, which upheld the national independence, had been evoked in

behalf of ecclesiastical abuses. Stigand was amenable to censure for holding the Bishopric of Winchester with the Archbishopial See of Canterbury: he was obnoxious to the Papacy, as he had despised the excommunication of Nicholas, and the suspension of Alexander II. So long as he continued Primate of England, that fair land could not be regarded as within the obedience of Rome. But the Pope's decrees were ineffectual; Saxon England did not carry out his sentence, and Stigand continued to rule the Church. Then it was that the Norman appeared to fulfil the Pope's behest. Alexander sent to him the blessing, which had been granted on a like occasion to the Norman conqueror of Sicily, and William marched against his Saxon rival under the protection of the Papal banner. It was easy to foresee that the interests of the king and the Pope would be identical, and that the Conqueror would not be the less willing to depose a powerful Saxon ecclesiastic, because that ecclesiastic had broken the Canons and despised the censures of Rome. It harmonised well with this order of events, that the two immediate successors of Stigand should be sons of Italian noblemen. Not only was the traditionary feeling of native independence crushed, but the reins of ecclesiastical government were committed to men familiar from childhood with the axioms of the Papal theory. The importance of this circumstance has perhaps been in some degree overlooked; it has been assumed that Lanfranc and Anselm, because they were the instruments of Norman sway over the conquered Church of England, were therefore Norman in their sympathies and their aims. But in truth it is scarcely possible to conceive characters more widely differing than that of the Italian priest, deeply versed in theology, imbued with the spirit of the ultramontane movement, cultivating peace and its arts, and the Norman feudatory, who was ready to defend his bishopric by the secular arm, and had few scruples about the method of investiture so long as he had sure possession of the lands, which it conferred. The explanation of Anselm's protracted absence from his diocese—perhaps we should rather say, the apology for it—is to be found in the fact that he had no community of feeling with the Bishops of his Province, that he found the Ecclesiastics of the land unwilling to risk the displeasure of the king for a cause which to him was dearer than his life. We may doubt, indeed, whether Eadmer has not paraphrased according to his own view the language of the Bishops, when he makes them tell the Primate, that if he is resolved to hold fast to his duty to God, they must leave him, for that they will not be unfaithful to the king. But though they may not have realized, still less have expressed, this direct contradiction between their principles and the Divine Law, still it is plain that allegiance to the king was to them what obedience to the See of S. Peter was to the Archbishop. To him it seemed impossible that there should be either unity or purity in the Church, if the com-

munion with Rome was cut off, or her authority repudiated; as for his oath of allegiance to the king, he had taken it, he said, with the implied reservation of his duty to God, and the claims of natural morality; if the choice must be made, he would obey God rather than man.

With such feelings it was impossible but that Anselm should be soon engaged in conflict with his sovereign. Lanfranc indeed had filled the Archiepiscopal throne at peace with the temporal power; but times were changed since Lanfranc's death. The well-established authority of the Norman line needed no longer a Pope's blessing for its security; the Saxon hierarchy, represented now only by good old Wulfstan of Worcester, gave no cause for anxiety to the foreign prince. The personal character too of the monarch was very different. The Conqueror, stern and hard-hearted as he unquestionably was, ruled in a spirit of grave prudence, which gave to ecclesiastical authority its due respect. If he claimed excessive power over the Church, he used it to the Church's interest; if he forbade an appeal to Rome, he took care to avoid as far as possible the necessity for it. The second William in his ungovernable fits of passion, and his coarse obstinacy of purpose, knew no respect for persons secular or sacred. If a man crossed his will, he cursed him; if any power appeared to set limits to his own, he denounced it with a madman's fury; it was a crime in an ecclesiastic even to claim the control of the revenues of his benefice, if the king's exchequer needed a supply. Anselm's quiet firmness of character, joined to a remarkable meekness of demeanour, irritated the Red King beyond measure; a turbulent opponent he could have imprisoned or destroyed; but he could not fix a charge of treason on the holy Bishop. He quoted against him the customs of the realm, and cited the authority of Lanfranc and of his royal father. Anselm would pass no opinion on their character; he would only do what seemed to be his own duty, regardless of the consequences to himself. It is likely enough that Lanfranc had made concessions to the royal power, which would hardly consist with the independence of the Church; but then he had been closely allied to the author of that power, and had been accustomed no doubt to view it as bound up by interest and duty with the welfare of the Church. Anselm saw at once that this state of things could not continue; he had sad forebodings from the beginning of the stormy lot that awaited him. We cannot resist quoting from Mr. Turner's pages the narrative of the oft-told tale of his election to the Primacy of England.

"The king was attacked with a severe indisposition, which increased from day to day, and at length was so violent, that fears began to be entertained for his life. Barons and prelates assembled together, to receive his last commands. They exhorted him to think of the salvation of his soul, to open the prisons, to proclaim a remission of debts,

to restore liberty to the Churches, and above all things, not to suffer the mother Church of the kingdom to remain longer desolate. Anselm, by chance was in the neighbourhood of Gloucester, where this occurrence took place. He was at once sent for, and requested to administer consolation to the king, in his last moments. The first thing, he declared, must be a sincere confession, and the king must acknowledge his sins and promise reformation. If there was yet time he might then do what his nobles had advised him. In the agony of death the king consented to all. He confessed to Anselm, and called the bishops present as witnesses, that he at the same time vowed in future to exercise righteousness and mercy. On the high altar of Gloucester, they must lay these vows, in his stead: and an edict furnished with the king's seal, was thereupon published, which ordered the liberation of all prisoners, released debtors from outstanding sums, and offered pardon to all offences against his person: Good, holy laws, as in the times of king Edward, were to be re-established, justice impartially administered, and every violation of it strictly punished. The people received with joy this royal declaration and flocked to the Churches in order to thank God, and pray for the king's recovery. The nobles now more urgently renewed their request for the nomination of an Archbishop of Canterbury. The king was ready to comply, and under the most excited expectation of those around him, none of whom ventured to recommend any one, nominated the Abbot Anselm, as the most worthy to fill that honourable station. An universal cry of exultation followed, whilst Anselm turned pale, and when the bishops wished to introduce him to the king, in order to receive the crosier from his hand, he offered the most violent resistance. The astonished Bishops took him aside, and with the most earnest entreaties, besought him to take charge of the oppressed Church. 'Reflect,' he replied, 'on my sixty years, and the ill will which the monastic life has caused me, from my inexperience in worldly concerns. How should I be able to rule the Church of a whole country, who am scarcely able to guide myself?' And when they now all promised to support him with a helping hand, and to relieve him from everything which might be burdensome to him, if he would only undertake their spiritual guidance, he reminded them, that he had an Archbishop over him, to whom he was bound in obedience,—that he had another country and Prince, and above all, that he belonged to his monastery from which he ought not so inconsiderately to withdraw himself. They replied that all these motives must be laid aside; at present, he must only obey the call of the Church of England; and upon this they dragged him by force before the bed of the king. He here renewed his remonstrances; but with tears in his eyes, the king conjured him to take compassion on him; for if the Archbishopric was not immediately filled, he felt convinced that he must die. Then all cried out, 'Thou wilt not put the king's life in jeopardy? Considerest thou not how important it is, that a man such as thou, shouldst be now at the head of the Church; and wilt thou take upon thyself all that will come upon the Church of England by thy refusal?' In his distress, Anselm turned himself to the two Monks who accompanied him, Baldwin of Tournay, and Eustachius. 'You help me,' he sighed; but Baldwin answered, 'If it be the will of God that thou shouldst be Archbishop,

who are we that we should strive against God?' At length the king commanded all present to cast themselves down before Anselm, and entreat him to spare him. They then became impatient—'The crosier here,' they cried out, seized Anselm by both arms, and dragged and thrust him to the bed of the king, from which the latter already stretched forth the crosier. It was of no avail that Anselm stuck his hands into his bosom. They snatched them out, and held fast the left hand that it might not assist the right; still convulsively he the more firmly closed his right hand. In spite of all their exertions, the Bishops were unable to force the hand open; only for a moment the forefinger gave way. They at once seized the opportunity to press the crosier between the finger and the thumb, and then clasped it and the fist in their hands, so that he could not let the former fall. Scarcely was this effected when the shout resounded, 'Long life to our new Archbishop.' The Clergy exultingly poured forth the 'Te Deum.' The Bishops raised Anselm in their arms, and carried him into the nearest Church, in order to thank God for the accomplished election, although Anselm continually exclaimed, 'It is worth nothing, what you are doing, it is worth nothing!' The Divine Service was scarcely over, when he immediately returned to the King, in order to protest against the election; and when the Bishops and the assembled nobles accompanied him to his house, he once more explained to them the reasons for his refusal. 'Consider,' says he, 'what you are undertaking! if the field of the Church of England is to be cultivated, two of the strongest oxen must draw the plough—the King and the Archbishop—the former by his worldly authority and rule, the latter by spiritual instruction and guidance. The one (Lanfranc) you have lost; the other in the full wildness of youth is still yoked to the plough, and with this are you willing to harness together, an old weak sheep? Take heed! lest the wildness of the ox drag not the sheep through hedges of thorns and brambles; it will lose its milk, its wool. The lambs which I should nourish with the word of God, will perish, and the ox will not rest, even until he hath hanged or butchered the sheep.' Anselm was so exhausted with all these proceedings, that when at mid-day some friends from the neighbourhood visited him, to whom the tidings had arrived, they found him lying in a fainting fit, and were obliged to sprinkle him with water to restore him to himself."

It is not difficult, even with the miserable notions about ecclesiastical rank and patronage which our times have encouraged, to understand the sincerity of the fears expressed by the archbishop elect. It was certain that a king who had persisted against the remonstrances of his nobles in keeping the see of Canterbury vacant for four years, that he might plunder its revenues, would not leave the future possessor of those revenues in peace. Nor was anything to be hoped from the effect of a repentance, which the terrors of death only had suggested. It was not the first time that fear had imposed on William Rufus a restraint, to which his heart gave no assent. During his father's lifetime he had assumed a character of respectful obedience, which contrasted favourably with the reckless wilfulness of his elder brother, and had gained by his dissimu-

lation the throne of England for a reward. Again, he had made a fair show of moderation and justice, when he wished to propitiate his Saxon subjects and to retain the countenance of the venerable archbishop, whom all men honoured. But as soon as Lanfranc was dead, and Duke Robert's rival claim set aside, the real nature of the king displayed itself, and men shuddered at the hardihood with which he boldly avowed his contempt for all things human or divine. It could not then be hoped that the impressions of a sick bed would be more lasting than the habitual restraints of former hypocrisy; however fair his promises, it was but too probable that he would rise from his couch to enter on a renewed course of violence, and that the Church would speedily excite his cupidity, even if she did not oppose his power.

It is not, however, in the quarrel between Anselm and Rufus that the development of the principles, for which the primate contended, is to be sought. Under any circumstances, a conflict might have arisen between the saintly bishop and the rapacious Norman, whose life was devoted alternately to the excitements of the chase and the care of replenishing his exchequer out of his subjects' purses. And it might have been thought perhaps that with the death of William the struggle would have ceased. So for a time men supposed. But when the new king had established his popularity, the old opposition between feudal rights and ecclesiastical privileges revived. The archbishop had indeed been recalled from his exile, and honourably received by prince and people; but Henry was determined to maintain the customs of the realm, and abide by the precedents he drew from the history of times in which the Conqueror and Lanfranc had lived. Anselm was more than ever resolved to uphold ecclesiastical rights, for he had spent a part of his first exile at Rome, and had renewed all the feelings of sympathy with the oppressed, which early associations and national prepossessions had implanted in his mind. He had been present in the Council, at which sentence of excommunication had been declared against all enemies of holy Church, all laymen giving investiture of benefices, all who presumed to accept such investitures, and all who should consecrate ecclesiastics thus invested. He had been a witness of the vehement indignation with which the Bishop of Lucca at that Council had inveighed against the oppressors of the Church in England, and he had heard the loud acclamations with which the decrees of excommunication had been received.* Fortified with these resolutions, and firm in his own sense of duty to the Church, Anselm boldly declared to the king, before he had been many days in England, that he would not continue to reside there, unless Henry would obey the Pope in the matter of investitures. The

* *Hic presentes fuimus; hæc conspeximus; his, ab universis, FIAT, FIAT, acclamari audivimus, et in his consummatum concilium scimus.*—Eadmeri Hist. Nov. lib. II.

result of that declaration was the second exile of the archbishop, from which he did not return until the controversy was finally settled, and the power of granting investitures renounced by the king.

No one can study the life of Anselm as a mere tale of the olden time. Very interesting no doubt is the relation of his faithful attendant and biographer Eadmer, of the strange scenes at which he was present with his honoured master. But as we read it, our thoughts are diverted unconsciously to the struggle between the same powers in which our own age is so deeply interested. Wonderfully we have seen in almost every part of Europe arise the ecclesiastical principles, which the philosophers of the revolutionary era believed to be utterly crushed. Everywhere a claim is made for rights and liberties long withheld by the secular power; scruples of conscience are pleaded, which the latitudinarians first ridicule, then resist, and soon perhaps will punish. In one place the duty of the clergy to withhold Christian rites from the impenitent is denied; in another, the Church is forbidden to educate her children; in a third, the rights of patronage are abused, so as to thrust into places of authority the very men who are certain to betray their trust. It ought to be no matter of surprise that now, as in the eleventh century, this latter subject should be deemed a matter of vital importance. Our only human security for the right decision of any question lies in the promotion of fit persons to the government of the ecclesiastical state. So long as the body remains sound, it may be able to reject heretical conclusions proposed to it; it may retain a negative power of inestimable importance, but it is unable to act; it is crippled for all great works of religion and charity; its energies are deadened by those who ought to cherish them; for want of leaders, the very zeal of the men who would defend the Church is turned oftentimes into tumultuous agitation. These are no theoretical difficulties; we have witnessed them amongst ourselves; in almost every age the Church has deplored the consequences of the too successful policy, whereby the world has converted her endowments into rewards for traitors to her cause. If in former times mailed barons angrily refused to free ecclesiastics from the incidents of a feudal tenure, we have heard in our day the first minister of the Crown describe his rights of patronage as nothing more than an element of his power, and almost avow the extent to which he would be influenced in his nomination of a bishop of the Church by the vote to be expected from his nominee in the House of Lords. If the Norman kings could venture to intrude into the government of a religious house an uneducated and unworthy kinsman of some powerful retainer, we have been told by the great law officer of the Crown that the sovereign might raise a convicted felon to the episcopal bench. There is scarcely an instance of secular usurpation to be met with

in the eleventh century to which we could not find a parallel at this day, with this important distinction, that the kings of the Norman and Plantagenet lines could plead a justification for their arbitrary acts, which our statesmen cannot allege. Their system was a military one; the stability of their thrones actually depended on the number of men they could bring into the field, and to no other source could they look for men than to the lords of the great fiefs, who did homage to the Crown. If these fiefs should cease to furnish their contingents, the monarch might at once become a prisoner in his rival's dungeon, or a knight-errant in quest of foreign adventure. It was not unnatural then, at a time when bishops and abbots owned broad lands in every part of the realm, that the sovereign should be anxious to take security for the defence of his throne; nor was it strange that the barons should refuse to allow their spiritual compeers an exemption from the burthen to which their own lordships were subject. It is to be remembered, too, that the Church wielded a temporal power of tremendous extent. It was well known that the first monarch in Europe had been compelled to beg three days for admittance to the castle, in which the pope was sojourning, under the rigours of a wintry sky: it was no secret that the Bishop of Rome claimed the authority to depose crowned heads, and grant away whole empires at his will. There was cause then for suspicion of the power of the Church in the eleventh century, which our own statesmen cannot allege; if the oppressions of William Rufus and his successor were indefensible, we shall be still more at a loss for excuses in behalf of the encroachments of the politicians who administer in our own times the nominal power of the Crown.

It is more material, perhaps, to compare the conduct of the Church in those days with the attitude assumed by our own body in its resistance to secular usurpation. We are met at once by the fact, that the vast majority of ecclesiastics in high authority acquiesced in the royal prerogative with a servility, to which even our own degenerate days offer no parallel. Anselm was almost alone; if a few personal friends be excepted, he had no one to stand by him, when he was constrained by his duty to God to oppose his Sovereign's will. Whatever may be thought of the tendency recently evinced among us to favour royal prerogative and civil jurisdiction over the Church, it is impossible for an impartial reader of Anselm's history to deny the existence of that tendency in a more offensive form among the Bishops who followed the Court of our Norman kings. Thus Eadmer concludes his account of a stormy interview between Henry I. and the Archbishop. "Thus passed much on these subjects; but all may be summed up by saying that the Bishops and great nobles continued to bandy words and vie with one another in obeying the king's will in every particular, as they had done under a former sovereign; and above

all, in urging resistance to the Roman Pontiff. So Anselm returned home, seeking to please God in all things, and mourning with a heavy heart over the oppressions of the Church of England." But if the conduct of the great is so darkly painted in the histories of the times, a happy contrast appears (we could wish that the same contrast were discernible amongst ourselves), in the behaviour of the people at large. Incidental notices of manifestations of popular feeling lead us to conclude that the general sympathy of the lower orders was with the injured Archbishop. When he left England, and when he returned again from exile, he was attended by vast multitudes of citizens and country people testifying their reverence and admiration. The notorious violence of William Rufus could not prevent the crowds who attended the abode of the court from denouncing the treachery of the Prelates, and openly offering tokens of respect and veneration to their victim. His faithful friend, who witnessed the devotion even of the rude soldiery to the holy Bishop, could not refrain from consoling himself with the recollection of the old saying, "*Vox Populi, Vox Dei.*"

It is not our purpose in these pages to enter on the wide question of the Papal supremacy. It was at all events the form in which the unity of the Church was presented to mankind at the time of which we speak; it concentrated the opposition to violence, simony, and worldliness; its claim was denied, not by reformers, or by theologians, but by spoilers and timeservers. We are bound therefore to judge of men's conduct, not so much by their denial or acceptance of a novel theory in church government, as by their obedience to what was in fact the recognized symbol of religious unity and authority in Europe. Of that power itself the history of S. Anselm gives us a less favourable idea than its subjects have sometimes endeavoured to propagate. With all his devotion to the See of Rome, the Archbishop could not but perceive that the king's ambassadors were treated with a degree of complaisance, to which their master's conduct had by no means entitled them; so grievous were the delays he experienced, that he actually left Rome on one occasion, and took refuge at Lyons in despair of obtaining relief from the tardy Pontiff. We have alluded before to the Council, in which Reinger, Bishop of Lucca, interrupted the proceedings of the Synod with an indignant protest against the indifference displayed to the wrongs of the suffering Church of England and its saintly Archbishop. It must be owned that Anselm did more for the authority of the Pope than was done by the Papacy for him. His firmest friends were found not at Rome, but at Bec, at Rouen, and at Lyons. What we miss in our own struggles for the faith of the Church is the sympathy of our fellow Christians throughout Europe, far more than the support which in other times we might have had from the thunders of the Vatican. It is indeed our grievous loss to be so insulated and cut off from the communion of the

faithful ; but that insulation we must in all sincerity charge upon the Roman See as the result of its arrogant hostility to all that refused to acknowledge its unfounded claim. We may lament that an Archbishop of Canterbury cannot now take his honourable place at an European Council ; we may grieve that no word of help comes to us across the seas in our contest with the Latitudinarian foe ; but let the blame be cast where it ought to lie ;—on the lordly Pontiffs, who have imposed unauthorized terms of communion, and by their act have divided the Church of CHRIST.

We have said nothing of the book, whose title we have prefixed to this article ; but we are glad of the opportunity to recommend it to our readers as an impartial and discriminating review of Anselm's history. We have had no opportunity of comparing the translation with Hasse's book ; but the translator does not profess to have made a literal version. His own aim was "to offend neither Roman Catholic nor Protestant," in which we hope that he has succeeded. Perhaps his object has been gained at the expense of occasionally suppressing features of interest belonging to the religious character of the times, which we think that he might have introduced without fear of offence, and with some increase of historical fidelity.* However, we are glad on the whole to express our approval of the work, as being free from that patronising tone of apology and extenuation, in which modern ecclesiastical biographies are too often found to abound.

We extract the account of Anselm's death, which is taken (with some omissions) literally from Eadmer's life.

"He never left Canterbury after Michaelmas 1108. All food was nauseous to him : it was with an effort that he could eat anything, which indeed rather irritated his stomach, than strengthened him. His sickness continued for half a year, yet he attended to his duties as well as he was able. Indeed it was no longer possible for him to go into the Church on foot ; but he was daily carried there in a chair, 'for even only to be present at this holy service,† particularly contributed to his edification.' Towards the end of his life, his attendants in vain attempted to keep him away, because every time he was fatigued by it. He yielded to them only on the fifth day before his death.

"This was on the Friday before Passion Week in 1109. After that time he lay still in his bed and addressed words of pious exhortation to every one who visited him. On Palm Sunday, one of those present said it seemed that he would keep this Easter at the Court of a different Master from that of his earthly king. 'It seems so,' he replied, 'and

* We do not see why Mr. Turner should describe the Bishops of Hereford and Salisbury as "asking pardon" of Anselm, which he "solemnly imparted" to them, when the original has "*pœnitentiam apud illum agentes*," and "*absolvit eos in quadam Ecclesiola, &c.*" Surely absolution is both a recognized and a justifiable expression.

† Attamen consecrationi Dominici Corporis, quod speciali quodam devotionis affectu venerabatur, interesse desiderans, singulis diebus illuc se in sellâ faciebat deferri. Ead. Vita S. Ant.

I shall gladly obey His call, yet I should also feel grateful, if he would grant me a longer time with you, and it could be permitted me to solve a question in which I now feel a lively interest: 'on the origin of the soul.' If I could only enjoy a little food I might again recover, for with the exception of external weakness I feel no pain.' But on Tuesday evening his words were no longer intelligible: thus his voice was dead. Then Radulf, Bishop of Rochester, asked him whether he would not once more impart a blessing and absolution to his present and absent children, to the king and queen, as well as to the people of the land which were under his spiritual government. He at once raised himself up, made a sign of the cross with his right hand, and sunk on his bed, with his head on his breast. After midnight as the brothers were chanting early matins in the Cathedral, one of those who watched about him, took the Gospel book and read to him the passion text which was customarily introduced in the service of that day. When he came to the words, 'Ye are they which have continued with Me, in My temptation, and I appoint unto you a kingdom, as My FATHER hath appointed unto Me, that ye may eat and drink at My table in My kingdom,' (S. Luke xxii. 28—30,) Anselm began to breathe more heavily.* They immediately assembled the brothers, and prayed for him in silence. At the morning dawn on the Wednesday before Easter, 21st April, 1109, in the 76th year of his life, and the 16th of his Pontificate, he fell asleep, and on Maunday Thursday, was buried in the Cathedral at Lanfranc's head.

ALLIES; ON THE ULTRAMONTANE THEORY.

The See of S. Peter, the Rock of the Church, the Source of Jurisdiction, and the centre of Unity. By THOMAS WILLIAM ALLIES, M.A., Author of "The Church of England cleared from the Charge of Schism." London: Burns and Lambert. 1850.

It is not difficult in our days, for any one who wishes it, to have access to the public through the medium of the press; but most persons will acknowledge that a man who is getting up a subject ought not, on all accounts, to use the art of book-making as a means of clearing his own mind at each stage of his education. It may be matter of curiosity to some, but the world at large has no interest in knowing the elementary processes of any man's religious training, until he has become indeed an historical character. The readiness, however, of some men to put into print just what they happen to be thinking at the moment, can hardly, on some subjects, be regarded as a venial offence—a vanity, or a thought-

* A circumstance has been omitted from the biographer's graphic relation, which we supply. Sensimus eum jam jam obitum, et de lecto super cilicium et cineres positus est.

lessness. When the book you are writing is on the gravest of all matters, and the interest proportionably solemn and engrossing, the premature and unqualified essayist might profitably reflect that what he confidently publishes as a learned and true conclusion in 1848 may be read by hundreds who will not have the opportunity of learning from him in 1850 that he was altogether wrong two years before.

Mr. Allies, on the very title page of his present Essay in defence of the Poppedom, reminds us of the fact that he is the "Author of the Church of England cleared from the Charge of Schism." Last year another, and enlarged, edition of this work was on sale—amended in some of its parts, and made more of a whole, than in its primary or crude state, its "first edition." We have had the curiosity to lay the two works side by side, the recent defence of the Church of England, and the present defence of the Church of Rome; and we need, certainly, desire nothing more as a reply to the latter than what is furnished by the former—unless indeed the perusal, in succession, of two such works of one writer might so shock the confidence of the inquirer that it would be charitable to direct his theological reading into some other channel.

The tone adopted by Mr. Allies in each of his Essays is singularly the same. In the present, he protests (p. 22) that "*he cannot imagine how any candid mind*" can draw any other conclusions than he now draws from the texts which seem to support the Roman theory! And again, (p. 32) he says, "I see not that the most vigorous defender" of the Poppedom ever claimed for it greater favour than the great Council of Chalcedon "of its own accord" conceded! In his former Essay, after a much ampler review of the very same facts, he makes the same appeal to "candour," in the very opposite direction. His words were, "Let any one of *candour* consider these acts of Chalcedon" (*Church of England cleared*, p. 134, 1st. edit.), and again, "I see not how it is possible to avoid the conclusion, that the power of the first See, even as its most zealous occupant viewed it, was *quite different* from that power which was set up in the middle ages"! Is a man capable of forming, or justified in propounding, opinions on such subjects as these, who can thus write on both sides in so strangely brief a period? Immediately Mr. Allies thinks he sees a point "he cannot conceive the possibility" of any one else not seeing as he sees, although (if his present self-confidence did not obliterate all memory of his recent self), he would be able, at least by a little effort, to believe that another view *might* honestly and "candidly" be taken; for whatever others may think of his previous career, he would not wish himself to place it in so cruel and ignominious a light.

But while we have felt it our duty thus, in limine, to deprecate such a style as this, we have not been deterred by Mr. Allies' tone from attempting to do justice to his reasoning. It will be neces-

sary, in order to see the argument in its own light, to omit the consideration of those sarcastic, passionate, or ad captandum allusions to the controversy in our own Church as to the authority and power of the *de facto* Tribunal of Appeal in ecclesiastical causes. It would occupy us at too much length, and divert our attention too, from the subject before us, viz. the claim of the Bishop of Rome to be, by divine right, "THE SOURCE OF JURISDICTION, AND THE CENTRE OF UNITY" to all Christians. It is the more necessary to keep to this, on the present occasion, because Mr. Allies thinks himself just now particularly clear on the subject of Jurisdiction.

Mr. Allies lays it down that the power of the Pope is "supreme," in the following sense (p. 21); "It embraces the whole flock as well as the different sheep; the Church collectively as well as its members distributively. It reaches to every need which can arise . . . it cannot be limited by any power over which it is appointed itself to rule. Yet is it tempered by that* one *condition* laid upon it by our LORD at its institution, 'Simon, son of Jonas, *lovest thou Me more than these,*' more than James, and more than John?"

In his chapter on "the Church's witness to this primacy," he says,† "on the other side, no intelligible view as to the origin and maintenance of mission and jurisdiction in the Church can *even be presented to the mind*. You search in vain for any antagonist system which will hold together, and not run up into confusion and anarchy." And then at the close of his essay he places in contraposition the Papal primacy, and the royal, as if the only conceivable alternatives.‡

One would think, from this, that Mr. Allies had never heard of the Great Patriarchal System of the first centuries of Christianity—a system which certainly held together with tolerable consistency for five or six hundred years at least—according to which system the "power of the keys" was believed to be imparted in ordination—and the right to exercise that power regulated by the canons of the Church in synod. Our patience we own is not a little tried by the modern artifice of controversy which affects to deal with "mission" and "jurisdiction," as *distinct gifts* of the HOLY GHOST, a theory simply absurd. All parties capable of apprehending the controversy between ourselves and Rome are agreed that the *power* of necessary jurisdiction of souls is included in the gift of the HOLY GHOST imparted in Holy Orders. All parties are agreed, that "mission" and the exercise of "jurisdiction" must be derived from the Church. The papal system makes the Pope the representative of the Church, and his decrees supreme; the Catholic, patriarchal system makes the Synod the representative of the Church, and canons the expressions of her will. These surely are two intelligible systems; and when a man who has just adopted

* Peculiarly exhibited by Pope Alexander VI. ? † Page 118. ‡ Page 158.

the papal system deliberately protests that he knows no other system that even can be imagined, or "presented to the mind," one is led naturally to think he never heard of that system on which through the early ages, the whole Church proceeded. But we are sorry to say, that Mr. Allies *has* had the Catholic system very plainly "presented to his mind;" and he has quoted Bossuet's great defence of that system, and in his "Church of England cleared," he has shown not only a perfect comprehension of the Gallican adherence to the canons of the Catholic Church, and the Oriental steadfastness in every age against Roman pretensions—but has intimated that the Church of England by its still greater carefulness against the excesses even of the Primacy of Rome, occupied a still more defensible position than either the Gallicans or the Orientals. We quote the following from Mr. Allies' former book:

"What the ultramontane theory is, we see from Bellarmine. It proclaims that the government of the Church is a monarchy, concentrating in one person all the powers bestowed by CHRIST upon the Apostles. In this the student of history is bound to declare that it stands in point-blank contradiction to the decrees of General Councils, to the sentiments of the Fathers, and the whole practice of the Church for the first six hundred years; for much longer indeed than this, but this is enough. Well may Bossuet ask, 'if the infallible authority of the Roman Pontiff is of force by itself before the consent of the Church,—to what purpose was it that Bishops should be summoned from the farthest regions of the earth, at the cost of such fatigues and expense, and Churches be deprived of their Pastors, if the whole power resided in the Roman Pontiff? If what he believed or taught was immediately the supreme and irrevocable law, why did he not himself pronounce sentence? Or if he pronounced it, why are Bishops called together and wearied out, to do again what is already done, and to pass a judgment on the supreme judgment of the Church? Would not this be fruitless? But all Christians have imbibed with their faith the conviction, that, in important dissensions, the whole Church ought to be convoked and heard. All therefore understand that the certain, deliberate, and complete declaration of the truth is seated not in the Pope alone, but in the Church spread everywhere.' 'This too is certain, that when General Councils have been holden, the sentence of the Roman Pontiff has generally preceded them; for undoubtedly Celestine, Leo, Agatho, Gregory the Second, Adrian the First, had pronounced sentence, when the third, fourth, sixth, seventh Councils were held. What was desired therefore was, not a Council for the Pontiff about to give judgment, but, after he had given judgment, the force of a certain and insuperable authority.'

"In fact, on this theory, as we have seen above, S. Cyprian, S. Firmilian, S. Hilary of Arles, the African Bishops in 426, the Fathers of Chalcedon in 451, in passing their famous 28th Canon, the Fathers of Ephesus in 431, in passing their 8th, the Fathers of Constantinople in 381, in passing their 2nd and 3rd Canons, and in the synodal letter addressed to the Pope and the Western Bishops, the Fathers of Nice,

in passing their 6th, nay, all ancient Councils whatever, in all their form and mode of proceeding, were the most audacious of rebels. But what are we to say about the language of S. Gregory? Did he then betray those rights of S. Peter, which he held dearer than his life? When he wrote to Eulogius of Alexandria, 'If your Holiness calls me Universal Pope, you deny that you are yourself what you admit me to be—universal. But this God forbid:' are we to receive Thomassin's explanation, that he meant, as Patriarch, he was not universal, but, as Pope, he was, all the while? or when he says to the same, 'in rank you are my brother, in character my father,' was Eulogius at the same time, as Bellarmine will have it, merely his deputy?

"In the beginning, Peter set up the Patriarch of Alexandria, and of Antioch, who, receiving authority from the Pontiff (of Rome), presided over almost all Asia and Africa, and could create Archbishops, who could afterwards create bishops.' And this, it appears, is the key which is to be applied to the whole history of the early Church. Those Bishops, Metropolitans, Exarchs, and Patriarchs, throughout the East, who had such a conviction of the Apostolic authority residing in themselves as governors of the Church, who showed it in every Council in which they sat, who expressed it so freely in their writings and letters: S. Augustine, again, in the West, himself a host, who speaks of a cause decided by the Roman Pontiff being reheard, of 'the wholesome authority of General Councils,' who assents to S. Cyprian's proposition, that 'every Bishop can no more be judged by another, than he himself can judge another,' with the single limitation, 'certainly, I imagine, in those questions which have not yet been thoroughly and completely settled;' who, in a question of disputed succession, which more than any other required such a tribunal as the Papal, had it existed, appeals not to the authority of the Roman See, but to the testimony of the whole Church spread everywhere, not mentioning that See pre-eminently; or when he does mention 'the See of Peter, in which Anastasius now sits,' mentioning likewise 'the See of James, in which John now sits:'—all these were nothing more, at the same time, than the Pope's delegates, and received through him their jurisdiction.

"Can a claim be true which is driven to shifts such as this for its maintenance? Or can the truth of Christianity and the unity of the Church rest upon a falsehood? Is infidelity itself in such a 'hopeful position,' as regards Christianity, that it is really come to this, that we must either receive a plain and manifest usurpation, or be cast out of the house and kingdom of God? That we must reject the witness and history of the first six hundred years of the Church's life on the one hand, or be plunged into the abyss of infidelity on the other? If it be true that the Pope is Monarch of the Church, which is the present Papal theory, the Church of England is in schism. If it be not true, she is at least clear of that fatal mark. All that is required for her position is the maintenance of that Nicene Constitution which we have heard S. Leo solemnly declare was to last to the end of the world, viz. that every province of the Church be governed by its own Bishops under its own Metropolitan. And who then but will desire that the successor of S. Peter should hold S. Peter's place? Will the Patriarch of Constantinople, or the Archbishop of Moscow, or the Primate of Canterbury, so much as think of assuming it? Be this our answer

when we are accused of not really holding that article of the Creed 'one Catholic and Apostolic Church.' Let the Bishop of Rome require of us that honour and power which he possessed at the Synod of Chalcedon, *that, and not a totally different one under the same name*, and we shall be in schism when we do not yield it. At present we have no farther separated from him than to fall back on the constitution of the Church of the Martyrs and the Fathers."

Our readers will naturally ask, by what possible means the writer of such sentences as these has persuaded himself, (without any attempt to reply to, or explain his former self), to abandon a position held by all the saints and doctors and martyrs of the first six hundred years. By his own showing, "We must reject the witness and history of the first six hundred years of the Church's life on the one hand, or be plunged into the abyss of infidelity on the other," if we adopt the Roman hypothesis. It might be instructive to be told which choice he has made. But has Mr. Allies, in his present work, shown some new reading—some fresh array of primitive and Catholic authorities—to account for his marvellous change? Not in the least. He has singularly hovered around the old quotations, and those not the most recondite. S. Cyprian's and the other few expressions culled from the ante-Nicene period, the canons of Sardica, and Chalcedon, the anniversary sermons of Pope Leo, and the like. The only difference seems that by the assistance of a fresh translation of some old passages, and *italicizing* the text in different places, he has brought out a different meaning, or supposes he has done so. For example:

In his former work we had, of course, over and over again the sentence of S. Cyprian, "Episcopatus unus est, cujus a singulis in solidum pars tenetur." This he translated, "The episcopate is one; it is a whole in which *each* enjoys full possession." In the present essay, Mr. A. again favours us with this rather obscure quotation, in every instance taking care to translate the words "in solidum" by "without division of the whole." Now, "in solidum" simply means "in full," and S. Cyprian is affirming that every bishop has in his episcopacy a full and whole possession, without detracting or receiving from others. Mr. Allies quoted it in the former essay as a good Anglican passage; in the present, he makes it into a sort of half Roman one, by help of his improved translation. The same tenderness of the supremacy of the Roman pontiff induces Mr. Allies to make Leo I., in his sermon largely quoted, just concede episcopal power as a "privilege" to other bishops. Leo is distinctly asserting that the might or fulness of the apostolic power was given to all the apostles, though first to S. Peter. Mr. Allies has the assurance to translate "*vis potestatis*" by the words the "*privilege* of this power!" Indeed, by these means and by the aid of the blind eagerness with which Mr. A. has pursued his task, he has actually missed the sense and drift of the whole sermon of

Leo, who betrays no knowledge of the theory which Mr. Allies has adopted and tried to fasten on his words. Leo says lofty things indeed of S. Peter, as the original representative of the whole apostolate, but says not a word about his peculiar prerogative having descended to the Roman See. Had he entertained such an idea, it is not too much to say that this was the time to put it forth, and yet he only humbly adds in the last sentence, that the interment of the apostle in Rome was a peculiarly happy thing for the Roman Church.

But we must give one or two other examples of Mr. Allies' manner of treating this very solemn controversy; and it is the more to be noticed, because Mr. A. has been very free in denouncing the unfairness of controversy, and parading his own equanimity in opposition to the alleged disingenuousness of De Maistre and Thomassin on the one side, and Bingham on the other. (See Church of England cleared, p. 12.)

"In the year 325," (says Mr. Allies) "at the great Nicene Council, the pre-eminent authority of the Bishops of Rome, Alexandria, and Antioch, is acknowledged; the former of these being referred to as a type, to sanction a claim of the latter over his subject bishops, and it is stated that the Roman Church always had the primacy." Now to say that the Bishop of Rome is referred to as a "type" for the Bishops of Alexandria and Antioch, would be simply the language of ridiculous affectation, were it not that the word "type," when used in this way, has acquired (as Mr. Allies is aware) a peculiar and technical sense in the Roman system. It is a cant word by the help of which the Roman controversialist converts an ordinary phrase, implying an ordinary idea, into a transcendentalism; so that where an ancient father has spoken of S. Peter as a figure or representative of all Bishops, (just as any one of a class, especially the more eminent, may be addressed as standing for the whole, when what is said to one is applicable to all), the fashion has been to use the ambiguous term "type," which may be stretched to imply "exemplar," or "model." So it is not by accident Mr. Allies here says the Bishop of Rome was referred to as a "type." The *example*, or instance, of the Roman Jurisdiction is indeed alluded to, in one brief line, but that is all; not one word is said about the "type" which Mr. Allies would so significantly hint. But this is not the worst of this "quotation." The declaration further ventured on by Mr. Allies, that the Nicene Canons "stated that the Bishop of Rome always had the Primacy" is very revolting. If the fact were so, it would not go to prove the "Supremacy" now demanded: but the truth is—and Mr. Allies knows it—that *no such words are to be found* in any of the ancient copies of the Nicene Canons. The attempted reference to the works of S. Leo (who lived above a hundred years later) is utterly disgraceful. It compels us to adopt the warning which Mr. Allies once gave the readers of De Maistre, "never to trust his references without verifying them."

One more quotation from Mr. Allies shall suffice us for the present. Without saying one word of the well known fact that Gregory I. disclaimed and denounced the title of Universal Bishop—a fact referred to by Mr. Allies in his former book as the “most remarkable prophecy in history,”—he now quietly adduces that great Pope as the asserter practically of the power which, in words, he disclaimed.

From Mr. Allies' Present Essay.

“To all who know the Gospel, it is manifest that the charge of the whole Church was entrusted by the voice of the LORD to the holy Apostle Peter, chief of all the Apostles. For to him is said, ‘Peter, lovest thou Me? feed My sheep.’ To him is said, ‘Behold, Satan hath desired to sift you,’ &c. To him is said, ‘Thou art Peter,’ &c. Lo, he hath received the keys of the kingdom of heaven, the power of binding and loosing is given to him, the care of the whole Church is committed to him and the Primacy, and yet he is not called Universal Apostle.” “S. Gregory well knew that in his own simple title, ‘Gregory, Bishop, Servant of the Servants of God,’ every thing was conveyed; he was pre-eminently the Bishop, and needed not the titles Ecumenical Patriarch, or Universal Apostle, to set forth his charge of Supreme Shepherd. S. Gregory, like all his predecessors, and all his successors, was well assured that the Rock was that single point of the Church which could never be moved. ‘Who is ignorant,’ says he, ‘that the holy Church is established on the firmness of the chief of the Apostles, who in his name expressed the firmness of his mind, being called Peter from the Rock?’”—pp. 94, 95.

From “the Church of England Cleared.”

“I cannot but consider S. Gregory’s words to contain one of the most remarkable prophecies to be found in history; for this assuming the title and exercising the power of universal Pope has actually led not only to the concentration of all executive power in the Roman See, but to the conviction, among its warmest partisans, that the whole existence of the Church depends on the single See of Rome.”—p. 163, note. The words alluded to by this note are these:

S. Gregory says: “I do not consider that an honour by which I acknowledge that my brethren lose their own. For my honour is the honour of the Universal Church. My honour is the unimpaired vigour of my brethren. Then am I truly honoured, when the true honour is not denied to each one in his degree. For if your Holiness calls me Universal Pope, you deny that you are yourself what you admit me to be, Universal. But this GOD forbid. Away with words which inflate vanity, and wound charity. Indeed, in the holy Synod of Chalcedon, and by the Fathers subsequently, your Holiness knows this was offered to my predecessors. Yet none of them chose ever to use this term; that, while in this world they entertained affection for the honour of all Priests, in the hands of ALMIGHTY GOD they might guard their own.”—p. 165.

If we were to continue this sad Review, it would be but to multiply specimens of this kind. The strangest versions, at times, to Latin sentences—the oddest methods of printing parts of sentences in italics apparently not to draw attention to the passages marked so much as to draw it off from other sentences not marked, and mystify the whole; the completest reversal of the opinions of his former book in the present, even on historical points, without explaining why, or answering his former self, (of which his treatment of the Oriental Church is a pregnant example.)* And finally, the ever anxious attempt to make an insignificant, or paltry sentence remarkable, by etching it in a separate line, apart by itself.

Neither will we trust ourselves to speak of that strange moral obliquity which permitted Mr. Allies to minister in the Church of England for days and weeks after he had written this utter repudiation of her authority.

MR. DANIEL WILSON'S FAITH IN DANGER.

1. *Our Protestant Faith in danger; an Appeal to the Evangelical Members of the Church of England in reference to the present crisis.* By DANIEL WILSON, M.A., Vicar of Islington. London: Hatchard and Jackson.
2. *A Letter to the Rev. Daniel Wilson, M.A., Vicar of Islington, occasioned by his recent Appeal to the Evangelical Members of the Church of England.* By WILLIAM SCOTT, M.A., Perpetual Curate of Christ Church, Hoxton. Mozley, Parker, Masters.

WE seldom remember to have agreed so much with the writings of a person from whom we yet entirely differ, as has happened to us in reading Mr. Daniel Wilson's pamphlet. It is not that he overshoots his mark, as sometimes happens to over-zealous partizans, for he writes in most measured and well considered terms. But he seems compelled, by circumstances, to make admissions, such as we may well rejoice to hear. This is noticed by Mr. Scott in the very severe, but temperate rebuke which he administers to the Vicar of Islington. Well may Mr. Wilson say that "his Protestant faith,"—the faith of the (so called) "Evangelical Members of the Church of England," (he does not pretend to say that it is the faith of *the Church*;) is "in danger." We accept the omen; and rejoice to believe that it is so. Were there no alternative for the persons referred to, but, failing their present faith, to lapse into infidelity, we should of course think very differently of the "crisis" in which

* See pages 118 of this Essay, and page 196, &c. of the former.

they now find themselves. But we are persuaded better things of them : when their most creaky vessel goes to pieces, as soon it must do, we trust that they may all find refuge in the true Ark of Catholic doctrine. And we are not without hope that even this slender article we are inditing, may be, as it were, the life-boat to rescue some one or two from perishing in the flood of infidelity, into which Evangelicalism threatens to engulf a large proportion of its followers.

Let us hear Mr. Scott's opinion :

"Could I look upon the subject of which I am writing as you do, as one of mere party triumph, I would ask for no more cheering and inspiring description of our progress than your own facts furnish. Your language actually glows and lives as it recites these the great victories of truth. Believe me that it will shed consolation to many a distressed and harassed spirit to learn that, by God's grace, so much has been done, and that as evil spirits of old were compelled to confess CHRIST, so now, they who, not in malice, but in ignorance, most vilify and disparage it, are compelled unconsciously to recognize the strange presence of some mighty influence at work, for which they cannot account, and whose future successes they tremble to conjecture. Yes, Reverend Sir, the very opposite, I believe, will be the result of your Appeal from what you intended. To me, at any rate, such is its result. In common with many others my heart was depressed, and my spirit sinking at present difficulties and distresses ; but who shall dare to despair of a work which even its enemies thus characterize ? We have seen every element of evil mustered against truth : the world and the State have combined against us : we ourselves have been found miserably unfaithful : we are cast out and made a by-word and a mockery : from our natural guardians we only meet with coldness or reproof :—this is one side of the picture. But you have shown us the other ; it is drawn with a master's hand : these admissions are perhaps extorted from you : therefore they are more likely to be true, and we are grateful for being reminded of our true position, and consequent duty."

Again :

"In recounting the successes of your opponents, you almost transcribed the fervid language of the ancient Apologists of the Church. Your sketch might stand as a description of the first triumphs of the Cross. What you say of the spread of our principles recalls almost exactly the terms in which they speak of the propagation of the Gospel itself. The parallel has been urged before. In all quarters, high and low ; in the schools of philosophy and art ; in the Courts and on the Exchange ; in Cæsar's household and in quiet villages ; in the schools of learning and in the poorest seminaries, nay, even in the very families of their opponents, men and women, all ages and sexes confessed the truth. It might be well for us to remember the words of one of old, that 'that may not be folly in which so many thousands agree with one and the same mind. For if women labour under the weakness of their sex, men at least are wise. If youths are easily led away, men of age

and maturity have some stability of judgment. If one town is foolish, many cities cannot be imposed upon; if a single province, not many nations.' So if our colonies as well as our villages; if the learning of our Universities and the simplicity of our children; if Scotland and America, if New Zealand and Newfoundland, are alike bearing the same witness, this may be the finger of God.

"Surely, Reverend Sir, it is not for nothing that this revival has grown with such unnatural rapidity, and from such insignificant beginnings. In 1833, as you remind us, it commenced—I am but reciting a page of contemporaneous history—and by the private conference of a few not very well known clergymen in an obscure country parsonage. But surely its progress recalls that of heavenly wisdom, which the Church brings before us in one of our Lessons: 'I came out as a brook from a river, and as a conduit into a garden . . . and so my brook became a river, and my river became a sea.'"

It was remarked at the beginning, that we found ourselves agreeing marvellously with Mr. Wilson. In all that we say now, it will be our endeavour to keep on the same good terms with him; and for this reason we shall not refer to two very severe castigations which Mr. Scott administers to him; first, for a description of the theology of his opponents, which clearly shows that he has not read their writings; and secondly, for his invoking popular passion* and violence as the only protection against the spread of these opinions.

We will confine ourselves to the more amiable portions of Mr. Wilson's "Appeal," although we may be compelled to suggest some material difficulties in the realization of what he proposes.

First, he tells us, "Prayer must be stirred up amongst us," i.e., his own friends, in order to stop the progress of High Church doctrines; "we must dwell less on party differences;" "let each of us aim to acquire a higher tone of personal piety." Now in these admonitions, addressed to our "evangelical brethren," whether in the Church or in "the denominations," we most fully and heartily concur. It has been noticed again and again by dissenting writers, as well as by the more honest members of Church-puritans, (including Mr. Wilson himself,†) that personal and practical religion was dying out very much among them, when "the Tractarian movement" commenced. If the "Evangelical members of the Church" will

* We are glad to learn from a Correspondent in the *Record*, that there is yet a remnant among the "Evangelicals" who protest against this suggestion. It is high time too, surely, for them to discover, that in the Education question, and the Gorham and Hampden cases, they are merely doing the work of a creedless and irreligious majority of the House of Commons, against the Truth and Church of CHRIST.

† "The successors of Venn and Cecil, and Newton and Scott and Milner, while in the main holding their doctrines and adopting their views of truth, failed possibly in exhibiting that holy unction and deep spirituality of mind which characterized those eminent servants of God, and fitted them to become champions for the truth.

. . . Secular duties multiplied. Public institutions rising on every side required attention. Large parishes demanded ceaseless superintendence. This tide of active duties was necessarily unfavourable to prayer, devotion, separation from the world, private meditation, a close walk with God."

adopt Mr. Wilson's hint, we shall indeed be most thankful. This is the right way of meeting the danger apprehended; and even should the result be different from what they anticipate, (as of course it would be,) yet the individuals themselves would only have the more cause to rejoice. It is, we apprehend, precisely because they have "aimed to acquire a higher tone of personal piety," that "the junior branches of their religious families who had been trained from childhood in the fear of God," according to the evangelical model, have forsaken the conventional type of their fathers' religion, and have become High Churchmen. Evangelicalism was a merely temporary phase of religious belief; it could not retain its more earnest members: they made trial of it, and worked their way into a better system. The same result, we should expect, will follow, should those of their brethren who are left behind adopt Mr. Wilson's advice, and cultivate greater spirituality of life, eschew the bustle and vain-glorious excitement of the platform, and "walk more humbly, more watchfully, more prayerfully."

In the same strain he says, "we want closer appeals to be made to the conscience from the pulpit." Precisely: this is what we have all along said. Evangelical preaching consists only in generalities; it is intensely formal; (what can be so miserable as Simeon's skeletons?) instead of penetrating into the conscience, and showing a man what is in him, it merely helped him to "lay the flattering unction to his soul," that he was not as other men are. It was through the pulpit that this shallow popular religionism was first exposed; and when Mr. Wilson and his friends begin really to deal "closely" with their people, they will indeed recover their influence; and if they do not make them red-hot "Protestants," as he imagines, they will do what is better, they will make them practical Christians, they will "show them their transgressions and short-comings," and cause them to abound more in humility and self-denial, and other such good graces.

Again he writes, page 33:

"Let our main dependence be on men whose evangelical principles are known and distinct. Let there be no compromise with the world, no attempt to unite with those who seek to hold a neutral position and halt between two opinions. I do not advocate measures, the object of which will be to include as large a number as possible of churchmen on some common ground, who are not in heart with us, but who are induced by dread of popery to stand by us for a time.

"If the proposed plan is to be undertaken with any prospect of success, it must be conducted by the faithful and devoted servants of CHRIST'S Gospel, who are prepared to sacrifice everything for the cause of their common SAVIOUR."

In another place he disclaims all sympathy with the Liberal party on the one hand, or with the "Old High-Church party" on

the other. This will be considered a very different policy from what Mr. Wilson's "Evangelical" friends have pursued for the last few years. Witness, for example, their two Periodicals, the *Record* and the *Church and State Gazette*. Was ever any thing so unspiritual as the latter, so untrue to the Church as the former? For the last few years Evangelicalism has been in close alliance with the world, and has pandered to all the worst passions of man's nature—as malice, and love of scandal, and ridicule of holy things. A blessed day would it be indeed for that party when it shall discard these engines of the evil one, and return to the use of the fair weapons of controversy, without any compromise of its own distinctive principles. But the real truth is—what Mr. Wilson has not in the smallest degree realized—Evangelicalism as a living doctrinal party is extinct. Its phraseology has indeed taken large possession of the public mind, and in the act of dying it has contrived to spread its poison far more extensively than when it existed as a living reality. But as a spiritual or even intellectual system it is gone past recall. The dry bones are there, but no Spirit to put life into them. When Mr. Wilson calls for the re-establishment of "his Protestant Faith," there will we apprehend be "none to answer;" but let him humbly pray that Holy Spirit of truth to lead him into the knowledge of the mysteries of God, and we have no doubt that his prayer will be heard.

LETTER OF "AN AMERICAN LAYMAN."

THE following letters will explain themselves :

To the Editor of the Ecclesiastic.

DEAR SIR,

Philadelphia, Aug. 5, 1850.

You will not I feel sure take it amiss in one on this side of the Atlantic if he ventures to express a doubt as to the full correctness of an assertion made by one of your contributors in the June number of your magazine. I allude to the opening paragraphs of the article on D'Azeglio's "Ettore Fieramosca"; and more especially to this sentence: "Nor can we discover that the labours of modern French literati, whether in the paths of history or of fiction, are in anywise interpenetrated by a Catholic and Christian temper."

So far am I from thinking this to be the case, that I hesitate not to say that the French Church is not only not wanting, but is

* The prospectus of "the Wickliffe Club" advocating a "revision of the Prayer Book" is a pretty clear proof that there is at least a section of the Evangelicals, whom this definition of principles *ought* not to include.

peculiarly rich in active and intelligent writers among her laity, and especially in the particular department of history and biography, ever the stronghold of the French; with your leave I will name a few of the more prominent of these writers, somewhat at random, as they occur to me.

M. Ponjoulat, associated with the late M. Michaud, author of the *History of the Crusades*, in the "*Correspondence de l'Orient*," has published a valuable and extensive history of "*S. Augustine, Bishop of Hippo*," in 3 vols. 8vo. He tells us in his Preface that among his preparations for writing this life was the reading of all the works of S. Augustine. He has written various other works, and his last is a *History of the French Revolution*.

M. Cretineau-Joly has written a very careful "*History of the Jesuits*," in 6 vols. 8vo., defending their cause and speaking out boldly on their side. He has also published a "*Life of Clement XIV.*"; and not to mention others, a "*History of the Sunderbund*," published last year, which is of great moment for the proper appreciation of the late troubles in Switzerland and the radical movements there, and in the bordering districts of the neighbour nations.

M. Chavin de Malan, has written a "*History of S. François d'Assise*," 1 vol. 8vo.; of "*S. Catherine of Sienna*," 2 vols. 8vo.; of "*Dom Mabillon*," 1 vol. 12mo. He is a most indefatigable student.

To M. De St. Cheron we owe a "*History of S. Leo the Great, and of the Church in his Times*," 2 vols. 8vo. And he has also translated Hunter's important "*History of Innocent III.*" 3 vols. 8vo.

M. Ozanam's "*Dante and the Catholic Philosophy of the Thirteenth Century*," was reviewed some years ago in the "*British Critic*." He has since published two volumes, "*The Germans before the Introduction of Christianity*," and the "*Civilization chez les Francs*;" a great deal of very curious information is contained in this last volume.

Chevalier Artand de Montor has published at different times the lives of various Popes (vide Alison's "*History of Europe*"), and has recently collected them in an edition published by Didot, in 8 vols. 8vo. The third édition of his translation of the "*Divine Comedy*," appeared in 1848; he has written a "*History of Dante*," and other works.

M. Audin's "*Lives of Luther, Calvin, Leo X., and of Henry VIII.*" have met with great success abroad; we cannot, however, sympathise much with him, as he is a great admirer of the Renaissance, and the direct opposite in this respect of Montalembert.

M. Laurentie has published a "*History of France*," in 8 vols. 8vo.; one of the "*Dukes of Orleans*," in 4 vols. 8vo.; and many other minor works.

Baron Heusion has given us a "History of the Church from the Times of the Apostles to the Pontificate of Gregory XVI." in 13 vols. 8vo. ; also a "History of Missions," in 4 vols. 8vo.

M. Louis Veuillot, Editor of *L'Univers*, is one of the most nervous writers of the day ; he has published a number of volumes, the most important (to us) of which is an 18mo. volume, which appeared at the close of 1848, called the "Free Thinkers," (this has reached a second edition) ; a far clearer light is thrown by this volume than by any other I have met with on the state of society in France, its fearful evils and deep corruption ; as also on what Christian people there and the Christian Church are doing to avert, if may be, the threatened overflow of all inconceivable disaster. It were greatly to be wished that your attention could be drawn to this volume, and the notice of your readers be called to it. Among other striking and right eloquent passages is a very remarkable criticism on Lord Byron, and the fearful influence of the writings of that wicked man.

His brother, Eugene Veuillot, associated with him as editor, has published a volume on the "Wars of La Vendée," that all fruitful theme, on which the Christian heart dwells ever with constantly new interest. They have just issued proposals for the publication of a series of volumes (100 vols.) on Religious History, Science, and Literature, by many eminent writers, cleric and lay, under the direction of M. L. Veuillot ; among the co-laborateurs is the learned Benedictine Dom Pitra.

And not to weary you, I will mention only one more. The "voluminous" Capefigue has just issued the first volume of his contemplated "History of the Church" ; the first part of which to be contained in 4 vols. 8vo., and embracing the first four centuries, is ready for the press. He says in his preface, "It is perhaps not useless, for a believing laic to occupy himself with ecclesiastical questions, the customs, the ideas, the forms of the world are not useless in popularising questions which ought to be spread and taught to all classes, provided that the laic submit beforehand his ideas and his judgments to the authority of the Church." His valuable "History of the Reform, the League, and Henry IV." has been of great service in making better known the truth in regard to the Massacre of S. Bartholomew, showing plainly that it was the offspring of the ungovernable zeal of the Catholic Bourgeoisie goaded to the uttermost by the fanatical acts of the Huguenots ; "*Acte de Religion et acte de patriotisme se confondaient dans une époque d'émotions pieuses, quand la patrie en deuil apparaissait dans ces églises dégradées par la hache d'arme des Calvinistes ;*" and by the concessions made or believed to be made to them by the Court : and that it received the sanction of the king, only at the last moment, and then from the instinct of self-preservation.

Audin's book on this subject may be mentioned in this connection, and also, though foreign to our main matter, the "Life of Catherine de Medecis," by Eugene Alberi, published at Florence in 1838. The author had access to many hitherto unused and unpublished, not to say unknown documents of great value.

Making all proper apology for troubling you, and asking only the stranger's privilege.

I am, very respectfully,
AN AMERICAN LAYMAN.

To the Editor of the Ecclesiastic.

DEAR SIR,

Articles for Magazines are so frequently prepared under the pressure of great haste, and amid the calls of more direct and immediate duties, that it is not surprising if statements occasionally creep into the pages even of the more serious and cautious among them, which are either incorrect in themselves, or at least calculated to convey a false impression to the reader's mind.

The kind and interesting letter of your American correspondent has convinced me that I must plead guilty to the charge of having committed in some degree both these faults, to wit, overstatement and indistinctness.

Now so far as my assertions are over stated, I would most willingly retract them, and apologise both to your readers and (if this may be said without absurdity) to the Church and nation thereby wronged. None can rejoice more than myself to be thus corrected, and to be told of important exceptions to the general tone of modern literature in France.

But it is due to myself and to the periodical which you conduct to re-state with somewhat more distinctness the exact purport and bearing of my remarks. All assertions (as was justly observed by Sir H. J. Fust in a certain celebrated judgment) must be considered with due reference to their subject matter. I was about to criticise a work of D'Azeglio, who is a distinguished statesman, a brilliant writer of fiction, and at the same time, in all that concerns *dogma*, a dutiful son of his country's Church. And what I *mainly* wished to express, though it ought to have been put more clearly, was simply this: that France did not appear to nourish men of a similar stamp; that she was deficient in Catholic-minded statesmen and tale-writers. Your correspondent has furnished us with a valuable catalogue of high-toned biographers and historians, and I feel assured that I shall have many who will sympathise with me in returning him thanks for his information. Now I will not dwell upon the circumstance that writers of perhaps wider European fame than any he has named, as M. Comte, MM. Thierry,

Michelet, and Guizot, must be ranked—the three first among Infidel philosophers and historians, and the last named among French Protestants: but I must observe that of the *litterati* to whom I intended more especial allusion, namely, *writers of fiction*, your Philadelphian friend has not named *one* author who can (I believe) be brought forward as an exception to my statement, unless it be M. Louis Veuillot. And the same remarks apply still more forcibly to their statesmen. There is indeed, one is glad to think of it, a strong Church party, numbering perhaps two hundred, in the *Chambre des Députés*, but who among them, except those I mentioned, have won from society at large the appellation of *hommes d'Etat*?

But I will not detain you with mere re-assertions: let me summon an unexceptionable witness. This same M. Veuillot, in the preface to the work so highly commended by the American Layman, writes as follows:

"Men of letters, statesmen, teachers of the *bourgeoisie*, what have been your endeavours from the time that you have exercised power? You have discovered that the Church is *de trop* in this world. Not only, madmen, have you robbed her of her wealth, destroyed her institutions, rejected her laws, but we have seen you unceasingly preach, teach, and enforce the same contempt and the same spirit of rebellion upon all the miserable people; and that people assuredly did not ask of you infidelity, for infidelity despoils and murders it." Then again, after some notice of the faults of the citizen class, (*la bourgeoisie*,) he proceeds: "The 'thinkers,' from Voltaire to M. Sue; the statesmen, from M. de Choiseul to M. Thiers: the legislators and ministers, from the latest parliaments and the latest servants of absolute royalty, to the last chambers and last prefects of constitutional monarchy, (to say nothing of what has followed,) have they been anything but bourgeois or fanatic supporters (*séides*) of the bourgeoisie? Have they not hated the Church, embarrassed her action, calumniated her doctrine, and poured infidelity by handfuls into the bosom of the people? (*N'ont-ils pas hai l'Eglise, entravé son action, calomnié sa doctrine, et à pleines mains versé l'incrédulité dans le sein du peuple?*)"

I might cite from the body of this volume passages which make more strongly for my case; but at present I will content myself with asking such of your readers as take any interest in the matter to place my *entire* statements on this head side by side with these sentences of a dutiful lay son of the French Church, and then to decide whether your Magazine can be convicted of any very grievous amount of misrepresentation through the fault of one who subscribes himself,

Yours, very sincerely,

THE CONTRIBUTOR OF THE ARTICLE ON
ETTORE FIERAMOSCA.

ROUEN,
Feast of S. Bartholomew, 1850.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES.

Light in Dark Places, or Memorials of Christian Life in the Middle Ages. London: Lowe.

WE are by no means sure that we should agree with the translator of this work, as to the value of the "light" which it is supposed this volume will throw on places whose darkness is no less doubtful to us. The preface informs us that there have been "mistakes" respecting the Middle Ages, and that the book has for aim and object "to strengthen our reverent love for the good men of other times, whilst manifesting their mistakes." We confess it is a new idea to us that our reverence for any individual is to be increased by having his "mistakes" displayed before us. We had thought that reverence to a man must always spring from a firm faith in his superior wisdom and goodness. Again, we are informed that the work is to "dispel any sentimental worship of times, and seasons, and human institutions, while it enlarges our sympathy for the Holy Church of the Redeemed and Regenerate." But we cannot understand how the translator proposes to accomplish two such opposite ends, when it is plain that she does herself consider the visible Church, with its ordinances and observances, as the human institutions which she deprecates. From the German professor, author of the book, we did not expect much more catholicity than the translator manifests. He appears to be a Lutheran, or at least to bestow upon the husband of the ex-nun some of that hero worship which the preface warns us against feeling for the saints of old. Yet notwithstanding the danger to some minds of the heretical disquisitions, very cleverly handled, with which the lives of the saints are interspersed in this volume, we are disposed to pronounce the work a valuable acquisition to our English literature; simply because we expect that it will produce a totally different effect to that which was intended by those who brought it to this country. We think that it is impossible to read the noble records of martyrdom with which this book abounds, without having the heart stirred to works of self-denial and penitence, which the author would probably look upon as indications of a fatal adherence to the "covenant of works." And again, the extracts he gives from the writings of holy men of old, with a design to separate a theoretic faith from the practical crucifixion of the flesh, do but tend to show, that, while these blessed martyrs knew well how valueless the latter is without the former, they yet felt, with a conviction no less deep, that faith without works is dead. We would hope, too, that there must be a salutary warning in the disgust which all must feel at such anecdotes being given with praise as that of a "Swiss apostle," who refused the offering, made by one of his scholars, of a rich and costly chalice; bidding him rather sell it to give to the poor, for that his teacher had preferred distributing the Body of the Lord in common metal vessels! We repeat, however, that we consider the book valuable, from its deep research and accurate detail of most interesting facts. We are quite willing, likewise, to give due praise to the translation, which is correct and elegant.

Five Sermons on the Principles of Faith and Church Authority. By the Rev. C. MARRIOTT, Fellow of Oriel College, and Vicar of S. Mary the Virgin, in Oxford. Oxford: Masson and Parker.

THESE sermons bear all very directly, as their title would lead us to expect, upon the standing of the English Church, and the duties of her members; and are introduced by a preface, which gives still more plainly and summarily what are the author's views upon the Church's prospects. Mr. Marriott has judged well in putting them forward at this season. Every day is increasing the number of inquiring minds; and it is most desirable that such persons should be furnished with the means of ascertaining what are really "the principles of faith and Church authority" on which they may rest. It is the policy of our opponents, and the temptation of weak and wavering friends, to represent the recent judgment of the Privy Council as unsettling the whole basis both of our faith and polity; and those who are now for the first time inquiring what the grounds are on which their obedience is demanded, have a right to expect that recent events, to which they hear so much importance on all sides to be attached, should be taken into the account, and have their just and proper weight allowed them. This good service Mr. Marriott's little volume appears to us very sufficiently to perform. He admits the difficulty of our present position, urges his readers to aspire after a higher state of perfection, both individually, and as a Church, and is sanguine that the divisions of Christendom may even yet be healed. Meanwhile, however, he re-asserts and justifies the grounds on which the Church of England is content to rest; viz., that "Every point of faith will be—1. Contained or implied in Holy Scripture; 2. affirmed by the undivided Church; 3. agreeable to right reason." Further he combats the craving after an infallible authority. The following passage seems to us to contain great wisdom, and accounts for the sad moral downfall of several who have left us:—

"The mind of the Church is not always expressed directly in categorical statements. It is often to be gathered incidentally from a number of indications. And there will always be a tendency in some minds to seek a technical precision in defining it, which will be injurious to truth by introducing undue limitations. The same tendency will lead them to prefer technical methods to the simple procedures of common sense. The truth is, that the system of the Church loses its true living character for any one as soon as he makes it a substitute for the life of the Church, or his own,—as soon as he regards the Church as a machine for manufacturing cut and dried dogmas, which he is soon to take up and apply unexamined. We must take in truth, and make it a part of our own life, if we wish it to be really ours."

It hardly becomes us, perhaps, to praise the *Lyra Sanctorum*, (Masters,) seeing that it is a reprint of the "Lays for the Minor Festivals," which appeared in our pages some years since. We may say, however, that several have been considerably improved, and some re-written, and that they are now published in a most elegant volume, and independently of poetical merit, possess a high religious character.

ARCHDEACON WILLIAMS has published an important *Letter to the Bishop of Llandoff on the peculiar condition of the wants of that Diocese*. (J. W. Parker.) The wants are indeed most crying; more so than mere figures can express. The Archdeacon attributes them to three causes;—the immense increase of population in the mining districts; the familiar use of two languages among the people, who are stated to be so jealous of their own tongue, as absolutely to refuse the ministrations of a Priest who officiates in English as well as Welsh; and thirdly, the alienation of the Church's property at the Reformation. We much fear that a fourth should be added—the inefficiency of the existing Clergy, their ignorance of the Church's doctrines, and of the proper manner of conducting her services. The Archdeacon, we perceive, asks for twenty additional Clergy, and ten churches. We do hope that the former may be sought through a strengthening of discipline, and reinvigorating of the collegiate system at Lampeter.

The ARCHBISHOP OF DUBLIN has published an essay on *Infant Baptism*, which he delivered in the form of a charge to his Clergy, (J. W. Parker.) Doctrinally, he takes the orthodox side; but one would suppose that it was addressed to a meeting of unbelievers, rather than to a body of men who had been trained in the principles of the Catholic faith. The Archbishop (it is mentioned incidentally) is in the habit of conjoining the celebration of the Holy Sacrament with the office of Confirmation, and admits no person to the latter who is not prepared to take part in the former; and he considers the experiment to have been very successful.

Having devoted two articles to matters growing out of the present controversy, we can only very briefly notice two out of the still swelling stream of pamphlets. And the first place is certainly due to MR. WILLIAM BARTER'S *Humble Statement of his Distress, in a Letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury*. (Rivingtons.) It is a plain and manly avowal of the necessity which, in common with a vast body of the Clergy, he feels to be laid upon him, renouncing all thought of peace, to "contend earnestly for the truth," which has been so fearfully endangered.

MR. WALFORD has also published a *Second Earnest Appeal* in the same behalf. (Masters.) It is written in an admirable temper, and deals with the question of doctrine very satisfactorily.

We hope to notice, at length, MR. NEALE'S two new volumes of *Introduction to the History of the Holy Eastern Church*. (Masters.) At present we can only say, that the subjects treated of are "the geography," "the ecclesiology," "the liturgies," "the calendar and office books," of that branch of the Church. Several other important points, as the doctrine "of the Procession of the HOLY GHOST," and the distinguishing characteristics of the Eastern and Western Churches are discussed separately in the appendix. These titles will show that there is much of interest even to the general reader, while the author's well established reputation is guarantee that there is no lack of learned research. These, with the previous volumes, should have a place in every public library. They are appropriately dedicated to the Emperor of Russia, and the title-page bears the unusual imprint of a S. Petersburg bookseller joined with that of our own publisher.

POSITIVE PHILOSOPHY.

Calendrier Positiviste, ou Système général de Commémoration publique destiné surtout à la transition finale de la grande république occidentale formée des cinq populations avancées, Française, Italienne, Germanique, Britannique, et Espagnole, toujours solidaires depuis Charlemagne. Composé par AUGUSTE COMTE, Auteur du Système de Philosophie Positive.

It is not easy for a Catholic to administer critical justice to a modern philosophical system wholly external to Christianity. Embosomed himself in the light of truth, himself transfigured into essential incorporation with it, it is not easy for him to stoop to the perverse philosophies groping at his feet, and patiently expose their delusions. There is so strange a fanaticism in this self-exile of intellect from the summit of its inner yearnings, and the object of its efforts—there is something so ludicrously disproportionate between the illimitable light and life and love of the revealed mystery of the Incarnation, and those mind-bubbles—there is so stupid a perverseness, after nearly a six thousand years' experience of mere uninspired human intellect, after a nearly two thousand years' history of the mystical Body of the God-Man on earth, and in the very face and presence of that Body, for the human reason to be setting forth in its feebleness in quest of other systems, and other truth, as if the system of the Incarnation were a mere human philosophy—that we who are embodied in that system, and share thus of the mind of CHRIST, are too disposed to look upon all such theories as incorrigible, and degraded below the sphere of criticism. Doubtless false forms of truth have a more pressing claim upon the attention of the Catholic critic, because their influence is likely to be more extensive, and they bring souls into nearer and more subtle peril than these antichristian philosophies. But in times such as these, when the majesty of truth is dishonoured and its force impaired by inveterate internal divisions in its Sacramental embodiment, when the human mind satiated with endless heresies, and sceptical of the truth from which they issue—not as members however, but as excrescences—is in great part prepared to regard the Church as an exhausted development destined to yield before further evolutions of human progress, we think she is called on to meet these encroaching infidelities, and deprive them at least of the reason they invoke. It appears to us that in any events having the appearance of the failure of Christianity human philosophies must perforce tend to one direction, and in it sooner or later converge; that namely of an abstract deification of humanity. It is obvious that any extent

of reverses before material force afforded not a shadow of a pretext for charging the Church with failure. But her falling to pieces from inherent weakness obviously did. When, in the plenitude of dogmatic supremacy, material force and civil sovereignty subjected to her spiritual powers, the whole inner being of civilized man in her keeping who was at once its parent and instructress, the mind of the multiplying populations looking inwardly by the light of a sudden blaze of knowledge, so called, pronounced her science insufficient for its wants, and threw off all allegiance to dogma; when, thenceforth feuds, and animosities fierce, and unappeasable as ever strewn this earth with battles issued from the very sanctuary of peace; when the odium theologicum raged as hotly as the cruellest internecine warfare; some pretext was undoubtedly afforded, however insufficient, for the infidel hypothesis, that the Church was only a temporary dispensation fitted only for a particular epoch of human development. For a long while however the strife would rage of course as the old attack of heresy upon the truth. But there was this fearful advantage on the side of error. The strong mind of man, disputing the claims of a Church enfeebled by corruption, this time saw and seized its advantage. It no longer rested content with striving for a favourite dogma or two, but struggled for the whole heretical principle against dogma; for the right of private judgment, not for a definite conviction; for intellectual liberty, not for a dogmatic preference. We are not denying that dogmatic preferences, and those most inveterate, did exist; nor that the movement commenced from them. On the contrary, there were the more because all the legitimate barriers that had hitherto opposed their extravagance were extensively overthrown. Hardly indeed was their first success achieved before the spiritual rebels turned upon one another, and the scorpion of heresy, but for its exhaustless nourishment in human perverseness, had stung itself to death. But this dogmatic stiffness was sheer bigotry on the part of the various sects—the mere inveteracy of self-love. Each had the same right to a religious theory as the others. None could advance any higher claims upon the conviction of its proselytes than those of any other human system of moral philosophy, namely its accidental persuasiveness to individuals. The authority they denied to the Church they, at least, could not claim; and when pushed for their premises by “the pillar and ground of the faith,” they were compelled to take refuge in the sceptical principle of individual competency. They attempted a compromise, one which could never have taken but with the ignorant multitude, by putting forward a book as the final and only authoritative interpreter of dogma; and that book the most oracular and enigmatical of books, treating of the profoundest matter in the most symbolical style. It was a hollow imposition. For to make a book which was to be

in every body's hands the only ultimate dogmatic appeal was but to make every man his own interpreter of the faith under another name. "The Bible, and the Bible only is the religion of Protestants" is but another form of the proposition, "every man is entitled to choose his own faith out of the Bible according to the principles of Protestants." But their great leader took even this premise out of their mouths by condemning one of the books included in the Canon of Scripture. We have no doubt that the imposition came from below human nature: and that Protestants were as much its victims as its authors. Nevertheless, whether sincerely or hypocritically, a final appeal in disputed dogma was placed by them where one would have supposed that even ordinary intelligence would have seen that no decision was possible. That it was readily adopted when proposed by the leaders of the movement we cannot wonder; for it removed every restraint of dogmatic strictness, emancipated pride, and exhibited as a duty what had up to then been anathematized as a crime,—that men should teach themselves instead of being taught. It was openly maintained that fundamental differences of creed did not constitute a crime; it was openly denied that there was any moral obligation to believe as the Church believes; Unity was exiled into the world of spirits as inconsistent with individual freedom; and to restrict the licence of private opinion within narrower limits than any meaning which might possibly be extracted from the text of a profoundly oracular book was supposed to be a trick of priestcraft, and a usurpation on the rights of man.

For many a weary year since then men have clung affectionately to the chief dogmas of Christianity. The sublime and holy truths which they imbibed almost with their mothers' milk, and had indeed become a part of their nature, were not to be swept off by a revolution. And to this day fragments of the majestic unity are scattered over the surface of western Christendom, not unlovely, like its ruined temples, even in their fragmentary desolation. But the unity of the Church developing for three hundred years in mutual anathema, the peace of the fold of CHRIST in inveterate and still multiplying sectarian animosities, revealed truth interpreted in more contradictory senses than any mere human philosophy, this is a history, alas! that has in time worked its sad effect on the mind of western Christendom. The universal diffusion of mental exercise and acquirements has educated a vast mass of hardy intellect, not predisposed to reverence, extravagantly self-trustful, and keen to observe. It is clear that we want here but moral obliquity for the complete elements of scepticism. Can we wonder that the old tradition, sweet and high and holy though it be, has grown weaker and weaker before an experience so sad? Can we wonder that the whole Christian faith, undermined in all directions, totters on its very rock; can we wonder that "the powers of heaven

are shaken," and that already a large part of the western mind has adjudged Christianity to be a failure so far as it pretends to be a final dispensation? When that world-wide Tree "whose leaves were for the healing of the nations," which, like the Scandinavian *Igdrasil*, rooted in death, reaches to heaven, and overshadows the Universe, was hewn, and mutilated, and struck down; when in the place of its safe shade sprung up a wild undergrowth; it was to be looked for that the stealthy infidelities should begin to move abroad from their lairs to devour in time's twilight inquisitive and presumptuous souls. The first of these that made extensive havoc was the savage mockery of Voltaire. Taking it as the development of the whole attitude of mind towards Christianity, it was one as it were of bitter disappointment. It was the rude shock experienced by a sudden perception of immeasurable vice luxuriating in a system of superhuman holiness, whose infallibility of dogma had already experienced the defection of half of Europe. The gay graceful language of a trivial people wielded with all the mocking pungency of a brilliant wit made no distinction of past and present, of truth or its abuse. The miraculous victories over fallen nature and superhuman wonders of 1800 years were all grouped together with that temporary and local apostasy whose scandals appeared more ridiculous than execrable beneath the sneering lash of the wit of Ferney. The whole of French infidelity has taken its tone from this; and we think we can detect throughout one prevailing characteristic from the transformed sensations of Condillac to the culte abstrait de l'Humanité of M. Auguste Comte—a rejection of the suprasensible. It differs in this way from the more prolific and profounder school of German infidelity, whose dialectical and metaphysical character, and toil of pure thought, has on the whole kept their various systems and theories painfully poised in that region of clouds which is equally hidden from spiritual and sensible realities. The former then may be characterized as scientifically atheistic by comparison with the latter, which we should rather describe as Pantheistic. And for this reason the former has exercised a far more extensive practical influence than the latter. The one takes a place among the infidelities of the antichristian age which Gnosticism did amongst Christian heresies: we must go back to Paganism, and sweep the Eleusinian obscenities, for any counterpart to the other. A certain moral beauty and, if we exclude the intellectual vices, a stern moral strictness is compatible if not associated with those German intellectual abstractions. Unintelligible, and useless as they may be, there is something self-denying and unflinchingly in their undaunted ambition and soaring toil. Like the balloon traveller they leave the vices of the city for clouds and solitude, and run fearful risk; but though they become lost to our comprehension in their cloudy travels they do not reach a mentionable space nearer the Infinite,

nor procure for us so much as one fresh fact concerning the heaven above, or the earth beneath.

By the material philosophies of France on the other hand, the barriers of right and wrong are overthrown. To the naturata of the naturans what room is there for a moral choice? To the negation of the suprasensible what sufficient motive can be produced for the abnegation of sensible pleasure? The unprecedented, shameless, and brutal obscenities of the French revolution were the proper and consequential result of such a school of philosophy. To this a mere instinct of self-preservation is all that preserves that thoughtless people from a re-enactment of similar barbarities. The spirit of that philosophy, however, is the predominant one. It has pointed out France as the proper cradle of the doctrine of Fourier, of which we presume M. Auguste Comte is a disciple; and it has been the moving impulse of that whole tragic pantomime which France has been enacting on the world's stage amidst alternate horror and inextinguishable laughter, from the masquerading criminals of the reign of terror to the macaroni promenadings up and down the country of a corporal's nephew. Now we think we can trace between these two extremes of modern infidelity a certain resemblance. Condillac, who may be pronounced perhaps the founder of the one, denied the suprasensible, and in a materialistic system, all the truth there was in which has lately, as we venture to think, been reduced to its proper place and dimensions by a Christian natural philosopher,* referred all of which we know or are conscious to sensation as its cause and origin. Kant, who may be termed the founder of the other School of Philosophy we have alluded to, did not deny the suprasensible; but, as it seems to us, he placed it out of our reach and ken. Faith, indeed, was allowed a place in his system, but it was one which degraded it from a cardinal virtue to the level of a mere appetite—a necessary development answering no higher purpose than the human tail, so long as it lasted, in the natural philosophy before alluded to. We do not profess to be deeply versed in modern German philosophy. We own to as little inclination to *master* those dialectical rhapsodists, as we have for running the useless risk of breaking our heads from a balloon. But as we are seeking only to direct attention to the chief direction modern infidelities have taken with a view of showing where they may be expected to converge, any profound analysis of their unintelligible philosophical dreams would be as unnecessary as tedious. And of all alike, both these extreme schools, and the various systems included between them, we may safely assert that their direct practical tendency was to weaken if not abolish moral restraint, and thus prepare the human soul for the utmost hardihood of scepticism and impiety, and for a general disaffection from the dogmatic revelation by which alone man can be saved. Whether

* The author of "Vestiges of Creation."

in the lofty "thought and extension" system of Descartes, so magnificently elaborated by Spinoza, or in the *natura naturans*, and *natura naturata*, which was a form of the same system, of Schelling, the principle of moral responsibility must yield before that resistless force which occupied a far more religious position in the mythology of our Norse forefathers, when under the name of past, present, and future, it was placed at the foot of the tree of Existence, watering it from the sacred well. The latest developments of modern infidel philosophy have likewise, in spite of the broadest differences, a certain similarity both to these elder born infidelities and to one another. Their fundamental resemblance to the former consists in their rather rejecting, than laying down, truth: their systems are more negative than positive. In this respect the modern philosophers go beyond their predecessors. Both are eliminated from the great Protestant heresy, of which they are legitimate developments. This latter, not wholly sceptical, stops short of the rightful inference from its own principles; the others carry on these principles to the conclusion to which they naturally lead. Protestantism is a system of *religious* negation, and many a sincere and devout soul is swallowed up in its plausibilities; the infidelities of the day too are systems of negation, but they have thrust home the unanswerable question, What right have you who deny so much to deny our right to deny more? Or, to come round to what we started with in this article, at the Reformation the great principle issued forth from the very Church herself, and became popularly recognized, from which modern infidelities could not but take their rise, and by which they could not but be modified. The following illustration will serve to establish the correctness of this last assertion. No Ante-Christian philosophies, in which we include religious and moral systems, did violence, at their commencement, to the conscience of the thinker. The various existing religions were at best but the most ancient local *vôues*. None claimed the homage of others. Proselytism was unknown. What there was like it was what we should term naturalization. Dogma, which it was the indispensable duty of all men to embrace, did not exist. Even the Jewish Church was not a proselytizing one. The Gentile philosopher had then rather to invent than deny. But for the last eighteen centuries the world has been the theatre of the supernatural triumphs of dogma claiming to be revealed by God in Person, and laying down as the highest duty of man that he should embrace it with his mind and with his whole being appropriate it. Hence our modern infidelities are thrown chiefly upon negation. In short, all Antichristian philosophies must be infidelity; no heathen systems were.*

From what has been advanced, not only has it appeared that

* The reader will not suppose that we are here denying any moral responsibility to the heathen. This assertion is limited strictly to our present argument.

modern infidelities have developed from Protestantism, being inspired by the same principle, but that Protestantism itself is, in so far as it is based on that principle, a species of infidelity. Do not let our readers mistake us. We are fully conscious that there are numbers, in these sad days, of Protestants to whom that word would be far from applying individually. Yet we fear we must characterize the whole system as one of infidelity—a step, and the first, in that great predicted apostacy of the last days which is perhaps to prepare the advent of the Lawless One.

At the same time, then, that there is this similarity between all modern infidelities, first and last, so there is an obvious similarity in the several more recent ones to one another. In the absolute “ego” of Fichte, in “the absolute” as elaborated by Hegel, in the right of private judgment of Protestantism proper, even in the more comprehensible and attractive development of the Hegelian system of Strauss, and lastly in the positive (?) philosophy of the writer we have placed at the head of this article, over and above their common property of negation, is there not the same obvious tendency to the deification of human nature under some formula or other? We observe something of the same *tendency* in Mr. Carlyle’s Hero-worship. Indeed, there are passages in that work which M. Auguste Comte might produce as the key to his system. We take the following: “In times of unbelief, which soon have to become times of revolution, much down-rushing, sorrowful decay, and ruin is visible to everybody. For myself in these days, I seem to see in this indestructibility of hero-worship the everlasting adamant lower than which the confused wreck of revolutionary things cannot fall. The confused wreck of things, crumbling, and even crashing and tumbling all round us in these revolutionary ages, will get down so far; *no* farther. It is an eternal corner-stone, from which they can begin to build themselves up again. That man, in some sense or other, worships heroes; that we all of us reverence, and must ever reverence, great men: this is, to me, the living well amid all rushing down whatsoever; the one fixed point in modern revolutionary history, otherwise as if bottomless and shoreless.”

Not but that we should be very loath to class this writer with the names adduced above. We confess, for our part, that we can discover no such daring criticisms of the Christian faith in his temper of mind as in theirs. We see but the eccentricities and obliquities of an earnest and thoughtful soul suffering from the unprecedented condition of that faith in the system into which he has been thrown. There is, on the contrary, in these modern infidelities a hardy swelling and unfearing intellectuality to which the appellation of atheism is scarcely too harsh an epithet to apply. The beginning and ending of the whole apostacy is a subtle materialism. The Protestant heresy has its commencement from the

region of human feelings ; the philosophical systems of it are its mental development. One is the revolt peculiarly of the moral nature of man, the other of his intellectual. The negation of the former extends no farther than the supernatural working of the sacramental law, which demands the constant adaptation of the daily life of the individual to facts beyond the reach of sense and human comprehension—that is, a confirmed habit of moral and intellectual humility. It does not reach to rejecting abstract dogmas *because* they involve a miraculous interposition, but it exacts in the sensible indications of supernatural energy a proportionate impressiveness to their miraculous results. The latter carries on this negation to its logical consequences. It denies any actuality *to us* in the suprasensible. It constitutes man, in the very fact of his conscious existence, a portion of the Infinite ; to that eternal living Force it refuses any freedom of interference with the common products of its creative Energy, and binds the Deity as rigorously as man to His own inexorable law. The place of man in these systems is an integral portion of the Infinite. Such is his real being, be that what it may with which he is temporarily associated. And into it will each, as the individuality of the sensible becomes exhausted, be absorbed. The human being is but one of an infinite series whose whole is God ; of whom the sensible too, according to some of these systems, is an attribute, and subject therefore to essential immutability of cause and effect. So that of man it may be in these philosophies predicated, that he is, as it were, the Deity revolving round himself, or in the language of the Cartesian system, thought passing by an endless law through “extension” back to thought.

Having said thus much on the general tendency of modern infidelities, we have so far prepared our readers for the “new philosophy” to which we now proceed to confine our attention. We intend no depreciation of our continental neighbours in hazarding an opinion that they are not fitted, least of all under their present circumstances, for the invention of systems of abstruse philosophy. Their atmosphere is light, their food is light, their language is light, their whole nature and temperament is light. Gay and unanxious, no people of Christendom ever exhibited a more innate propensity to the heathen maxim,—

“Carpe diem quam minimum credula
Postero.”

Profound musings and abstract thoughts are foreign to their nature. Light classic grace characterises all their literature rather than sturdy Teutonic force. Save Descartes, we know not of another “profound thinker” in their list of authors out of the Church. A smack of philosophy many have, and their natural vivacity carries them a certain depth. But, they have not the en-

duration for more. Like in their military charges, they carry all before them at first, but a protracted resistance vanquishes them. Still more true is this of the present epoch of their history. The noise and stir of political revolutions are never, at best, favourable for philosophical reveries. But the French people is at this moment the victim of an inveterate moral revolution, to which all governmental forms are very subordinate. Like a corrupting body, the whole mass is in motion, each for himself. A profound egotism is the intensest inspiration of all; and their very thesis of "Liberty, Fraternity, and Equality," is but that "none should be in any way superior to each." In such systems, the individual acquires an exaggerated importance in his own eyes; a mere ordinary intellectual quickness is sufficient to convince him that he possesses extraordinary genius, the flimsiest speculations astonish their very author with their profundity, and the most outrageous and grotesque assumptions, such as will not unseldom flit unbidden through the real thinker's brain, are written down in all the pomp of premise and conclusion, and the wonted metaphysical phraseology, and launched forth as living systems destined to reform the race. Straw-stuffed effigies, such as insatiable vanity only could concoct, or triviality father!

Not that we must suppose M. Comte's philosophy to be one of these. For it is the "*philosophie positive*," and it has already given birth to a "*société positiviste*," by which we presume we are to understand, that the way having been cleared by the negative philosophies, the advent of the philosophy of the age has dawned. The great type of this just developing epoch of humanity publishes at 15 Quai Malaquai, Paris, in the sixty-second year of the great revolution, and Descartes, Spinoza, Schelling, Hegel, Fichte, and Strauss, are the pioneers of the great Auguste Comte. Gravity and reverent attention become us in presenting to our readers some of the features of this propitious revelation, and our readers in listening. And when we inform them that revolutions will be henceforth impracticable; governments—those expensive luxuries—unnecessary; all bad passions and coarse tastes repressed; sectarianism, bigotry, superstition, and even envy abolished; and the great expenditure of time hitherto devoted to the culte systématique du Divinité economised in the culte systématique de l'Humanité; we think we have said enough to convince our readers that it is no common philosophy that is proposed to us, and that it demands no common attention at our hands. In the last named of the results to be attained by *philosophie positive* M. Comte fairly distances his competitors, whose humility would hardly be shocked by being joined thus in the same category with one whom we must characterize as the prophet of the sixty-second year of the great revolution. Whereas all contemporary philosophical systems have dispensed with any peculiar worship, and have either rested con-

tented with existing forms of religion, or have absorbed them in self-contemplation, the new philosophy gives birth to a positive religion and worship. "*Le culte proprement dit*," says M. Comte, "*est inséparable du dogme et de la morale, dont il constitue l'idéalisation caractéristique.*"

We do not anticipate the smallest disappointment on the part of our readers, when we inform them, that to this unique characteristic of "Positivy" we purpose strictly to limit ourselves in the following observations. Our notice is singly of the brochure named at the head of this article. The six volumes *du dogme et de la morale positiviste* put forth by M. Comte, and the "*immense élaboration esthétique*," shadowed forth in this *idé-isation systématique*, we purpose, much to the mutual satisfaction, as we expect, of ourselves and our readers, carefully to eschew. To any one else than a Frenchman there is doubtless something startling in the proposition of worship wearing the unreserved name of "*culte systématique de l'Humanité.*" We must not, however, overlook the faintest indication of modesty in our author's proposition. We observe that only five populations are invited at first to partake of its privileges. Far from aiming at immediate Catholicity, a snug little occidental republic composed "*des cinq populations avancées, Française, Italienne, Germanique, Britannique, et Espagnole, toujours solidaires (?) depuis Charlemagne*" is to be the cradle of this new developement of *Socialism*. Propagandism seem to be abandoned, and we presume the "*immense élaboration esthétique*" which is to develope "*les mœurs positivistes*," is to depend on its own innate truth and life for its propagation. This argues confidence and conviction at all events; and when one is sure of anything, it is to him as if it were: in other words, "where ignorance is bliss, 'tis folly to be wise." We wish to avoid anything like hypercriticism, or we should venture to inquire with great diffidence of M. Comte the profound reason which has doubtless induced him to leave out of his catalogue of "advanced populations," such as the Russians, Portuguese, Hungarians, Bretons, Swiss, &c. Also wherein he makes the "*solidarité depuis Charlemagne*" of the five advanced populations to consist? In pity, however, to our patriotic infirmity, we must pray to be permitted to disturb at the outset the "*sociabilité*" of this blessed little republic, by entering our protest against the place assigned in it to the Britannic population. Every Britannic schoolboy believes an incontrovertible truth to be enshrined in that Sybilline stanza which has come down to him from all time:

"Two skinny Frenchmen, one Portugee:
A jolly old Englishman will whack 'em all three."

His very nature, or in "Positiviste" phrase his whole humanity is formed on it, and in no celebration of human types will he be

brought to take a part in which the British does not hold that place which has been given to it by a law of nature, to wit, the first. With this tribute to Britannic humanity in particular, we proceed to inform our readers that the object of worship of this new religion is no other than humanity itself. Spinoza, Hegel, and in our day, Strauss, have put forth the Divinity of Humanity as a scientific definition, and have laboriously worked out the intellectual problem, that finite spirit is a part of infinite. This is not enough to satisfy the ardent hero-worship of the French sage. With true Gallic impetuosity he charges over all obstacles, raises up humanity as an objective deity, and calls on man to raise altars to himself. This is the absolute "Ich" with a vengeance. The essence of this sublime religion is threefold, and improves on the Catholic symbol with a trefoil of singular originality,

" L'amour pour principe,
L'ordre pour base,
Et le progrès pour but."

But most French eccentricities seem to move in threes, and we think we see a shocking significancy in this circumstance. So the Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity—the White, Red, and Blue—of the political empiricisms become the love, order, and progress of the new philosophy. They are its most abstract definitions, its ultimate abstractions. Love as the principle of propagation is the beginning of this positiviste term; order; its middle; progress, its end. Things have been, are still, and will go on being. In other words, the Positiviste Philosophy discovers that there has been a Past, is a Present, and will be a Future. Starting from this original hypothesis, M. Comte takes it that the progress of humanity through the two first of these stages to the endless last is an æsthetic developement. In this principle he supposes he has seized the true idea of humanity; and in embodying it in an elaborate series of commemorations, he concludes that he has detected the essence of religion, and diverted it into its proper channel. This, however, is only that particular portion of the worship which is adapted to the transition state in which it pronounces the five advanced occidental populations to be. This which is said to consist of the glorification of the past, and the systematization of the present, receives the name of "concrete" worship, and is to lead in the æsthetic developement of positiviste manners to that grand "abstract" worship of which the future is to be the scene, and of which we are vouchsafed a tantalizing glimpse in the following description:

"NOTIONS FONDAMENTALES SUR LE SYSTEME DE COMMEMORATION.

D'après mon *Discours sur l'ensemble du positivisme*, publié en juillet 1848, la religion définitive se résume entièrement par le culte systématique de l'Humanité, où le culte proprement dit est inséparable du dogme et de la morale, dont il constitue l'idéalisation caractéristique. Ainsi, rien ne peut mieux seconder désormais l'avènement social de la

nouvelle philosophie, et même son ascendant intellectuel, que d'organiser, autant que possible, cette célébration décisive, sommairement indiquée dans ce *Discours*.

“ Une telle conviction habituelle m'a conduit à élaborer spécialement, au sein de la Société Positiviste, la seule partie du nouveau culte occidental qui comporte une institution immédiate, propre à placer les cœurs et les esprits dans la vraie direction finale. Cette nouvelle conception offre donc, comme celles du Gouvernement Révolutionnaire et de l'Ecole Positive, une troisième anticipation essentielle sur les conclusions nécessaires de mon *Système de politique positive*. Elle est pareillement destinée à régulariser déjà la grande transition occidentale, qui, ainsi fondée par la systématisation du présent et la préparation de l'avenir, avait besoin de se compléter par la glorification du passé.

“ Le culte systématique de l'Humanité présente naturellement deux parties très-distinctes : l'une, essentiellement concrète, célèbre surtout le passé ; l'autre, nécessairement abstraite, représente directement l'avenir. Ce dernier mode prévaudra finalement, comme seul propre à développer profondément les mœurs positivistes, en caractérisant l'existence finale, par la solennelle idéalisation du vrai Grand-Etre, dont il apprécie d'abord les liens fondamentaux, ensuite les états préparatoires, et enfin les fonctions normales, au début des treize mois de la nouvelle année. Le tableau suivant suffira, quoique très-sommaire, pour indiquer ici la nature et la destination de ce culte définitif.

CULTE ABSTRAIT DE L'HUMANITÉ, OU CÉLÉBRATION SYSTÉMATIQUE DE LA SOCIABILITÉ FINALE.

LIENS FONDAMENTAUX.	{	1 ^{er} mois	L'HUMANITÉ.	{ Fêtes hebdomadaires de l'Union	{ Occidentale. Nationale. Provinciale. Communale.
		2 ^e mois	Le MARIAGE.		
		3 ^e mois	La PATERNITÉ.		
		4 ^e mois	La FILIATION.		
		5 ^e mois	La FRATERNITÉ.		
		6 ^e mois	La DOMESTICITÉ.		
ÉTATS PRÉPARA- TOIRES.	{	7 ^e mois	Le FÉTICHISME.		
		8 ^e mois	Le POLYTHÉISME.		
		9 ^e mois	Le MONOTHÉISME.		
FONCTIONS NORMALES.	{	10 ^e mois	La FEMME, ou la vie affective.		
		11 ^e mois	Le SACERDOCE, ou la vie contemplative.		
		12 ^e mois	Le PROLÉTARIAT, ou la vie active.		
		13 ^e et dernier mois	L'INDUSTRIE, Fêtes hebdomadaires.	{ Banque. Commerce. Fabrication. Agriculture.	
			ou le pouvoir pratique.		

Jour complémentaire. Fête générale des MORTS.

Jour additionnel des années bissextiles. Fête générale des SAINTES FEMMES.

Now we must think that M. Comte is rather hard upon the five advanced populations in delaying them from the magnificent realization of this sublime future, this exquisite religion, by the long preparatory æsthetic concretion he has condemned us to. We do not say that our idea of the "Grand-Etre" into which humanity is exhausted, is entirely satisfied by the threefold attribute of—Fundamental Ties—Preparatory States—and Normal Functions. But this we have no hesitation in admitting to the full, that the history of humanity incontestably reveals to us that humanity marries—that the married become fathers and mothers—that they consequently have sons and daughters—that sons and daughters of the same parents are brothers and sisters to one another—and that altogether make up a family. We as readily admit that humanity has deified sensible objects—has peopled heaven with many Gods—and has limited its worship to one. Neither do we deny that humanity is addicted to "passion"—to mental labour—to ambition—(alas! that it should be so) to manual labour. We believe in quarters of the compass; in national, provincial, and borough divisions; also in stock and funds; (although we admit this to be a great act of *faith* on *our* part;) in commerce, manufacture, and agriculture. What more does M. Comte want? We are ready to conduct ourselves in the most *positive* manner with reference to those axiomatic facts, and exhibit *la morale positiviste* in a very advanced stage of developement. Why then should we be longer delayed from our worship? Why may we not at once abandon the stale old Julio-Gregorian months and write it in our ledgers, memorandum books, records, letters, and calendars: Humanity month, marriage month, paternity month, filiation month, fraternity month, domesticity month, 1st quarter; fetichism month, polytheism month, monotheism month, 2nd quarter; woman month, priest month, (we should suggest minister month lest the proposed word should cause offence in the Britannic quarter of the Occidental republic) protestant month, industry month, 3rd quarter; establishing thus in fact by the by that there can be three quarters? Why may we not at once date our letters, occidental week, national week, provincial week, borough week; or bank week, commerce week, manufacture week, agriculture week? Our present political feuds might perhaps cause some difficulty as to this last happy division of hebdomadal time. All such insignificant differences however would surely embrace in an atmosphere so ethereal and holy. Then think of the touching import of "dead feast" being the odd day of the newly divided year. And the extra day of leap year being the feast of holy women! This last, when we consider that the extra day is the eccentricity of that year during which women have possessed from time immemorial the undoubted privilege of the initiation of matrimonial questions as well as a veto, must be pronounced the happiest hit ever made by any philosophy ancient or modern.

Passing by the ingenious arrangement, suggested by M. Comte's young friend, (M. Leblais) whom we accordingly hereby immortalize, with the view of soothing the impatience for this grand *idéalisation caractéristique du vrai grand*, to be consummated in the approaching future, with which the more advanced individuals, like ourselves, of the advanced populations will naturally be tormented; we proceed to say a very few words in conclusion upon that more carefully elaborated worship which is to mould the tendencies and satisfy the demands of the Occidental republic in its present transition state—the concrete worship of humanity. In this beneficent religion all the disorders and perils of our times are to disappear. Revolutionary vengeance is to be cured by the glorification of the past, socialist excesses are to be absorbed in the systematization of the present, and all the heats of society are to subside and coalesce in one vast apotheosis of our fellow man.

We must however be content with what we have; perfection is not immediately attainable, even in the “philosophie positiviste.” The present intellectual and moral habits of the advanced population even are not yet in a condition to appreciate this glorious abstract worship which the future has in store for us. So that we may do what in us lies to hasten that auspicious consummation, we will do our best to communicate to our readers all we can comprehend of that adaptation of “le nouveau culte,” which in M. Comte's words is “seul applicable aujourd'hui aux principaux besoins intellectuels et moraux de la situation occidentale.” This condescending adaptation is the abstract “culte,” “reduit à la glorification concrète du passé.” The positiviste sage perceives in the Revolution of 1788 the beginning of a new era of humanity, and not of occidental humanity only. With the inflexible justice of a moral Lycurgus he condemns the subversive utopias and retrograde tendencies that disfigured it, and admits that poor humanity sadly misbehaved itself on the occasion. These revolutionary contretemps he proposes to cure by an æsthetic process wherein the contemplation of the Brahminical and modern theological philosophies is to be transferred from the One Eternal and True to a series of human types; “Cette commémoration systématique de tout notre passé,” the Positiviste Calendar informs us, (page 11,) “est surtout destinée à développer profondément chez la génération actuelle, l'esprit historique et le sentiment de continuité, afin d'imprimer à la seconde partie de la grande révolution son vrai caractère propre.” And at page 12,

“Sans doute, ces lois naturelles, (de l'évolution humaine) comme toutes les autres, ne peuvent être assez appréciées que par une étude abstraite, qui constituera le terme rationnel de la nouvelle éducation occidentale. Mais, pour en préparer l'avènement normal, il faut aujourd'hui appeler les cinq populations avancées à la célébration systématique de leurs principaux ancêtres, depuis les plus lointaines impulsions

historiques jusqu'aux plus récentes préparations. Cette série de types personnels suscite une opération essentiellement esthétique, qui, fondée sur la saine théorie du mouvement humain, est très-propre à la faire prévaloir, en y puisant la base générale d'un immense poème sur l'évolution préparatoire de l'humanité."

For this end, instead of the *abstract* commemorations to which we have already introduced our readers, the days and weeks and months of the Positiviste year are consecrated to certain personal manifestations of humanity—certain concrete types—whose commemoration is, we presume, to constitute the objective worship of the Occidental republic. Polytheism is to be again in vogue; and the grand idea is achieved of making astronomical time in its fourfold compartments, like the temples of Elephanta and Ellora, one vast gloomy temple of the dead. A seemingly insuperable difficulty occurs at the outset of this stupendous apotheosis. What is to be the guiding principle in the selection of these Positiviste saints? Who is to be the arbiter of merit—the Positiviste Pope? We have no faint misgivings lest the Positiviste canonization should resemble the famous apple which with its provoking inscription fell amongst the well matched beauties. Nothing daunted however, the Frenchman mounts the throne of judgment, and this is the result.

First the "elite" (it is M. Comte's word) of humanity is divided off into three (of course) great niches of veneration occupied respectively by gods, heroes and saints. This division does not appear however to be very carefully elaborated in the system. Perhaps the initiated have more light on the matter than we gentiles. Next we are told of the law by which the Positiviste Judge awards their respective places in the æsthetic pantheon to the respective members of this intellectual hierarchy, "J'ai soigneusement combiné les conditions morales avec les titres intellectuels, même envers les illustrations purement théoriques." "Dans l'élaboration d'un système destiné surtout à faire irrévocablement prévaloir l'esprit organique sur l'esprit critique j'ai rigoureusement exclu tous ceux qui n'ont réellement que détruit, sans rien construire. On n'y trouvera donc ni Luther, ni Calvin, ni Rousseau; Voltaire n'y figure qu'au titre de poète tragique."

What a niche will be required for the Founder and President of the Positiviste Society! Neither a diurnal nor hebdomadal celebration will suffice for him in the concrete "culte." We only regret that an arbitrary limitation of the period within which the selection must be made forbids our suggesting that the month Descartes should be changed at once into Comte month. The system of the former philosopher can surely not be compared for constructiveness with the Positiviste philosophie and its abstract and concrete "culte."

The following is the Positiviste first class list.

**CULTE CONCRET DE L'HUMANITÉ POUR PRÉPARER L'OCCIDENT AU
CULTE ABSTRAIT, SEUL DÉFINITIF.**

	TYPES MENSUELS.	TYPES HEBDOMADAIRES.
L'ANTIQUITÉ.	MOÏSE	Numa, Bouddha, Confucius, Mahomet. (la théocratie initiale.)
	HOMÈRE	Eschyle, Phidias, Plaute, Virgile. (la poésie ancienne.)
	ARISTOTE	Thalès, Pythagore, Socrate, Platon. (la philosophie ancienne.)
	ARCHIMÈDE	Hippocrate, Apollonius, Hipparque, Pline l'Ancien. (la science ancienne.)
	CÉSAR	Thémistocle, Alexandre, Scipion, Trajan. (la civilisation militaire.)
LE MOYEN AGE.	SAINT PAUL	Saint Augustin, Hildebrand, Saint Bernard, Bossuet. (le catholicisme.)
	CHARLEMAGNE	Alfred, Godefroi, Innocent III., Saint Louis. (la civilisation féodale.)
LA PRÉPARATION MODERNE.	DANTE	Arioste, Raphaël, Tasse, Milton. (l'épopée moderne.)
	GUTTENBERG	Colomb, Vaucanson, Watt, Montgolfier. (l'industrie moderne.)
	SHAKESPEARE	Calderon, Corneille, Molière, Mozart. (le drame moderne.)
	DESCARTES	Saint-Thomas-d'Aquin, le chancelier Bacon, Leibnitz, Hume. (la philosophie moderne.)
	FRÉDÉRIC	Louis XI., Guillaume-le-Taciturne, Richelieu, Cromwell. (la politique moderne.)
	BICHAT	Galilée, Newton, Lavoisier, Gall. (la science moderne.)
	Jour complémentaire . . Fête générale des MORTS.	

If we timidly inquire of this universal canonizer wherein consists the superiority of this system of commemoration to the Catholic one, we are told that "la commémoration catholique ne comportait aucune hiérarchie; elle confondait toutes ses gloires dans une anarchique égalité, aussi pénible au cœur qu'à l'esprit."

"Par cette salutaire construction," however, "qu'elle seule peut accomplir la nouvelle philosophie constata dignement son aptitude caractéristique à glorifier toutes les phases humaines, d'après sa nature toujours relative, qui lui permet de tout rattacher sans effort à sa vaste unité, également objective et subjective. La vénération publique rappellera enfin de leur long et indigne exil ces immortelles mémoires que repoussait la brutalité chrétienne."

A Socialist charging Catholicism with democracy! A Frenchman of the nineteenth century proposing an endless aristocracy! Well, we have lived to see strange things. Quis tulerit Gracchos seditionem querentes? The monthly and weekly arrangement of

the positiviste year quoted above proceeds to a further elaboration of daily commemorations which our space we fear forbids our laying before our readers.*

That no aspect of humanity may be left unprovided for in the all embracing foresight of the "culte positiviste," a temporary safety valve is provided for man's cursing propensities in the extra day of the bissextile years. What in the "culte abstrait" is to be the "feast of holy women," is in the "culte concret," the day of cursing three retrograde sinners. And who does the reader think these are? Julian, Philip II., and Bonaparte. The cursing element is however to have puffed off in a demi-generation. "Après ces quatre célébrations initiales de la Fête des Réprouvés, ce jour exceptionnel prendra sa destination finale pour le culte abstrait."

Meanwhile occidental humanity by these daily, and weekly, and monthly celebrations is to be developing into one or other of these normal types.

It is quite refreshing to anticipate the result. We shall have oracular Moseses, and humming Homers, thinking Aristotles, and ingenious Archimedeses, and enterprising Cæsars, on all sides of us. They will be as plentiful as spring peas. And then—when such phases of humanity from Normal types will have grown into Chronic states, or conditions, then may we fain expect the dawn of that era of eras thus predicted by the Positiviste prophet.

"Quand l'esprit et le sentiment historiques auront ainsi prévalu ce culte concret, ayant rempli sa principal office, sera peu à peu absorbé par le culte abstrait, qui, seul définitif se trouvera des lors assez préparé." Page 13.

Of such sort are the systems with which grown up men in a cultivated nation in the nineteenth century, seriously propose to supplant "The Catholic Church."

Will M. Auguste Comte permit us to offer him a word in season? Instead of wearying his brains, and dissipating his talents in this unmitigated twaddle we have been exposing, let him apply himself diligently to any *one* branch of useful literature, *except abstract philosophy*. (We should suggest history, as one in which he *seems* to be strongest.) Let him embrace with all his heart, and *soul*, and mind, and strength, the faith commemorated in the sixth month of his Calendar, and we will venture to predict that instead of being Auguste Comte, Auteur du système de philosophie

* We fear we shall be found very discontented citizens of the Occidental Republic; for we should certainly feel it our duty to complain of our chief's decision in more instances than we have time or space to adduce. e.g. Is the *moral* element combined with the intellectual in Byron? We cannot comprehend the omission of Dryden, Spenser and some of our older dramatists, when Edgeworth, and Richardson are commemorated. Neither is the subordination of Spinoza to Hobbes within the limits of our comprehension. Nor why Napoleon is cursed as a retrograder, and Cromwell observed as a hero. Nor why Aristotle is honoured with a month, and Plato only a day, and so on.

positive, Fondateur et President de la Société Positiviste (consisting, as we gather, of himself, and two young friends,) writing from 10, Rue Monsieur le Prince, Paris, Erasistratus day of Archimedes month in the year 62, or of being the victim of any other similar tom-foolery, he will become a respectable, and respected member of society as God has made it in this life, and will have the hope of happiness and immortality hereafter.

DR. PUSEY ON THE MINISTER OF ABSOLUTION.

The Church of England leaves her Children free to whom to open their griefs. A Letter to Rev. W. U. Richards, Minister of All Saints, S. Mary-le-bone. By the REV. E. B. PUSEY, D.D. 8vo. Oxford: J. H. Parker, 1850. pp. 199.

THIS admirable letter was written in answer to some doubts which had been raised by Mr. Maskell, Mr. Allies, and Mr. Dodsworth, respecting the validity of absolution given by a priest to persons neither committed to his own charge, nor expressly licensed to go to another by him to whose care they are committed. A further question was raised whether a *simple* priest can absolve validly at all except "in articulo mortis."

We have no hesitation in saying that Dr. Pusey has resolved both doubts in a manner which ought to be quite satisfactory to any one whose object is simply to know the truth, and we say this after a careful perusal of Mr. Maskell's offensive and unfeeling letter to Dr. Pusey. We strive in vain to persuade ourselves that Mr. Maskell is acting with single-minded earnestness; though we can imagine that he *persuades himself* he is doing so. When a man of ordinary power of mind can parallel a (supposed) infraction of a *positive* law of discipline, which all allow that the Church has power to alter, with an admitted denial of a portion of eternal and immutable truth, we can see indeed that he is most zealously "compassing sea and land to make one proselyte," but we are forcibly reminded of Bishop Butler's sermon, on King Charles's martyrdom, in which he observes, that in scripture language the term "hypocrite" includes those who culpably deceive themselves, as well as those who intentionally deceive others.

Mr. Maskell is kind enough to grant that Dr. Pusey has a right to interpret the words, "let him come to me or to some other discreet and learned minister of God's word, and open his grief" according to his own private judgment; just as, he says, Mr. Gorham has a right to interpret, "I believe in one baptism for the remission

of sins" according to his own private judgment; but he asserts, that if we would consistently maintain any principle of authority, either the words "or some other" must be interpreted in accordance with restrictions existing at the time when they were first ordered to be read to the people, or it must be shown that such restrictions have been formally repealed; and this he denies that Dr. Pusey has shown.

This is *literally* true, and Mr. Maskell makes the most of it; but he takes no notice of the fact that Dr. Pusey *has* shown that the change of discipline with regard to confession was made on a principle, which necessarily carried with it the repeal of the said restrictions, viz. the principle of "departing from" other Churches, and so from her own previous practice, "in those particular points wherein they were fallen both from themselves in their ancient integrity, and from the Apostolic Churches which were their first founders."* Dr. Pusey has shown, that in those ages when people were not compelled to confess at all, they were advised to choose their own confessor, with regard only to his ability to judge rightly of their state before God, and that nothing was said of jurisdiction in this matter until after the practice of confessing at least once a year had been declared to be necessary. Surely, if men are not automata but reasonable beings, the intention of the Church of England must have been so obvious that there was no need specially to repeal restrictions which plainly belonged to a state of things which was done away. We have no fear that any large number of persons will think that the Church of England must altogether abandon her claim to teach with authority, even if there be no more exact answer forthcoming than that which we have suggested, to the trifling informality which Mr. Maskell has detected in Dr. Pusey's argument. And, did we think it desirable to recriminate, we could easily raise far weightier objections against that system, which Mr. Maskell now thinks can, as a whole, be defended and maintained upon one consistent principle. We will only ask, whether this one consistent principle is the principle of historical tradition, or the principle of developement? for the two are evidently incompatible, and a system, which does not authoritatively reject one or the other of them, is at sea as to the very foundation of the faith. We are surprised at Mr. Maskell's hardihood, although neophytes are proverbially incautious. But we must not detain our readers any longer from Dr. Pusey's letter, from which we proceed to make some extracts. He says—†

"The theory of jurisdiction recently put out by Mr. Allies, as he has too narrowly stated it, would in many cases affect the benefits of absolution, which by virtue of the exhortation of the Church of England they have sought and received, and in it have found grace and peace. One at least, has on that ground left the Church of England. . . .

* Can. 30.

† Page 1.

To you, as well as to myself, many whose consciences were oppressed have come, at the invitation of our common Mother, who, consulting for the infirmity of her children, did not place them, in this respect, simply under their Parish Priest, but directed him to invite them to 'come to him or to some other,' to whom they could with full confidence unburden their souls. They came to us in simple trust in the loving invitation of the Church; and we, in the same entire confidence that the Church, by bidding them come, did not empower only, but laid a necessity upon us to receive them, did so receive and minister to them, as the Church directed. You too can bear witness with me, that if there is one part of our Ministry which God has blessed; if there be one part of our office, as to the fruits of which we look with hopefulness and joy to the day of judgment, it is to the visible cleansing of souls, the deepened penitence, 'the repentance unto salvation not to be repented of,' the hope in CHRIST, the freshness of grace, the joy of forgiven souls, the evident growth in holiness; the angel-joy 'over each sinner that repenteth,' which this ministry has disclosed to us. We have often in the subsequent growth in grace and 'transformation' of the soul, by 'the renewing of the mind,' not been able to re-call to ourselves the former self which we knew of, when first a person sought to hear, through our ministry, his SAVIOUR'S voice, 'Thy sins be forgiven thee: go in peace.'

In these a pastor dare delight
A lamb-like, CHRIST-like throng;

for His likeness has anew by Himself been traced upon them.

"For these souls we should especially be anxious, that no breath of unreal doubt or misgiving should cloud the brightness of their hopes; no untrue questioning pierce their souls. We have seen the reality of the work of the Divine Grace in their souls. We have seen it too uniformly, too vividly, too variedly, too abounding in manifold fruits, as 'God divideth to every man severally as He will,' to have a shadow of doubt about it. To us all questioning seems like calling in question the work of God the HOLY GHOST 'which our own eyes have seen.' When we see spiritual cures, the spiritual sight restored, the taste in heavenly things given back, the senses deadened to the things of sense, the conscience once dulled now tender; the proud heart like a little child; the hardened heart flow in tears of penitence; the soul more alive to its remaining infirmities, than it once was to whole heaps of deep deadly sin; or that great triumph of Divine Power, where one becomes eminent for the grace most opposed to his deepest besetting fault, we must adore the miracles of Divine Grace. Satan does not cast out Satan. It was His Name, through faith in His Name which gave them their spiritual life, and power, and victory in Him.

"But to many of these, the very humility which God has given them may hide His own work in them. With quickened sight they see defects to which they once were blind. Longing to be wholly pure and wholly God's, they feel keenly every thing which seems in any degree to separate them from Him. They feel the remaining sinfulness of their corrupt nature, and the penalty even of forgiven sin, and the evil, though unharboured, thoughts which issue from it, more than they once did actual grievous sin. They cannot have the cumulative evidence

which we have of the 'benefit of Absolution.' They have felt in their own case 'the power of God unto salvation.' Yet it would seem presumptuous to rest on their own experience, as to the gift of God. But we have seen that ministry effectual, not in the one or the other case, but wherever it has been sought 'with a faithful and true heart.'

"These souls then we must guard with care. For the slightest misgiving will pierce tender souls in proportion to their tenderness. The inquiry involves necessarily a good deal of reference to a system which is distinct from our own as being compulsory. For the objections raised by Mr. Allies are drawn entirely from writers who lived after the Council of Lateran had enjoined 'Confession to every one's own Priest once in the year,' and they must be removed out of the same sources."

With the greatest deference to Dr. Pusey we must here ask, why so? It seems to us that they are to be removed by showing that the Church of England deliberately reverted to the practice of the Church *before the council of Lateran*. This Dr. Pusey *has* shown in the latter part of his book, and he has done good service by showing *also* to what extent even *later* practice fails to support Mr. Allies's objections. We only mean that he has not made it so plain as he might, wherein the strength of his position lies, viz. to use his own words, in the "consideration of that period, upon which the Church of England rests her practice, the centuries antecedent to the council of Lateran," . . . "the consideration of the primitive practice and its bearings upon the present question." This is alone sufficient to determine the question, for although the principle of continuity in the Church obliges us to assume ~~that~~ where the Church of England made no new enactments, she supposed her existing practice to be in accordance with Holy Scripture and primitive antiquity, yet where she has altered her doctrine in so main a point as ceasing to hold confession and absolution *necessary* to the forgiveness of deadly sin after baptism, on the ground that the primitive ages did not so hold; she must by all reasonable men be understood to revert to the practice of those ages as to such subordinate points of discipline as flowed from the more recent doctrine which she rejected.

To return to Dr. Pusey: speaking of Mr. Allies, he says—*

"We both believe in common that the power to absolve from sin in CHRIST's name is given to all priests through their ordination. We believe that this power is committed to them by CHRIST Himself through the imposition of the bishop's hands, with the words, Receive the HOLY GHOST for the office and work of a priest in the Church of God, now committed unto thee by the imposition of our hands. Whose sins thou dost forgive they are forgiven; and whose sins thou dost retain, they are retained.' We, both of us, believe that the power of excommunicating or absolving from excommunication is reserved for the highest order only. We both believe that on full confession of all the sins which burthen the conscience, with true repentance, the priest may, by CHRIST's authority committed unto him, absolve the penitent

from all his sins, in the Name of the FATHER, and of the SON, and of the HOLY GHOST; and that what he looses on earth is loosed in heaven. The question raised relates to a further point. It is whether, without any further commission, the priest may in any case (besides the point of death) *exercise* the power thus lodged in him, and by his office inherent in him; or whether the power lies as it were dormant in him, and may not be put forth without some further direct commission from the bishop; and *whether if exercised without such further authorization it is valid.*

"It is true the exercise of the power given to the priests by ordination, may be suspended, or even taken away. . . Jurisdiction . . . may be looked upon as the concession of a power, or as its restriction within certain limits. By consecration, God confers upon a Bishop authority to ordain, confirm, and exercise all other Episcopal acts. By ordination He confers on the priest power to consecrate the Holy Eucharist, to absolve and bless in His Name. But God is a God of order, and so, for the order and well being of the whole Church, each office is exercised with certain limitations, within certain bounds. Patriarchs, Metropolitans, Archbishops, Bishops, Presbyters—all alike have their limits, in that their authority is restricted, so that it should not interfere with others who have the same office. This principle, that none should interfere with another's office is laid down in the earliest canons of the Church. It was one and the same principle in all that none should 'remove the ancient land-mark which thy fathers have set,' nor thrust his sickle into another's harvest."

He then cites Can. Apost. 34. Conc. Antioch, Can. 13 and 22, Nice, 1 Constantinople, and Ephesus, &c., and adds:—*

"Thus from the highest to the lowest, from the Patriarch to the Deacon, for ordaining, judging, excommunicating, absolving, admitting to hear mass, there is one principle throughout, that in the army of the Church, 'each should march on his ways, and no one break his ranks; neither shall one thrust another.'† To this belongs the case of the late Bishop Coleridge, which Mr. Allies brings forward to illustrate the nature of jurisdiction. He says,‡ 'A Bishop who had resigned a colonial see, was lately resident in a country parish, yet though superior in power of order to the parish priest, he could perform no one act in that parish involving jurisdiction, save by the permission of the parish priest.' This is strictly on the principle of non-interference. . . . This does not belong to acts involving jurisdiction only, but to all acts which have been assigned to another, because they have been so assigned. He could not, without irregularity, baptize (except in peril of death) nor confirm, nor ordain, nor preach, in the diocese or parish of another, except by his permission, because another has been appointed to perform these offices. All these would come under the rule of not 'thrusting his sickle into another's harvest.' On the other hand, if an act has not been specially assigned to the parish priest, but he is required by the law of the Church to admit others to the performance of

* Page 14.

† Joel ii. 7, 8.

‡ Royal Supr. page 54.

that act; then he has not exclusive jurisdiction in this act, and those others have all the jurisdiction necessary for that act from the law of the Church." And again, "The Church has power to regulate and limit the functions of her ministers, or again to remove these limitations. Thus, strictly as the rule that one Bishop should not enter upon the diocese of another was enforced in the African Church, the case was excepted, if a Bishop should not be diligent in converting the heathen within it.* The Church in this case interfered, that the power given for the saving of souls should not be retained to their loss. But if the Church makes any regulations, then she may either make void, *ipso facto*, what is done contrary to them; or she may annul it afterwards, so that it should remain valid until or unless she annuls it. Again, she may, if she see good, change those regulations, so as to make them more or less stringent. It is acknowledged on all hands, that considerable changes have been made in the penitential discipline. While public penitence was enforced, one who had publicly offended could not be admitted to communion, without undergoing that course of penitence. What was condemned as irregular then is the received practice in the Roman Communion now. The Church may adapt herself to the necessities of the times, within certain limits, and bend to what her children will endure, lest by a severity healthful in itself, yet unsuited to their weakness, she risk their salvation, leaving them to plunge into a heathen life or into schism.

"The letter sent to me puts apparently but one question, Has the Church of England left the power of the keys unrestrained in the hands of her presbyters, so that they may use it freely for all who come to unburthen their griefs to them? A second, perhaps, lies involved in it, anyhow in Mr. Allies's pamphlet. Has the Church of England the right to leave the power of absolving freely in the hands of her presbyters, without restricting them?

"To both these questions I can, without hesitation, answer 'Yes.' And so I will dispense with a third statement, that even if such exercise of her office had been irregular, it would not follow that the acts would be invalid, unless subsequently invalidated by authority: they would stand unless rescinded. To take them in order, after mentioning the Constitution of Archbishop Reynolds, (Archbishop 1313—1327),† he says, 'We have not overlooked the sentence in the exhortation appointed in the Common Prayer Book, before Communion: 'Let him come to me or to some other discreet and learned minister of God's Word, and open his grief, &c. &c. But, after the best consideration in our power, we have come to the conclusion that so far from weakening the difficulties which we have suggested, it strengthens their force. The words, 'some other, &c.' would, of course, be intended to be understood only in the sense of the common practice and discipline of that time, 1548, in this matter: and we believe there is not any doubt whatever what that practice and discipline were, so that the 'some other, &c.' would of necessity be a priest, who had been appointed by the Bishop for that diocese or district.'"

* Page 15.

† *Lyndwode de pæn. et rem. Lib. 5. tit. 16. c. Sacerdos.*

In answer to this, Dr. Pusey has shown that immediately before the Reformation, persons were not appointed for each Diocese or district, except for the purpose of hearing the confessions of the Priests;* that the Council of Lateran, A.D. 1215, bound all to confess to their own priest once in the year,† so that none might leave that priest for another without his leave, but that with leave of their own priest the people might go to any priest who had been approved as of competent learning, and that this leave might be given either individually or generally, to a whole parish, or by law or by custom.‡ He observes that the meaning of the word jurisdiction may be resolved into these two,—first, an authority vested in each priest, which he may exercise whenever any one (according to the law of the Church), submits himself to it: secondly, an authority over certain individuals given to a certain priest. Of these the first is held to be given to Priests in Ordination,§ so that it is not given afterwards, but only persons are assigned towards whom it may be exercised. Gregory de Valentia admits that the voluntary submission of the individual gives sufficient jurisdiction in a case where the law did not interfere to prohibit it, e.g. in that of venial sins.||

This distinction in the meaning of jurisdiction is of great importance as regards the Church of England, for the Parish Priest among us has not, like the proprius sacerdos of the Council of Lateran, that jurisdiction by which he may require his parishioners to confess once in the year previous to communion, from which if they abstained they were, if they died, deprived of Christian burial; and the other sort of jurisdiction, viz. the capacity of judging all who voluntarily submit to such judgment, is given to all Priests in their ordination. This is made evident by the case of the Pope, who in choosing his own Confessor does not give a Priest jurisdiction over himself, (which is as absurd as though he were to absolve himself) but, being restrained by no law, he may submit himself to any one of those who have received sufficient jurisdiction from CHRIST by being ordained Priests.¶

In like manner a Bishop might confess not only to any of his own Priests but to any other Bishop, to whom he could not give jurisdiction and who had none over him. And the power of choosing to whom they would confess, which was given by the law to Bishops and the superior Clergy was by custom extended to all Clergy. These had also the power not of choosing one confessor only, but one at one time, one at another.**

On the whole it is quite plain that by jurisdiction in foro interno was not meant the conferring of an additional power, but only leave to exercise the power already possessed by all ordained Priests, and it was held that this leave ought to be granted readily; e. g.

* Page 20.

|| Page 27.

† Page 19.

¶ Pages 32—40.

‡ Page 23.

** Page 41.

§ Page 24.

Aquinas in answer to the objection, "In that which is necessary to salvation men are not to be narrowed in, lest they be hindered in the way of salvation. But it seemeth a great narrowing, if one must of necessity confess to one man, and by this many be withdrawn from confession either through fear or shame or some such feeling."* Answers—"In this, that a person ought to confess to his own Priest, the way of salvation is not narrowed, but a sufficient way is laid down to salvation. But a Priest *would sin if he were not easy in giving permission to confess to another*, for many are so weak that they would rather die without confession than confess to a certain Priest. Whence they who are too anxious to know through confession the consciences of those under them cast around others a snare to their damnation, and consequently around themselves."

Again, they who travel are supposed to have the tacit consent of their Parish Priest to confess to another.† And the "*Prêtre Sanctifié*," a standard work on confession, approved at Rome and inserted in the "*Manuel des Confesseurs*," certainly implies that, not in death only but in life, persons went to other confessors, without the consent, expressed or implied, of their own, and yet that the confessions were not ipso facto invalid.‡

In the practice as regards venial sins, the following principles are admitted; 1. That if it is free to a person to confess or no, it is free to him to confess to whom he will; 2. That where the law does not require him to confess to a particular Priest, he is free to choose any Priest. 3. That jurisdiction may exist where it is given by no law or act of the Church, apart from that of Ordination itself. 4. That the tacit consent of the Church gives it or continues it.§

Another very important case is that of the ignorance of the Priest, which is provided for by a law bearing the title of Pope Urban II., A.D. 1067, which most authorities hold not to be superseded by the Council of Lateran. Gregory of Valentia says, "If a Priest, to whose care any one be otherwise committed, be plainly ignorant, then any other Priest can *by law* receive the confession of him who was committed to that ignorant Priest. So Pope Urban appointed (*de Pæn. d. 6. c. ult.*) as John Medina (*de Conf. ix. 30, 31.*) and others commonly observe; and they understand it absolutely and generally, although that ignorant priest be a person's own parish priest, as the gloss explains."|| This case, we say, is important, not indeed to the general question of our people's ability to be validly absolved by a priest of their own choosing, which, as we before observed, really rests upon the practice of earlier times; but to the refutation of Mr. Allies.

It was to be expected that a man of Dr. Pusey's humility would shrink from dwelling upon it; but we must sorrowfully express

* Page 49.

† Page 64.

‡ Page 68.

§ Page 76.

|| Page 77.

our conviction that even the extreme degree of ignorance to which Vasquez limits this permission might be proved against many of our parish priests, who have had, and still have but very small opportunities of systematic professional training.

And this plea of ignorance would generally meet those cases where the priest has entirely neglected to pronounce the words, "let him come to me or to some other."

We must not dwell longer on the time immediately preceding the Reformation. According to Mr. Maskell the discipline then existing would have required the leave of the proprius sacerdos in order to confess to another, and Dr. Pusey has only the authority of Reginaldus and Caietan for saying that such leave might be given generally to a whole congregation. We submit that he has also the authority of the Prêtre Sanctifié for saying that absolutions given without his leave would be valid if he did not object to them, and that he ought not to object without special reason. He has the principle admitted in the practice with regard to venial sins, viz. that a man may confess to any one sins which he is not obliged to confess at all (in our case all sins whatsoever). And he has completely refuted the notion that any other Episcopal act besides Ordination is requisite in order to enable a priest to absolve; jurisdiction (so called) in foro interno being, not a conferring of new power, but a setting limits upon the exercise of power already conferred by ordination.

To come now to earlier times. Dr. Pusey observes as follows: "What Mr. Allies says as to the power of absolution being exercised only 'for many hundred years by the Bishops and Priests living in common with him,'* relates only to the public penitence. . . . In whatever degree confession was used apart from the public penitence, the very fact that priests were so markedly forbidden to restore penitents in the *public* office implies, that in other respects they were, as Morinus infers, free. . . . Both Origen† and Basil‡ imply that there was this freedom. The latter says, 'The discovering of sins has the same rules as the making known of bodily ailments. As then men do not reveal the ailments of the body to all, but to those skilled in their cure, so also the discovery of sins ought to be made to those able to cure them, as it is written, 'ye that are strong, bear the infirmities of the weak, i.e., by care remove them.' And in the Latin Church there is distinct evidence in times later than these, that the penitent had choice of his confessor.§ The date of the 'De verâ et falsâ pœnitentia,' (which for a long time was supposed to be S. Augustine's,) is, I believe, uncertain. It is some time later than S. Augustine whom it quotes and imitates. It says, 'Whoso wishes to confess his sins, that he may find grace, let him seek a priest who knoweth how to bind and loose:' and again, 'Be the

* Page 144. † Hom. ii. in Pa. 37. ‡ Reg. brev. Tract. 9. 229. § Page 146.

penitent careful, lest through shame he divide his confession in his own mind, so as to purpose to lay open different things to different priests, &c.’ The statement and the practice both imply an unrestrained access to priests for the purpose of confession at the option of the penitent. This treatise enjoyed great authority in the Western Church. It is quoted largely in the Decretals as S. Augustine’s, and had both the weight of the great Father to whom it was attributed, and of the Decretals which also stamped that authority upon it. It has been attempted to limit the directions of this writer, but they are too plain, ‘So that Navaurus sums up,* ‘There is no contradiction, that in the time of Augustine, it was not as yet forbidden to hear in confession the parishioners of others, but in the time of Urban it was.’† He also argues from the wording of a decree of about A.D. 1151, that before then it was allowed to any Christian to choose any priest; and says it is *the common doctrine* that any Presbyter of the Primitive Church could absolve any Christian.”‡

We do think it is morally certain that the intention of the Church of England was to withdraw those restrictions, which it is contended have not been formally rescinded, and that any one who is not strongly biassed in the other direction, will come to this conclusion from the perusal of Dr. Pusey’s book, from which we trust we have already given extracts enough to induce those of our readers who have not done so to read the whole of it. We add only a few words,§ “Yet there may remain this prejudice, Can this be the purpose of the Church of England since it has been so neglected? . . . Negligence has no prescription to be the interpreter of the Church’s meaning, to be the guardian of her laws, to enforce their continued desuetude. It has no divine right to reign undisturbed in the throne which it usurps. It cannot hold against the lawful possessor tender mercy, who binds up every wounded heart that comes to her. This revival of confession is the teaching of God through the Church. . . . But like every revival, it is spoken against by those who value it not. And so because it is so very sacred, it has been practised in silence. Who was to speak of the individuals who used it? Who speaks of his devotions? Who tells of his own silent tears before God, or the anguish of his heart, or the divine consolations? Who would wish that one of the most sacred actions of his life should be made the subject of the angry strife, the jest, the mockery of a profane and irreligious world?”

* Page 147.

† Page 150.

‡ Page 152.

§ Page 194.

DEAN ELLIOT'S AND MR. MILLER'S SERMONS.

1. *Sermons on some of the Subjects of the Day, preached at Trinity Church, Marylebone.* By GILBERT ELLIOT, D.D., Dean of Bristol. London: James Darling.
2. "*Subjection; no, not for an Hour,*" a *Warning to Protestant Christians in behalf of "the Truth of the Gospel," as now imperilled by Romish Doctrines and Practices of the Tractarian Heresy;* being the substance of a Sermon preached in S. Martin's Church, Birmingham, on Sunday evening, September 8, 1850. By the Rev. J. C. MILLER, M.A., Lincoln College, Oxford; Rector of S. Martin's. London: Hatchard and Seeley.

It is the natural result of storms to make the waters thick and muddy; and by them are many of those strange looking creatures, belonging to the molluscous and other inferior orders, wrenched from their submarine anchorage and stranded on our shores, which were never intended by the Great Creator to see the light of day. So is it likewise when the theological or political atmosphere is visited by one of those fearful hurricanes which the enemy of mankind, acting through the evil passions and infirmities of our nature, is permitted, from time to time, to stir up, and succeeds in combining together various heterogeneous elements for a momentary onslaught on the truth.

Such a crisis has now arisen in our Church. The violence recently done to dogmatic truth by the Committee of Privy Council, and still more the principles which animated and found their expression in that judgment, have given a vast impetus to that hatred of spiritual authority which is latent in the minds of all worldly and irreligious persons, as well as of all those who through defect of early discipline hardly submit themselves to any external rule.

It is not our desire to call any persons by hard names; and therefore we protest in limine against the simile which we have employed being pressed so as to be insulting or offensive to any individual whatever. It illustrates nevertheless very faithfully the general condition of the religious world among us at the present moment, and it accounts, *more or less*, for many strange phenomena both within and without the Church. Nor do we mean to deny its application altogether to the gentlemen whose Sermons stand at the head of this article. Under any less disturbed condition of the atmosphere we should not have a Priest at Birmingham deliberately denouncing his brethren in the ministry as "heretics"; nor the Vicar of Islington commending them to the tender mercies of a mob; Mr. Francis Newman would not have been induced to deny the inspiration of the Scriptures, nor Dr. Elliot the existence of a Visible Church and Priesthood; the same Dr. Elliot would

never have found his way to the Deanery of Bristol, nor three or four other Deans that we could mention, to their several posts of influence and emolument.

The evil arising from the abuse of State patronage is really calculated to cause very great alarm. It operates in two ways: first of all by tempting Clergy to act and speak unfaithfully to the Church, with the view of commending themselves to the notice of an Erastian and Latitudinarian Government; and then it leads to the thrusting of those unsound and low-minded individuals into positions for which they are quite unfitted. It is a fearful thing for a Government to be thus corrupting the springs of truth and honesty; and one which, if persevered in, must have a most injurious effect upon the moral and social state of the kingdom. The people must learn to despise their Spiritual Guides, when they see them winning their promotion by such means; and, when religious faith is gone, what confidence will any have in political morality? But further it will not answer. The English Church is not in a condition to bear degradation; she has already in the 16th and 17th centuries sacrificed as much to the temporal power as is compatible with her spiritual existence. By her enemies she is said to have forfeited her Divine Office and character; her truest friends admit that she was saved only "so as by fire." And if further experiments are to be made through the influence of Lord John Russell, and some one higher in station whom we had rather not name, for making her conform to the Bunsenian type of the "Church of the Future," either the religious element will be gradually thrust out of the Church of England and gathered into another essentially un-national Communion: or else there must be a split in the Church at home, and she will burst the golden chains by which an unscrupulous Government is endeavouring to keep her in subjection. In either case, the *Establishment* now so useful a state machine, will become a *caput mortuum*. But we hope better things; and it is with this view that we think it our duty to bring under the notice of our readers the works named at the head of this article, and specially the Sermons of the new Dean of Bristol. We are ready, indeed, to make allowance for a panic, which has thrown wiser and better men for a season off their balance; but surely we never can be safe with these two sources of evil so much as latent in our system, an unrestrained power of patronage in a minister who may be of any or no Faith, and such paralyzed discipline as is unable to eject unsound persons even from the ranks of the Church's commissioned teachers.

Let us take the case of the Rev. Gilbert Elliot, D.D., lately promoted to the Deanery of Bristol, a church previously presided over by a most unsound and traitorous head. Dr. Elliot belongs, we believe, to a family which acknowledges Lord Minto as its chief, and has long been proverbial for quartering itself in the most com-

fortable offices in the several departments of government patronage. "Born of no English race," his attachment to the Church, in which he has found so snug a berth, has "not descended to him," he tells us, "by inheritance or prejudice, transmitted through a long line of forefathers." In other words, we presume he was bred a Presbyterian (as he most certainly is that, or something worse now), but, like many of his compatriots, cast wistful glances at the richer pastures of the south, and under the fostering care of his influential kinsman, was preferred, two or three years since, to the important benefice of the Holy Trinity, S. Mary-le-bone. Here he took care to repay the good offices of his patrons in kind—not by diligence in doing the work of an evangelist either in his own person or by any clergy whom he maintained (for whatever parochial work has been done of late in that district, was, we believe, mainly through the pecuniary aid of a devout and benevolent layman), nor by the orderly administration of his services, but by fulminating violent attacks upon neighbouring clergy, and indeed upon the faith itself, of which the present volume contains a few choice specimens. For this, the further reward of the deanery of Bristol was conferred by Lord John Russell; and the deanery, it appears, was meant to lead to another good living, had not the indignation of public opinion been too strong even for Dr. Elliot's lust of having.

Such is the gentleman who, unhappily for the English Church, was allowed to transplant himself into her fold, and to gain admission into her Ministry. He tells us that it was an act of "love," but surely he set his affections on something very different from that Institution of which the Book of Common Prayer is the exponent. He tells us, that when he felt himself thus attracted to the Church of England, it was because, as he thought, "when she worships it is in the free, *unweighed*, happy language of hopeful faith, not pausing ever to cull its phrase and to trim it to conformity with doctrine or dogma." (p. xix.) The English Church, on the contrary, adopts the Athanasian Creed into her "worship:" she has appointed an "order" of daily prayer, and a prescribed "use" for all her rites and ceremonies, and forbids her clergy, under pains and penalties, to deviate in any particular therefrom. Whereas Dr. Elliot attached himself to the Church of England (we presume that his conscience tells him the union is not very intimate, for in his sermons he speaks of "*your* Church," not *ours*.) under the impression that the Priesthood of CHRIST is held by her to be "incommunicable, intransmissible" (p. 166), and that God has "not appointed any visible Church with prescribed polity;" (p. xxii.) she tells us it is "evident to all men diligently reading the Holy Scriptures and ancient authors, that from the apostles' time there have been three orders of ministers in CHRIST'S Church—bishops, priests, and deacons" (see preface

to Ordination Service); and that "CHRIST has ordained in His Church two sacraments as necessary for all persons to their salvation" (see Church Catechism). We submit, therefore, that Dr. Elliot, in "attaching himself" to the English Church, has acted altogether under misinformation, and that the contract should be declared null and void. He really should withdraw again to those "Grampian hills" on which "his father feeds his flock," and not come and trouble our Israel with this new-born Presbyterian theory. We call it "new-born," for though held, we believe, now generally in Scotland, as by English Presbyterians, it is directly opposed to the views of Calvin and Knox, and the men of that day. And if Dr. Elliot, reproved by his own conscience, does not voluntarily withdraw, the English Church we really think has a right to sue for a divorce *a vinculo matrimonii*, for she would scorn to claim Dr. Elliot's affections on such meretricious grounds as these latitudinarian descriptions avow. One other extravagance we throw into a note, simply asking whether Dr. Elliot is ignorant that the Psalms, Canticles, Creeds, Litany, &c., are directed to be "sung," and the Prayers to be "said," i.e., recited musically in monotone, and that Chancels are ordered to "remain as they have done in times past?"*

But we must proceed to a more methodical examination of the dean's theology.

The fifth Sermon gives Dr. Elliot's view of the History and Constitution of the English Church. The pre-Reformation period he repudiates altogether as "Roman." Then, he tells us, arose Luther; and, after some little hesitation, "in the reign of Elizabeth, the nation, *through its ordinary channel, the Legislature of the realm*, gave a constitution, a ritual, and law to the visible Church of CHRIST in this kingdom, which, with very slight variation, are ours to this day." We call particular attention to this passage, because it contains the *πρωτον ψῆδος* of the Dean's theology, a falsehood as well in fact as in theory. He denies, as has been said, the Church has any divine constitution, and considers that it "belongs to the members of the community collectively to give the Church its form;" (p. xxv.) and so consistently in another place he speaks of the foreign Protestant non-episcopal communities having a "form of polity possibly not less apostolical than our own." (p. 116.) So much for his theory: now for the fact. So far was the English Legislature from claiming any power to touch the Constitution of the Church, that in the preamble of Henry's famous statute, (24th, c. 12,) it is recited and declared that there are of Divine right, two separate and co-ordinate powers, the spiritual and the temporal; and Elizabeth claimed nothing more than

* "I feared that it could be only ill-regulated excitement, or too often personal vanity, which could bring to the foot of God's throne the ill-understood and worse executed *chant*, rather than the simple accent of an humble heart. I saw that the symbols (?), and the altar, and the *chancel*, all tended fast to *nothing better than sheer idolatry*."

had been allowed to her "godly predecessors," Henry VIII. and Edward VI. And then, as regards the Church's "Ritual," by every historian that we have seen it is recorded that the Convocation and not the Parliament compiled and put forth our Book of Common Prayer, and its accompanying formularies. The Dean indeed tells us that, "in the prosecution of some literary labours, he has had to dwell much among the events and writings of the Reformation;" but till these productions see the light we must be content to read history in its old way. He then passes in review several points of doctrine and discipline in which he undertakes to show that the English Church is "the antagonist of Rome." It would not be difficult of course to show that the two churches differ; but the result of this comparison upon every well-informed reader must be to prove that however much the Church of England may differ from that of Rome, Dr. Elliot differs still more from her. First he denies that she holds tradition to be an authority at all definitive of the truth. What then, we ask, means the declaration in the Preface to the Book of Common Prayer, "Here you have an order for prayer much agreeable to the mind and purpose of the old fathers?" What means the Preface to the Ordinal before quoted? What meant Bishop Jewel's well known challenge? What meant the appeal of the same Convocation which passed the Thirty-nine Articles to the authority of the early centuries of the Church? What Queen Elizabeth's injunction, that preachers see they do not contradict the judgments of the first General Councils? And the statement with regard to "the Constitution of the Church" and of the Christian ministry, or rather according to the Dean's view of their non-constitution exceeds in awfulness and falsehood, any that we have ever seen advanced by a person calling himself a Churchman.

"Next, as to the constitution of the Church. The Church of Rome was supposed to hold that God had, by imposition of hands successively from the apostles, set apart a body of men to whom were delegated a power to govern and an authority to teach, and to whom therefore were granted, as by specific sacrament, the grace to know certainly, and therefore to pronounce dogmatically, what is truth—to bind and to loosen, whether in things temporal or spiritual—and to give efficacy to the sacraments.

"Now I earnestly beseech your attention to what I am about to state. If any particular grace, or authority, or power be delegated by God to any body of men by imposition of hands successively from the apostles, or by any imposition of hands at all, or by any other form prescribed by God; if God has promised, has attached any such peculiar, specific grace, authority, or power to any prescribed form whatever, then is such imposition of hands, or any other such prescribed form clearly a sacrament. Such peculiar grace attached by promise to any form prescribed by God fulfils every condition of a sacrament, as a sa-

crament is universally defined throughout the body of Christian believers. Consequently the Church of Rome, believing that there is such peculiar grace attached by promise to an outward form prescribed by God, very consistently places orders among the sacraments. And if the Church of England believed that God had ordained any visible sign or ceremony or conferring orders, attaching any peculiar grace to that sign or ceremony, then also it could not have helped receiving orders as a sacrament. Now mark the very decisive and peremptory answer of our Church in the 25th Article, in words so few, as though it did not think the matter admitted of question. It denies that 'orders are a sacrament;' and denies it on the specific ground, 'that they have not any visible sign or ceremony ordained of God.' Thus, in contradiction to Rome, it clearly repudiates it as a fiction altogether, that God has prescribed some positive action through which orders must be conveyed, or that he has annexed peculiar grace and authority to imposition of hands, successively from the apostles, or to any other arbitrary form of ordination whatever. Do not allow yourselves to suppose that there is the slightest room for doubt or question, whatever, as to what the doctrine of the Church of England is in this matter. There is no more uncertainty possible as to its clear repudiation of all authority and of any essential and sacramental grace, as dependent on some form of ordination prescribed by God, than there is an uncertainty possible as to its sole faith being in the one sacrifice of CHRIST, or in CHRIST as the only Mediator."

Now this is in direct variance with the Preface to the Ordinal, which distinctly affirms that there have been "from the Apostles' time," the three Orders of the Ministry; and that "these offices were evermore had in such reverend estimation, that no man might presume to execute any of them, except he were first called, and also by public prayer, *with imposition of hands*, were approved and admitted thereunto by lawful authority." When the Bishop lays his hands upon the candidate for the Priesthood, he says, "Receive the HOLY GHOST. Whosoever sins thou dost forgive, they are forgiven;" and "be thou a dispenser of the Holy Sacraments." What becomes then of the Dean's statement that "God has not annexed peculiar grace and authority to the imposition of hands successively from the Apostles, or to any other arbitrary form of ordination whatever?" Either it is a statement for which he ought to be made to answer in the Ecclesiastical Court; or else the Church of England is a party to a blasphemous falsehood, in allowing these words to stand in her Ordinal. The argument that if ordination be anything it is a Sacrament (though in a certain sense no doubt it is a Sacrament,) is manifestly worthless: it is not according to the definition of the Catechism necessary *generally*, (i.e. for all,) but only for those who are to minister in sacred offices; nor is it pretended that the "laying on of hands" was the form used or ordained by "CHRIST Himself." The obligation of that

particular external form, as of Confirmation, professes only to be derived from the Apostles' time: but seeing that the HOLY GHOST was promised to the Apostles, "to lead them into all truth," we leave Dr. Elliot to make what difference he can out of that circumstance as regards the authority they bear, to those who desired to be conformed to the mind of CHRIST.

In another place he speaks of the "Tractarian Clergy, proffering absolution which God *does not sanction*;" (p. vi.) and affirms that S. Paul "tells us not of God's gifts to pass through man's hands, of God's pardon to pass through man's lips, of God's Sacraments to become only Sacraments, as man may presumptuously claim to bless them." (p. 163.) The use of "the word *Priest* in our rubrics," (why only "rubrics?") he considers "unfortunate." (p. 144.) And once more, "I do not know that the Scriptures make any distinction of orders"! Lastly, the statement of the article about "having public authority given unto them in the congregation," in itself sufficiently vague, he first tries to emphasize in his own peculiar way by foisting in a stop after the word "authority," and thus turns the "in" in effect into "by," adding "nor may we doubt that God's blessing shall be richly given to those whom a congregation of faithful men, shall with prayer, send into the LORD's vineyard!"

We cannot here acquit the Dean of positive dishonesty. And yet he repeats the opinion in another place, that "he is a lawful minister, who has been called by any congregation of faithful men." This is directly the doctrine of the Congregationalists or Independents.

We do not stop to notice the glosses imposed upon the articles on Justification and the Visible Church. They betoken only the usual, and we fear we must add wilful, ignorance of ultra-Protestantism.

In treating of the Sacraments generally, again, it may appear but a small matter that he ventures to make a distinction which Holy Scripture does not make, and that he asserts what the early fathers always shrunk from saying. It is expressed in these words:

"They (the Sacraments) are not necessary unto salvation in the sense that if these sacraments had not been instituted, and not been observed of men, salvation had been impossible. They are not necessary, for instance, in the same way as the death of CHRIST was necessary, in order to ensure salvation. The death of CHRIST was necessary unto salvation, in the extremest sense of the word necessary, because unless an expiation had been made for sin God could not have cleared the guilty, and because the death of CHRIST could afford that expiation.

"But not so with the sacraments. Atonement and justification are provided for us, quite irrespective of them. Their necessity unto salvation is a necessity which has reference alone to man, and arises only from the simple fact that CHRIST has *chosen* to ordain them as means of grace."

The Dean of Bristol's doctrine upon the Holy Eucharist, having first in four Sermons overthrown the doctrine of the Church, is thus summed up :

"CHRIST is present here. But I may not tell you that this ordinance is of greater efficacy than other CHRIST's ordinances, because of any sense or nature of sacrifice connected with the bread broken, and wine offered. We may not think so. The sacrifice of CHRIST needs neither repetition nor representation to God from time to time to make it perfect, or for the application of its merits and efficacy to men. The only sacrifice in the supper is that of our praise and thanksgiving, is that of our bodies and souls, as 'a reasonable, holy, and lively sacrifice unto the LORD.'

"Nor may I tell you that there is any peculiar efficacy in the mere elements which we then receive. I may not tell you that any grace is attached to them, much less any change made on them, either because of consecration, or even if received into faithful heart. Scriptures do not so instruct us, and our church does rightly term them but 'God's creatures of bread and wine.'

"The efficacy of the sacrament, or (in the words of our catechism) the strengthening and refreshing of our souls by the body and blood of CHRIST, as our bodies are by the bread and wine, depends on the faith of the heart which partakes,—depends (again in the words of our catechism) 'on our examining ourselves whether we repent us truly of our former sins, stedfastly purposing to lead a new life; having a lively faith in God's mercy through CHRIST, with a thankful remembrance of His death, and being in charity with all men.'

"Nor may I tell you that CHRIST is in any other manner present in this sacrament, than He is at any other time present, where His presence is promised. CHRIST is present here—but not visibly to the eye—not brought down from heaven by outward rite, and so linked with the bread and wine—not to be dispensed carnally, or substantially, or spiritually,* or in any possible manner, by the hands of man,—not to be partaken of by all who eat of the bread and drink of the cup—not present unto all who may be present at His supper. But CHRIST is present here, coming of His own will and choice and power to be present in the heart, and in the heart only, and then only in the hearts of those only who receive worthily, who receive faithfully.

"CHRIST is thus present here, and yet not in manner, otherwise than He is present in the water of baptism, or when two or three are gathered together in His Name, or with the contrite heart, when it is nigh to break; or with the heart, conscious of many needs and much weakness when it prays; or with the feeble heart, when it throws on Him its care; or with the brave heart, when it confronts the world; or with the faithful heart, when it denies itself because of love of CHRIST; or with the grateful heart, when it thanks; or with the pious heart, when it invokes blessing;—not in manner, otherwise than He is always present, is CHRIST present here, but in measure more abundant, in office also

* What means the article then "The Body of CHRIST is *given*, taken, and eaten in the Supper after an heavenly and *spiritual* manner"?

more distinct, for He is as really, actually present in the heart of the faithful receiver, by His Spirit, as He is really present in person at the right hand of God; present by covenant, not only as the strengthener and comforter, but as the pardoner also, and justifier."

The teaching of the Dean concerning Confirmation is of a piece with the rest, consisting chiefly of negations and denials.

1. "As confirmation is only a rite of the Church of England, the Church of England might have omitted it, and yet not sinned, as other Christian Churches do not sin, which have it not."

2. "You will see that the order of confirmation says nothing whatever of confirming baptism, but only of you confirming the promises and vows then made for you. Accordingly, if persons were baptized, as many are, without godfathers and godmothers standing for them, and then joined our Church, they could not use our service of confirmation, because they of course could not renew vows and promises which had never been made for them."

3. "You come to confirmation, so that you may ratify and confirm something — *not that something to be confirmed in you.*" [Will the Dean then explain the meaning of the rubric at the end of the Baptismal Service "for those who are of riper years:?" "It is expedient that every person, *thus baptized*, should be confirmed by the Bishop, so soon after his baptism as conveniently may be?" Or what is the meaning of the prayer in the Service, "Almighty and everlasting GOD, Who hast vouchsafed to regenerate these Thy servants by water and the HOLY GHOST, and hast given unto them forgiveness of all their sin; *strengthen* them, we beseech Thee, O LORD, with the HOLY GHOST the COMFORTER?"]

4. "You will understand that there is no necessity why this prayer, (i.e., the rite of confirmation,) should be offered by a Bishop, or any reason to believe that GOD would withhold His blessing, though no hand had been laid upon you, whether of Bishop or any one else."

5. He states on the pretended authority of the Articles, which of course say no such thing, that "Confirmation has grown of a corrupt following of the Apostles."

We now lay this book down with the very deliberate assertion that it has never been our lot to meet with any volume that contained so much to disapprove of—so little of which we can approve; so much that must have been injurious to the habit of faith in the minds of his congregation, (he admits that they complained of the controversial character of his preaching, and considers it probable that few of them will care to read his ill-tempered and heretical volume,) so little that could in any way tend to edification. We lay it down, as having done our duty by bringing it under the notice of the Church: but we trust that it will not be lightly laid down by those in authority. Surely the Bishop of London, in

whose Diocese the Sermons were preached and published, will proceed against the author of such utter denial of all Church doctrine ! Surely the Bishop of Bristol will see that Ecclesiastical discipline does not slumber ! Surely the Archdeacon of Bristol, and the "Union" of good and true men who acknowledge him as their President, will take measures for vindicating the faith of the Church from such outrageous attacks. We do not think that they could be possibly better employed : for assuredly the next step of Lord John Russell, if this insult to the truth be not speedily avenged, will be to make this miserable Latitudinarian a Bishop. We should like to know whether Dr. Elliot is still Chaplain to the Archbishop of Canterbury ; for in that capacity, if we remember rightly, he appeared at the consecration of S. Augustine's College ?

We pass on to Mr. Miller. This gentleman belongs to the "Evangelical" party, and he would fain persuade us, even to the more moderate section of that party. "Of the Athanasian Creed," he declares, "I am a very earnest upholder," (we trust we are not insensible to this act of kindness and condescension !) and his "own humble judgment is strongly against Dr. M'Neile's plan" of bracketing the Services. And he even makes a merit of acknowledging that some of the Evangelical Clergy were culpably careless in adhering to rubrics. Such is Mr. Miller by profession : now let us see what amount of confidence he is entitled to practically ; for surely a man who presumes thus to denounce his brethren as "heretics," ought to have something of character on which to fall back.

And first let us look to the particular of *Christian feeling*. We should expect great gentleness and amiability in Mr. Miller. He speaks with a very tender feeling of his "Dissenting brethren," (whom nevertheless he does "not justify,") and he "rejoices to hold a measure of brotherly intercourse and communion with some of them." Indeed, they form so essential an element in his congregation, that the Sermon before us contains a special address to them. Manifestly, then, we should assume him to be a tolerant man. Now it will scarcely be believed, that this mild and orthodox gentleman scruples not to endorse all the latitudinarian rationalism of Dean Elliot, and all the bitter war-to-the-knife suggestions of Mr. Daniel Wilson. The system to which he has attached himself is in danger ; and before the idol of self-love, all such ties as communion in creeds and sacraments are as nothing. He seems absolutely to revel in all the bitterest sayings of Messrs. Elliot and Wilson. We might almost accommodate the words of our old friend Blue-beard :—

" Fi, fo, fum,
I smell the blood of a High-Churchman."

He was led, he tells us, mainly to publish this Sermon, by the hope that the extracts which it contains from these good "worthy" Christians would do good! He makes the same dishonest use as Dean Elliot, of such traitorous publications as Mr. Maskell's recent letters, and "The Morality of Tractarianism;" he still perseveres in calling Mr. Maskell "the Bishop of Exeter's Chaplain;" and absolutely quotes Dr. Newman's account of the "Tractarian Movement,"* as though it were a description which the party in question would acquiesce in.

And now let us test his *orthodoxy* a little further. Doubtless he considers it only a matter of taste that he has determined, should he "be driven out of the Church of England," (does his conscience forecast such a possible exercise of righteous discipline?) that he will "worship at Carr's Lane meeting-house," (how his "dissenting brethren" in the congregation must have pricked up their ears at this hopeful intelligence!) rather than at S. Chad's. Having failed to recognize his own branch of the Church as the institution of CHRIST, he is not likely to pay much respect to other branches; and being now merely a follower of private judgment, it would, doubtless, not make much difference to his conscience, if he found himself one day worshipping, or rather we would say, "hearing" or preaching, in Carr's Lane Chapel, rather than in S. Martin's Church. Let then this pass. Now let us hear what he says about what S. Paul calls part of the "foundation" of the faith, the doctrine of Holy Baptism:

"And when I look at this case, I feel constrained to ask, What is all this conflict about? It is about the benefit of Infant Baptism. Some of us have been almost excommunicated as heretics; and in this town, some of the younger clergy have signed protests, *virtually* holding up the parochial clergy to their people as unsound, when, from the beginning to the end of the Word of God, there is not a single text which can be brought forward as a *direct demonstrative* argument in favour of Infant Baptism. Do not, however, suppose that I do not fully hold with Infant Baptism; I believe that it may be clearly proved *by inference* from the Holy Scriptures; of this I think I could undertake to satisfy any candid and inquiring mind. But we defy any man to put his hand upon any passage in the inspired Word of God which in so many words is a direct, palpable, and clearly demonstrative command enjoining Infant Baptism. No harm can come from the plain statement of the truth. But surely when, in after years, a retrospect is taken by Church historians of the present bitter conflict, it may well

* This word "Tractarian," we presume, is used because it allows persons to call Mr. Newman "the leader" of it, and then to ask triumphantly, "Where is the leader of that movement now?" Whereas they have recently heard the respected individual, whose lot it was to give a name to the party, which for many years have acted with him, (so long as it was convenient to call names,) declare that he was resolved to "die in the Church of England." See Dr. Pusey's Speech at the London Church Union.

excite astonishment that the doctrine of universal, absolute, unfailing, Regeneration in Infant Baptism was considered as essential to sound Churchmanship—as a vital element of the Church's highest trust—by members of a Church whose Articles hold up Holy Scripture as the oracle and standard of truth; while those Scriptures do not contain a solitary text which furnishes a *direct* injunction for Infant Baptism, or a single clear instance of its administration!"

It may be, that Mr. Miller, in his own way, "holds with Infant Baptism;" but we must say that he "holds with it" in a way very different from the Church whose orders he bears, and which thus begins the Service for the Public Baptism of Infants. "Dearly beloved, forasmuch as all men are conceived and born in sin; and that our SAVIOUR CHRIST saith, 'None can enter into the kingdom of God, except he be regenerate and born anew, of water and of the HOLY GHOST, I beseech you to call upon God.'" We say this both as regards the application of Scripture and the importance of the doctrine.

It is not the wont of writers belonging to Mr. Miller's party to give too much doctrine; and as we looked in vain through Mr. Elliot's entire volume, to find what are his views regarding the second and third Persons in the Blessed Trinity, (though one of his Sermons was preached on Whit-Sunday, and another within the octave of Christmas day,) so we have failed here to extract any very positive information. The doctrine of "Sacramental Grace," and "Apostolical Succession," however, he ranks among parts of "the Tractarian system," and consequently does not hold them; (p. 24;) and "Priestly forgiveness" as "one of Rome's blasphemous doctrines." (p. ix.)

Lastly we must touch on Mr. Miller's *Ministerial success*—or rather, to put the matter in a more impersonal form, on the efficiency and success of Evangelicalism as a system, where it has its full swing allowed. Let us hear his own testimony, and he is not too modest to speak in his own praise, when he can. This is the justification of himself which he offers for drawing together "a vast assemblage," expressly "to hear him preach against the Tractarians or the Romanists." "A new Romish Chapel has been opened on the very borders of my parish; and Romish Priests are continually going up and down *among us*, so that you can hardly walk the distance of half a mile without meeting them." Such is the confession of one of the Parish Priests of Birmingham; and yet Birmingham, it is well known, is entirely in the hands of the Evangelical Clergy. The Roman Catholics *are* making very great progress in Birmingham, among the flocks committed to Mr. Miller and others of his friends, and yet he has the audacity to take as the first position in his Sermon, and to print it in capitals, "that the tendency of the *Tractarian* system is towards Rome."

It certainly was not that system which inclined the Laity of Birmingham to Rome; for the Bishop and Clergy have taken pretty good care that it should not have a chance of showing itself there. And yet Rome, Mr. Miller admits, is making extraordinary weigh among his people. Our own information, we regret to add, quite confirms this view, and goes still farther. It is derived from a most competent and unexceptionable source; and represents a very large proportion of the inhabitants of Birmingham to be fluctuating between infidelity and Romanism. The Church as there represented, we are informed, has failed to touch their hearts or their understandings. Those who go to Church are mere well-dressed *hearers*—not a few, as in Mr. Miller's congregation, Dissenters. The whole Parochial system is weak and inefficient: the masses live in heathen ignorance or infidelity: those who call themselves church people have no definite faith, merely go to hear a favourite preacher, or to be amused at his bigoted denunciations of individuals whom he is taught by his party to hate, but of whose manner of life and doctrine he is supremely ignorant. We assure Mr. Miller in all seriousness that this is not the way to resist the progress of "Romanism" among his people. What they want is to be instructed in the great mysteries of the Incarnation: to have such a practical religion put before them as shall guide and sanctify their daily lives; to witness self-denial and its fruits in those who are appointed to teach them—not to have their passions inflamed, and the little faith they possess thus rudely shaken.

We do from our heart pity the poor people of Birmingham. They are yearning, many of them, for the true Church system, and they are put off with that mere "Protestant faith," which is the religion of Messrs. Wilson and Miller. We are not aware whether they are cursed in any of their clergy with the actual *non-religion* of Dr. Elliot, but we have seen how ominously the two can coalesce. Mr. Miller unsuspectingly lets us a little here also behind the scenes. Like the Dean of Bristol, he is conscious of an unwilling audience. He instances, by anticipation, at least as many as five classes among the congregation, though drawn together by special invitation to hear this deliberate excommunication of "Tractarians," who would not go along with him. But he has "a special word" for "the young," that awkward class for all "Evangelicals" to manage, of whose defaulting Mr. Daniel Wilson also spoke so mournfully. He prints them in capitals—**THE YOUNG**; addresses them, "My Friends, my *young* Friends," and delicately suggests to them that their love for "pretty books with crosses outside, and pretty poetry, and stories, and allegories within," is to be paralleled with the wickedness of the "prodigal son" in the parable. Yea, and then he tries the effect of a little bit of pleasantry; and thinking perhaps he had gone too far in comparing devotion to the cross of our

Adorable LORD, with addiction to "harlots and the wine cup," affects to be jocose, and calls it "Romanism upon homœopathic principles!" It surely should be a significant warning to Mr. Wilson and others of his school, that there are found to be, as he says, "among the young"—those who are yet simple and unhackneyed in the ways of artificial religious pedantry—the very "babes and sucklings out of whose mouths GOD would *perfect* praise"—these "prejudices against Evangelical preaching!" Why, at Birmingham one would have thought they must have sucked in prejudices in its favour with their very mothers' milk! Whence then this distaste? It is an easy-going religion, as now taught, heaven knows! Why then do the young revolt from it? Simply because they see it is unreal, out of harmony with the best and kindest instincts of man's nature, and calculated to promote unamiability and selfishness, the vices most abhorred by the youthful mind. We could not desire a more convincing proof that this form of religion is "not of heaven, but of men."

How long, we ask with all seriousness, are people then to go on blinding themselves, and one another to the truth, and refusing to read the "signs of the times?" Evangelicalism has proved a failure in every thing that should constitute the efficacy of a religious system, and it is not likely to strengthen itself by such alliances as are here proposed—by appealing to the passions of ungodly men, by trying to patch up a hollow friendship with dissent, which is, if possible, more secularized than itself, or with such mere Free-thinkers as the Dean of Bristol. And it is really time for all earnest men to perceive that such angry and frantic denunciations, whether proceeding from the Vicar of Islington, or another vicar whom ancient recollections forbid us to name, from the Dean of Bristol or the Archdeacon of Lewes, can only tend to the advancement of that fearful current of infidelity, which is so obviously setting in. From evil they come, if persons would only analyse their own motives, and to evil they must lead. Surely, with a rationalised government daily developing more and more openly a line of policy distinctly hostile to the freedom and soundness of the Church, if internal quarrels cannot be hushed, they should at least be left for the avowedly worldly and irreligious to prosecute. It is time for those who really love the LORD to be contending, not for their own "Protestant faith," i.e., for a party, but for "the faith once delivered to the saints," and for Him who is its Author and Finisher.

DE VERE'S PICTURESQUE SKETCHES IN GREECE.

Picturesque Sketches of Greece and Turkey. By AUBREY DE VERE. In 2 vols. London: Bentley, New Burlington Street.

It is singular as well as profitable to trace out the various impressions produced on different minds by the same scenes and circumstances. No two travellers ever regard the lands which they visit in a similar point of view, and for this reason, greatly to the benefit of others, they involuntarily cause many cross lights to play on the moral purpose and issue of such events as give interest to the localities they describe.

The spirit of the past breathes as it were a soul into every landscape; beneath each hill and valley and waving wood there lies a web of subtle memories and associations linked by no invisible threads to the great eternity that broods over all, and into which all mortal life shall merge. And as each varied intellect is brought to bear on Nature in this her sacramental character, they seem ever to draw from it, in newer and more wonderful aspects, that Providence of God which is the spiritual grace with which the whole universe is instinct. Some grasp at once the subject which finds a responsive chord in their own fancy and dilate thereon, skilfully sifting the depths which another would have passed unheeded. Others shed on all around so warm a tone of colouring from their own mind that many a delicate influence and intricate working is visible to them which colder dispositions would never discern. Thus all attaining the same end by their unconscious revelations, fail not to bring before us continually that one great truth on which the very foundations of the earth are built; that through all the dark chaos which this world's history would seem to present to the unassisted eyes; through the apparently aimless strife of man with man or nation with nation, yes, and of life with death; still, unsearchable, immutable in all and by all, works the one predeterminate purpose of God's own holy will, moulding and guiding all for that final triumph and consummation of good which is the aim and end of His entire creation. This is as it were the one Almighty principle which holds the world suspended between the eternity of the past and the eternity of the future,—piercing it through and through, from pole to pole, entering with the very breath into every living soul, that each may be its unconscious agent, working in ways that we dream not of, combining many effects with one operation, and using the universal passion of self-love, which least would consent to such control (if known) to be the most powerful instrument of its ulterior design.

It is chiefly in treating of lands which are as the treasure-houses of the past that we find men of most opposite dispositions co-operating to teach us this deep lesson ; and therefore we not unwillingly turn once more to a book of Eastern travel, although we believe no species of work is more frequently brought before the public in these days of travelling mania. The volumes before us, however, have an intrinsic value which merits our best attention ; the author views all which he beheld in the wonderful land of the rising sun in a manner at once so novel and profound that he must needs aid us greatly in tracing through those regions the deep working of that hidden wisdom which is the spring of all human destinies. The great charm of this book lies in the exquisite descriptions of scenery. Mr. de Vere has in a remarkable degree that peculiar talent which can with a few graphic words place the very living picture of the landscape most vividly before the mind, and he thus re-creates for us the loveliness of that lovely climate with a grace and delicacy which must proceed certainly from a most refined imagination. But this is only the outward beauty visible on his pages, their real merit lies deeper—piercing down through the fair aspect of the material world as it smiles beneath the feet of the Eastern pilgrim, he reaches to those sepulchral treasures which lie beneath the surface of that whole strange realm, and contain not only the tombs of kings and sages, but of cities and of empires likewise, and of long-forgotten art. And there it is among the spiritual scenery of the past that our author displays a vigour of mind and an acuteness of perception which raises his work far above the ordinary class of travellers' note books.

We do not require the evidence of dates to prove to us that several years had elapsed between the period of our author's visit to the East and that of his publishing this record of his wanderings. Time has evidently softened for him the asperities of those realities of commonplace evils which engross in actual fact by far the larger portion of the traveller's thoughts and time ; for the working of the one human nature with all its petty infirmities, its meanness, and its vice, still meets us face to face, go where we will, and from its contact must inevitably arise the same amount of annoyances and suffering as are in ordinary life to be found each day by our own hearths and in our hearts : but in Mr. de Vere's book we find no trace of anything save the visions of beauty which he gathered on these eastern shores, and which seem to have remained floating through his mind, whilst all rougher impressions, both of men and things, had passed away with the actual circumstances that produced them.

In like manner the deeper portions of his work have gained no doubt in truthfulness and soberness of reasoning by the lapse of time which subdued the first enthusiasm of his reflections, and removed him from the scenes which suggested them ; certainly it would tend to give him that enlarged and comprehensive view of

the past in its entire completeness without which no man can judge impartially of any one portion of the world's history.

The prevalent mistake amongst us all when we seek to walk back through the centuries, is our custom of judging of events or of the destinies of nations *singly*, apart, that is, from contemporary circumstances in other quarters of the globe, or even from the antecedents in bygone ages which may bear most powerfully upon them. It is thus that we are blinded to that calm and glorious harmony of God's own preordained Will, of which we have spoken as pervading the mutability of all sublunary things, and even such as may seem to us the most discordant elements of strife; now from this too common narrowness of view we think our author singularly free.

All things in the spiritual world of God's Providence have their type in His material creation, and there is a very beautiful analogy between the tides of that ocean which seemingly so fierce and uncontrollable, swallowing up men's lives and dashing the great fleets to destruction in the pride of the tempest's strength, yet day and night with abject submission obeys the unseen influence of the pure moon above, and that more solemn ebb and flow of the waves of time as they roll over the world—engulfing generations, making shipwreck of empires, convulsing mankind with the storms of war, and still in silent obedience following out the invisible Will—the Will which through all the seeming anarchy guides each individual soul in its predeterminate career, and ordains the sigh of a babe in the cradle, in the same moment that It calls forth the thunders of some condemned world, and sends it crashing down to its destruction. Such lands as Greece and Turkey are like the deserted sands whence this mighty tide has rolled back, leaving many traces that once the waters revelled there in the clinging sea-weed, clothing the wet rocks, and the shells mingling with bones and relics of the dead. Plainly our author viewed the classic regions where he wandered in this light, and he therefore contrasts favourably with the majority of our countrymen who but too often have their senses so engrossed by the material world and its application to their own condition that they cannot turn the eyes of their soul to look into its spiritual signification. We subjoin some extracts from the reflections to which his contemplative mind was continually led in his wanderings, but first we cannot forbear quoting a passage which displays some of that descriptive power of which we have spoken as Mr. de Vere's peculiar talent.

He was standing on the Acropolis of Athens, and as evening drew nigh he was called upon to witness that sight which is, as we well know, not only one of the most beautiful nature can produce from a rare combination of scenery and climate, but hallowed likewise by association, as being that last spectacle of her varying loveliness, with which our mother earth delighted the dying eyes of

Socrates, ere he drew his final breath within a few yards of the spot where our author stood.

"The poets tell us that nature alone is permanent, while the works of human hand moulder into oblivion. It is not altogether so; the Temple of Victory rises out of its dust, and the Parthenon still opposes its broad brow to the wasting winds of time, while rivers have been dried up, and fruitful lands have become a wilderness. It was thus that I mused on the Acropolis, when my attention was caught by a faint suffusion thrown on a white and prostrate pillar near that against which I leaned; I turned, and saw through a long range of columns the setting sun which had dropped from its vapoury veil a moment before it was to disappear. Swiftly as the progress of some masterly minstrelsy the splendour leaped from cloud to cloud, and lit up the illumination of the west: in a few minutes more the east returned it like an echo; the sea burned, and seemed to shake beneath the dark fire; and the far mountain ridges, virginally robed in winter snow, became crimson first, and then seemed to grow almost transparent with the increasing light; infinitude beyond infinitude of pacific glory opened out before me in the heavens, as cloud responded to cloud, and the sacred communion spread throughout the firmament. It was the same glorious and triumphant spectacle, a foretaste, surely, of something higher than men can as yet know or desire, which the great luminary had exhibited before the eyes of successive generations, from the time that 'Earth beheld it first on the fourth day;' and it will be repeated without speck, flaw, or imperfection, till the day of judgment."—Vol. i. p. 114.

We do not remember to have seen a more truthful and striking picture of the Athenian sunset than the above. Our next extract is taken from the reflections which arose in the mind of our author after a visit to the plains of Marathon, although we feel that we do but scanty justice to his meditations by the necessary curtailment of their train of reasoning.

"We reached home about sunset, eat our dinner with a good appetite, thought we had earned it almost as well as if we had fought in the great battle of Marathon, instead of having only made a pilgrimage to the plain, and passed the evening discussing the effects of that battle, and all the affairs of the Eastern world—Egypt, Syria, Arabia, Turkey, Greece. How marvellously each of these countries was led on from small beginnings to great destinies; and how marvellously from each was 'its candlestick removed' when it had done its part, and shown itself incapable of doing more! None of these countries perished without leaving to the world a great inheritance: it is on their bequests that we live, and out of their ruins that our social structures have been built. The old Latin adage, that a serpent is powerless till he has eaten a serpent, might be applied to nations. Every nation which has vindicated to itself any true greatness has absorbed, either politically, or morally and intellectually, some nation that had preceded it. The Greek intellect absorbed and assimilated all that was most valuable in the political and philosophic lore of nations farther to

the east, except Palestine. Rome in turn absorbed Greece; and Roman law with Teutonic manners (both fused together by the vital heat of Christianity), built up the civilization of mediæval Europe. European commonwealth thus inherited all that antiquity and the East had done and thought: America inherits us. It was Bishop Berkeley who recorded in verse the fact that civilization has ever rolled on in one great wave from the east to the west. Did he prophesy truly when he said, 'Time's noblest conquest is his last?' Time only can answer. In the meantime how nearly has the wave of civilization gone round the world. When it has reached its western limit, what will remain for it but that, rolling still forward, it should burst again on the shores of the eastern world? It is in vain I suspect that we send our missionaries and our books *backward* to the east. A retrograde course is not allowed us. On the other hand, what new morning is not destined to burst over the world, when, the first great revolution completed, the second commences, and from populous cities and flourishing states, on the shores of the Pacific, the great and developed European mind breaks in sudden dawn upon the land of Confucius? That time cannot now be far distant—before the year 2000 it must, judging from the rate of progress at present observable, be at hand. The millennarians might find in this circumstance a philosophical confirmation of their reveries with respect to the new era which is to set in all over the world when the 6000 years since Adam are completed, and a Sabbatical thousand has commenced."—Vol. i. p. 193.

There may be the germ of a great truth in the idea to which our author refers, but the Asiatics would say, and we are disposed to agree with them, that he does not go far enough, and that whilst the progress of light has been hitherto from east to west, yet shall it return, having encircled the globe (and filled the whole earth with the knowledge of the LORD as the waters cover the sea) to its original birthplace, there to be concentrated into the full blaze of unveiled radiance. Elsewhere, at Constantinople, we find Mr. de Vere recognizing that "eastern element" in all that we have of good or great, which indicates that the favoured spot, hallowed by the footsteps of our God, is the locality destined to be the centre and spring of all good in this mortal world, from whence all blessings rise to be diffused throughout the nations.

"How different in character is that poetic legend, which celebrates the union of Asia with Europe, from the sublime truth at once of faith and science, which impelled the barque of the great European discoverer to a new continent beyond a more perilous sea. The contrast between the artistic love-fiction and the heroic triumph of knowledge, illustrates in no small degree, the opposite spirit which animated the early Hellenic mind, and directed the aspirations of modern Europe. And yet, how much, even for us moderns, is contained in that ancient legend! What mighty result is destined ultimately to spring from the united energies of Europe and America we know not; but we know that it is

from the union of Asia and Europe, symbolised in the rape of Europa, that we owe almost all of high and noble that we possess. It was in Greece that the influences of the East and West first met; and assuredly at the confluence of these two mighty tides the human intelligence mounted to a height never before known. What is there deep or great among us in which an eastern element is not to be traced? All our arts, (elaborated indeed with a zeal which the graver Hebrew would have stigmatised as but 'a following out of strange inventions') so far as they acknowledge an Hellenic origin, rest on an Asiatic foundation.

"All our moral and metaphysical systems are but new adaptations of ancient Oriental philosophy. The whole hierarchical construction of European society, so far as it is based on the idea of graduated orders, and not merely on superior force, is but the development, under whatever name of feudality, clanship, or aristocracy, of a principle as old as the patriarchal times. It is the same in our religion. The Bible (considered in its external relations) was written from one end to the other of both Testaments by Asiatics, and Asiatics of a single race; the earlier General Councils were Asiatic; the Creeds, and the leading principles of the Church government, as far as they are to be counted human in origin, came to us from the East. In most of the greatest minds that have risen up among us, even in modern times, an Asiatic element is to be traced with more or less of distinctness. Wherever we build with solid materials we build on an Asiatic foundation; and Shem, amid the isles of the Gentiles, reposes in those tents which his more active brother Japhet is ever planting and shifting."

It has ever seemed to us that one of the most salutary lessons we can gather from a retrospect of the departed centuries, is the almost fearful influence which it is frequently given to one individual intellect to exercise on the destinies of the world. Or rather should we say—in analyzing the elements of which all great events are composed, we shall ever find that some one master mind diffusing its magnetic influence from soul to soul among his fellows, has been the spring and origin of that which has become the glory of a nation, the very foundation of empires and dynasties. It is salutary, we say, to trace out the power of human agency, because the impression it should produce is of two-fold importance; first, we should find a deep and profitable humiliation in witnessing how very frequently this mighty power given to man has been used for his own aggrandisement alone, and because thus swayed by evil motives hath been evil in its operation; and secondly, we should gather from the contemplation of the extent of its influence even where abused, a hopeful conviction of the mighty works that might be done by human hands, even to the removing of mountains of sin and misery from this our world, if moved to action by such holy purposes as would win for us a blessing of invincible strength. Our author naturally leads to such thoughts by his remarks on the

physical insignificance of that Greece which was the well-spring of nations.

“ How wonderful was the variety of politics exhibited in that narrow compass ! As if Greece, in its political relations, had been intended to present an epitome of Europe, as Europe does of the world, there exists no form of government, theocratical, monarchical, or republican, aristocratic, democratic, or military, of which her little States did not furnish examples. As if also the history of Greece had been destined to constitute a compendium of all history, these various forms of government were now allowed a gradual development, now brought into sudden antagonism, and now suffered to change into each other, or to combine their civil elements in the most various proportions. Not only was Greece providentially built up into an University in which all nations were to be trained in scientific lore, and an academy in which the arts were to find a perpetual asylum, but it became also a theatre in which human society rehearsed all its parts, and a treasure-house in which history was to preserve its archives and store its lessons. To be familiar with the annals of Greece is to understand the philosophy of history. Compared with it the records of most other communities are but a chronicle of accidents. In it is contained essentially the inner history of each. On that history we look down as on a map ; and it becomes intelligible to us because it lies in a narrow limit, and is illuminated by a wide and steady light. All that can take place, intellectually or morally on the globe, is but an expansion of the struggles that may take place in a single breast. The history of a man is the history of a race, the history of a race is the history of the world ; but in proportion as the horizon is widened, our eyes are bewildered, and clouds obscure the scene. The history of human society, epitomised in that of Greece, is instructive to us, because it is condensed, and because in shaking off the sophisms of prolixity, and the perplexities of detail, it stands before us idealised. Greece, considered politically and morally, is like the tent in the eastern tale, which, when folded, could be carried on a man's shoulder, and when opened, could shelter an army.”

One regret we have experienced in reading some portions of this work which has occasionally marred the great pleasure it afforded us. We cannot fail to perceive from our personal experience of these localities, that Mr. de Vere has fallen into the inevitable snare from which it seems scarce possible that any traveller should escape ; he has received his impressions of the existing state of matters in the social condition of the East from the missionaries and others of his countrymen resident there, instead of seeking the truth from the natives themselves.

This unfortunate mode of proceeding is generally the natural result of circumstances, and of the unavoidable congregating together of those who are compatriots, but it sorely paralyzes a man's judgment in his estimate of a strange country. He thus views it

through the medium of prejudice and pre-conceived bias which has not even the advantage of being his own and so liable to give way before the test of reality as applied to his individual judgment, nor is it only prejudice, but the influence of personal feeling and party spirit, which must inevitably colour the statements conveyed to him through such channels. Our author has not escaped this evil as we said, but happily he dwells too much with the past to render it a matter of so much importance as we have seen it in other cases. On one point however, and that a subject deeply important to all Christendom, the present condition of the Greek Church, we regret to perceive the bias his fine mind has received. In the few pages in which he treats of this Catholic communion, he gives us the substance of what has been said by every traveller who has formed his judgment thereon under similar auspices, who has (that is) witnessed personally her ceremonial without understanding her language or her symbolism, and who has been further instructed as to the spirit of her teaching by those who have left their own land for the express purpose of reforming her! It is clear that our author has been duly informed concerning her present ignorance and superstition, and regaled with the hopes entertained by those friends from whom we sincerely trust she may be saved, as to her future *enlightenment*, but how infinitely we dread for her this enlightenment and the injudicious methods taken to promote it, we cannot easily describe. We confidently hope however that all such minds, at least, as Mr. de Vere's, will one day recognize the great and noble mission, which we trust it may be given to the Greek Church to perform.

Let her retain her primitive canons, her unchanging rule carried out with the same simple obedience by the bishop in the holy synod, and the humble villager sole priest of some mountain solitude. Let her retain her *ignorance* of the possibility of a so called reform, or of a deviation in the remotest degree from her ancient observances, however much they may be said to partake of the nature of superstition, lest, as it ever happens, while she seeks to cleanse away the dross, she destroy the fine gold also; and let her rather walk on, begirt with her time-honoured and significant ceremonial, looking neither to the right nor to the left, taking no counsel with men, nor permitting the touch of human hands. And when at last, the day of fiery trial, the final struggle with Antichrist shall come, then we would trust she shall be enabled to stand forth and present to the world's gaze THE FAITH, intact as when first committed to her, preserved by that very framework of outward observances with which now the finger of reform would tamper. We conceive that we are not too sanguine in hoping this, because our trust is grounded on that one admirable system of implicit obedience, not only to the ecclesiastical law, but to the most trivial custom of her ritual which pervades every rank of the

Greek communion; literally it is a thing unknown that there should be either amongst her clergy or laity any variation of discipline or diversity of opinion; and the existence of a so-called "party" within the bosom of a Christian community is an untoward phenomenon of which she is yet in blissful ignorance. What the Greek Church was in faith and practice centuries ago—she is to-day, and thrice happy will it be for this earth on which the Son of Man hath doubted if He shall find faith at His coming, if she continue the same until that hour.

A great and beneficial change has however taken place in the condition of the Greek Church since M. de Vere wrote of her, and it is one which while it strengthens our hopes as we have now detailed them, might possibly have changed his opinion respecting her.

Within the last three months the Patriarch of Constantinople has resumed his authority over her. She has been restored by mutual and amicable agreement to her former position under his rule and government, and all shadow of excuse for the charge of schism which has been brought against her is for ever done away. It has long been the desire and intention of both parties that this happy arrangement should be effected, and there never was what might be termed a serious rupture between them; but so long as the Greek Church remained in a position which was clearly anomalous, it could not fail to be productive of bad effects on other branches of the Church Catholic, by increasing the number of those communions who would seem to demonstrate internally that they are not under lawful authority. And now the Greek Church is, once more, under the same government which ruled her centuries ago.

This fortunate event has produced another change in her ecclesiastical system, in that it has drawn her more completely out of the hands of the state. Up to the present time the members of the Holy Synod have been appointed by the King, and confirmed by that supreme court itself. Henceforward, this power is vested in the Patriarch, with the additional alteration, that whereas formerly they were chosen at will from among the bishops, now it is decreed that the entire number shall in turn be elected to that sacred post, each holding office for a year, excepting only the President, who receives this dignity as Bishop of Athens, and whose right is perpetual. This arrangement would seem to render the Patriarch's share in the matter purely nominal, but the right of preferring one before another is still left to him, and this, at the moment of any particular crisis is a valuable privilege, and further, his personal influence with the bishops is necessarily great.

Indeed, those who are disposed to view the matter politically, affirm that the power has but passed out of the hands of the Hellenic king into those of the Russian Emperor. The patriarch is supposed to be entirely in the interests of the latter, and it is

thought that he will now endeavour to mould the lower dignitaries of the Church to a like accordance with the Czar's desires. We do not deny that such may be the case in the rank of secondary causes and effects, which are permitted to be as indications of higher and most wise purposes, but let us first recognise in this restoration of unity to the Eastern Church the work of Him who sought it for His whole flock in His divinest prayer, and we need not fear that the petty intrigues of emperors or statesmen shall do aught but work, however unconsciously, for the accomplishment of His own holy and merciful designs.

When Mr. de Vere rode round the walls of Constantinople, he passed very close to a spot whose associations must necessarily, one would think, inspire every man to whom is given the title of patriarch in the Greek Church with a martyr spirit and a holy zeal which cannot but prompt him to act in all singleness and devotedness of heart in his Master's service,—it is the little church in the Phanariote quarter where the holy old patriarch Gregory witnessed so good a confession at the outbreak of the Greek revolution. We cannot forbear giving the circumstance, for it is one which we believe must draw down a blessing on the whole Eastern Communion. It was on Easter-day that this saint was made a twofold partaker of our LORD's death and by hope of His resurrection, for he knowing full well that the Turks had doomed him to death as the head of their Christian enemies, resolved that the last act of his life and ministry should be to celebrate the Eucharistic sacrifice. To the Church he went, accompanied by twelve bishops, because of the high festival, and before he ascended the altar steps, he gathered them around him and embraced each one solemnly, praying their pardon if in any sort he had abused his authority over them, while they weeping testified their love and reverence to him and brotherly affection to one another, and then in blessed affinity with the last Supper of our LORD before His Passion, those thirteen priests partook together of the sacrifice in presence of all the people. Scarce was the celebration over, whilst still the hymn of thanksgiving lingered on the old man's lips, the rush was heard of infidel feet along the pavement of the Church. Instantly they seized him, along with the twelve bishops, and carried him out to death. He was hung by the sacrilegious hands of those cruel men upon the nearest tree,—not even divested of the sacerdotal robes,—and his faithful priests all suffered with him. The body of the patriarch was flung into the Bosphorus, and from some cause which we do not attempt to explain, it would not sink, but floated calmly on the waters as one who sleeps upon a bed of down. So was he found a spectacle of solemn beauty by a Russian vessel. The crew conveyed him to Odessa, where he was buried as befitted a saint and martyr.

We have space but for one brief extract more from this delightful book. The passage contains one of those vivid touches which describe so well and briefly the spirit of a locality.

"In all respects the external features of Constantinople are characteristic of an empire founded on faith, and of a people gravely devoted to pleasure, and yet addicted also to meditation, and blindly submissive to fate. The three ideas which they express are—Religion, Enjoyment, and Death. The first is represented by the mosques and minarets, which tower above every thing else; the second, by the ample baths and beautiful fountains, with their projecting roofs, Moorish panel-works, and gilded lattices, within which the element which, in Greece and Italy, was ever taught to fling up its radiance into the sun, is jealously guarded, like a beauty of the Seraglio. The idea of Death confronts you wherever you move through this paradise of the senses, not only in the cemeteries which swathe the sides of the hills with darkness, but in many a lofty and dome-surmounted tomb, in which a Sultan, still regarded as a father of his people, receives in death the filial veneration of his subjects."

Mr. de Vere's tour, which was made in the year 1840, embraced the Ionian islands, the whole continent of Greece, which he most thoroughly explored, omitting none of those localities which however interesting are frequently unvisited, because so difficult of access, and finally he passed on to Smyrna and Constantinople, where he remained for a considerable time.

BEESTON ON THE PHœNICIAN VERSES IN PLAUTUS.

The Interpretation attempted of the Phœnician Verses found in the Pœnulus of Plautus. By W. BEESTON. London: C. Cox.

THE tide of rationalistic criticism which some years ago flowed harmlessly over manuscripts and *editiones principes* of classical authors, seems now to be setting towards the Inspired Volume. So long as a Klausen confines himself to extracting ingenious meanings from hopelessly corrupt passages in Æschylus, and a Wunder restricts his rationalism to bold and ingenious hypothetical emendations of Sophocles, abjuring all allegiance to the sway of MS. authorities, and professing to weigh common sense against the frigidities of the Scholiasts, we in our capacity of Theologians can have but little to do in the matter, and may safely omit to take any notice of such lucubrations, or if we turn our eyes to them for a moment, can only smile at the disputes and contests of rival scholars, like the philosopher from his height,

Despicere unde queas alios, passimque videre
Errantes ——— certare ingenio.

But we cannot remain so quiet when we find the rationalizing process applied to Theology ; when a doctrine is eliminated and criticized away, by the so-called *correction* of some weighty particle or preposition which the writers of Scripture were divinely guided to employ ; or the "genius of the Greek language" is called in to prove that S. John or S. Paul did not and could not mean to hand down to future ages, by their accurate, though perhaps inelegant, phraseology, truths which the Church has up to this day firmly held, and dispensed to her children.*

One of the weapons beginning to be employed by the opponents of Scripture and of the Church is the philological argument. Mr. Cureton, and Chevalier Bunsen as his train-bearer, have brought their Syriac lore into play against Episcopacy. How little the pious cœnobite who committed to writing his favourite Epistles from the collection of the writings of S. Ignatius, dreamt that his especial predilection would be converted into an argument against the Church and her rulers ! But other critics have been bolder still, and after acquiring their knowledge of the Hebrew and Chaldee languages almost exclusively from the Sacred Books, have turned the knowledge so acquired against its source ; a mode of warfare at least ungrateful, and to which the poet's words may be almost prophetically applied,

μητρὸς δὲ πῆλῃ τίς καταβέβηκε δίκην ;

And the new glimpse gained into the languages of the past by the discoveries of Major Rawlinson and Mr. Layard cannot fail,—intimately connected as those who used them were with the chosen people, and the events recorded in them with those alluded to in Scripture,—to supply the philological infidel with a new armoury of facts to launch against the Inspired Histories. Philology, therefore, especially Hebrew and Oriental philology, must henceforth be reckoned as a handmaid, or rather perhaps a garrison soldier, of theology. And we cannot urge too strongly upon those whose tastes and character of mind lead them to engage in such studies, to pursue them with the view of devoting them, if need be, to the service of the Church ; that they may be able to stand up in the struggle which seems to be coming on as the champions of the text of Scripture. For if we may judge by the signs of the times, the battle will have to be fought over the text, the inspiration, and the exegesis, of the Bible ; and he will be a good servant to the Christian cause who employs his time and his energies in furnishing himself with weapons for that conflict ; and amongst these not the least important will be the application of Hebrew, Oriental, and Greek learning to the text of Scripture.

* As for instance, Θεὸς ἦν ὁ Λόγος is tortured into Socinianism ; and the word Θεός, in 1 Tim. iii. 16, degraded into the relative ὅς. So Mr. F. W. Newman's "accurate perception" of the Greek language decides for him against the traditional authorship of the Epistle to the Hebrews.

Having premised thus much as a sort of apology for taking on ourselves the office of critic in what appears at first sight to be a mere piece of philological antiquarianism, we shall proceed to a short notice of the work named at the head of this article. Every one who has read Plautus is aware that one of the twenty* comedies of that author which have been preserved to us bears the name of *Pœmulus*, or "the little Carthaginian"; and that Plautus has put into the mouth of one of the principal characters, a Carthaginian of course, a quantity of unintelligible jargon, which has of course furnished a puzzle for the brains of scholars almost from the time of the first edition (Venice, 1472).

The plot of the play is like that of all Roman comedies, very simple, and somewhat improbable. Two brothers living at Carthage, were plundered of their children: the first of a boy, the other of two girls. The former fell into the hands of a citizen of Calydon, and was adopted by him; the girls, together with their nurse, fell (as is always the case with stolen children in Latin comedies) into the hands of a "*leno*," who, by a curious coincidence, took them also to live at Calydon. Here the young man, Agorastocles, becomes enamoured of his cousin, as yet unknown to him; the *leno* delays matters for the sake of fleecing him of a round sum of money for the purchase of his mistress, until Hanno, the father of the two lost beauties, opportunely arrives from Carthage, which he had some time ago left in search of them, and being a good linguist, had wandered over many countries in the vain hope of lighting upon them amongst the most disreputable of their sex. Here, of course, he recognizes them, through their nurse Giddeneme, and the play ends happily and joyfully.

On his first entrance (act v., scene 1), Hanno gives utterance to a soliloquy of twenty-seven lines, the eleven last of which are in good Plautine Latin, the other sixteen in some other tongue. Of these sixteen, the first ten differ much from the others, and are very fairly supposed to be intended for a specimen of the Punic language,—that is, of the sound of the Punic language as it appeared to the ears of a Roman when spoken by those merchants and travellers who visited Italy. Of course, the question at once arises, Are these uncouth-looking words to be interpreted through the medium of any known language? and do they afford us any clue to the real nature of the Punic tongue?

Beyond a few inscriptions, which have been commented on by Gesenius and others, and some allusions to Punic literature, especially the work of Mago on farming, as quoted by Varro, Cato, and Columella, together with some translations of Carthaginian papers, and a few words like *barrus* (an elephant), *mapale*, and *magale*, incorporated in the Latin language, we have no records of Punic.

* Twenty-one, if any one has such respect for Gildas as to believe that the *Querolus* was not forged by him out of Plautine fragments.

The language has in a manner been swept away with the city from the face of the earth. But it has always been supposed that the language spoken at Carthage and that of Tyre, its mother city, was, if not identical with, at least a dialect of, biblical Hebrew. This supposition certainly involves us in a difficulty which we have neither space nor desire to go into: How it is, that if the Tyrians were, as is imagined, of the accursed race of Ham, we find them using the sacred tongue in which Adam conversed with Noah, Noah with Shem, Shem (whether he were or were not the same with Melchisedek) with Abraham, who is called, *par excellence*, the Hebrew? However, in spite of difficulties, the opinion seems to have much truth on its side. And it receives no little confirmation from the form of the Carthaginian names which have come down to us. The great proportion of them end in *bal*, which is fairly enough supposed to be the Hebrew *Baal*, a word in most Semitic languages, denoting the Supreme Ruler of the world. In the same way the Chaldean names were compounded with *Nebo*, and the Jewish with *Io*, or *JAH*, the name of the true God. So Hannibal, Nabonassar, and John (Jochanan), imply nearly the same thing, "grace or mercy of God."

But to come to the Plautine Punic. "In his explicandis," says Bochart in his *Phaleg*, "multi frustra sudârunt." And he proceeds, by changing many of the letters found in the Florentine MS., to exhibit the ten lines in question in translatable Hebrew. The edition of Pareus (Frankfort, 1610) also exhibits the Hebrew letters, all other editions giving the Punic or Roman type. Joseph Scaliger expresses his opinion, "*parum** a puritate Hebraismi abesse." Gesenius also gives an interpretation of the ten lines, though he looks on them as "*vix sanabiles*."

General Vallancey (or rather O'Neachtan, the *real* author of the hypothesis), to show the identity of the Irish Gaelic with the Punic, has given an Irish version of these lines. We cannot help at first sight classing this attempt with the theory of the enthusiastic Cambrian, that the language of our first parents in Paradise was pure Welsh, or with that seriously propounded by Goropius Becanus, that the temptation of Eve was transacted in high Dutch. But there is, after all, a grain of truth at the bottom of the theory. Nothing is more probable than that the language of Carthage should have had at least some influence on that of Ireland, or Juverna, one of her spots of colonization. But the similarity between the words of Plautus and the words of General Vallancey's Irish rendering of them is not sufficient to make us imagine that he has approximated to a right understanding of the Punic. The syllables now and then seem fortuitously to coincide; but the coincidence is not greater than might be forced out of any series of

* We quote from Schmieder. Surely Scaliger himself never used such Latin as "*parum*" for "*haud multum*!"

sounds written down at hazard. And one word of the Gaelic, "teampluibh," is a word introduced into the language from the Latin, being equivalent to the Latin "templis," "in thy temples," and is by itself almost fatal to the rendering, being a word most unlikely to occur in a Phœnician sentence. And Gesenius cavalierly dismisses the whole theory—"De his copiosius referre piget."

Bochart supposes that the Latin lines of Hanno's speech contain the purport, if not the translation, of the Punic, and considers the six remaining lines, as well as the few foreign sentences which occur in the rest of the play, to be Liby-Phœnician, or mixed African and Punic, probably of the same purport as the Punic and Latin lines. From the ten lines of Punic he manages to extract a tolerable meaning, which, in spite of a little violence to the letters of the MS., has always hitherto been looked on as the most satisfactory rendering of the passage.

Petit, whom Schmieder takes for his authority, boldly construes the whole of the sixteen verses; but his version of them is anything but probable. Other linguists have proposed to refer to the Chaldee, the Arabic, and even the Maltese, for the rendering of these unhappy lines. Those of our readers who are not already fatigued with the subject, may pursue it in Gesenius' "Scripturæ Linguæque Phœnicis Monumenta," and Sir W. Betham's "Gael and Cymry."

We now come to Mr. Beeston. He ingeniously reduces the letters found in the Editio Princeps into Hebrew, with very few hypothetical alterations. But the sense yielded by the Hebrew words so found is far from being satisfactory. It must strike every one who is acquainted with the play, that if Hanno really did express himself in the terms which Mr. Beeston puts into his mouth, he must have been terribly addicted either to prosing or mystifying. Still there is no doubt, that in the main, the intent of the Punic words has been attained to, and we cordially agree in the conclusion, that they furnish a strong argument for the similarity, if not the identity, of the Hebrew and Phœnician, and for the authority of Masoretic punctuation. Nor are we disposed to differ from the author's remarks and comments on the passage, which show much acquaintance with, and thought on, Hebrew scholarship.

The occurrence of a supposed pronoun, *ra* (athi) in the first, second, and eighth lines, lead him to remark on the probability of this being another form of the pronoun of the first person. The only objection to this theory is that, save in the verbal inflexions, no traces whatever of such a pronoun are to be discovered, either in the Syriac (enā) ܐܢܐ or the Arabic (anā) انا any more than in Hebrew. We should suggest that the syllables expressed in this form might much better be considered as some peculiar Punic in-

flexion, like others which Mr. Beeston has remarked on; and which have their counterpart at the present day in the differences of pronunciation and inflexion between the Arabic of Asia and of Africa. We are rather disposed to think that several of the awkward monosyllables which have to be forced in and violently translated, may be referred to the same origin, viz., a Punicism. Traces of Punic idiom also appear in the singular collocation of governed and governing words, reminding us closely of the peculiar position of the article in the Gaelic and Norse tongues,* and possibly hinting at some connection between them and Punic, in which the latter has served as a stepping-stone between them and Hebrew.

We will not fatigue our readers by discussing any further points with our author, whom we must thank for his ingenuity and labour, and hope that he, in common with other orientalists, may not be behind-hand in carrying on the battle with infidelity, which Dr. Wall, of Dublin, in his learned volumes on the "Orthography of the Jews," has so worthily begun, on the same ground, and with the same weapons.

THE PROGRESS OF THE CONTROVERSY.

1. *Resolutions proposed at Bristol, October 1, 1850.*
2. *Reasons for feeling secure in the Church of England.* A Letter to a Friend, in answer to Doubts expressed in reference to the Claims of the Church of Rome. By the Rev. EDWARD MONRO, M.A., Incumbent of Harrow Weald, Middlesex. London: J. H. Parker.
3. *The Necessity of a Session of Convocation and the Means of obtaining it:* A Paper submitted to the Members of the Lincolnshire and Nottinghamshire Church Union. By F. C. MASSINGBERD, M.A., Rector of Ormsby, Lincolnshire. London: Rivingtons; and J. W. Parker.

WE are in arrear with several valuable pamphlets, among which we would particularly specify Mr. Mayow's sound-hearted "Second Letter" to Mr. Maskell, and Mr. R. H. Fortescue's Visitation Sermon, entitled "The Tudor Supremacy in Jurisdiction unlimited," containing a bold statement of our dangers. But the progress of the controversy compels us to move onward. As we were carried speedily on from the Baptismal to the Supremacy Question; so have men's minds already passed on to the ONE great critical question: How far all the events which have thus trod upon the heels of one another, during the last few months, have affected the posi-

* In Icelandic, Norwegian, Swedish, and Danish, the article *follows* instead of preceding, thus (I.) *Auga*, an eye, *Auga-t*, the eye; *Sol*, (D.) sun; *Sol-en*, the sun.

tion of the English Church. It was an anxiety to set men's minds at once at rest upon the point which dictated both Mr. Monro's pamphlet, and the efforts of Messrs. Palmer and Denison at Bristol, to pledge members of Church Unions to a declaration of fidelity to their mother Church. We must express our sympathy much more with the former than with the latter; the one is a work of charity, the other (though not intentionally we believe) one of compromise and imaginary expediency. We say "imaginary," for there is nothing which we can conceive to be more decidedly inexpedient than the imposing unauthorized tests. And there is nothing in our judgment which more clearly demonstrates the unfitness of an individual to be a leader in any important crisis than that he should be unable to hold his ground at a period of excitement or alarm. Weak minds are necessarily affected by such external impulses; a strong one may so far bow beneath the storm as not to expose himself at a disadvantage to the fury of the elements, but will not be forced in the least degree from the course that it had prescribed to itself. There was obviously, we hold, but one course for sound Churchmen at Bristol, viz. to adopt the well considered amendment proposed by Lord Forbes. We must not be forced from our onward position by the faithlessness of a few, or by the fears of the many. It is not in any burst of impatience or intemperance that we have exposed to view the dangers of the Church; nor can we rest till her freedom and safety are in some measure secured. And of this purpose, we conceive, the best proof will be found in our continuing to pursue the even tenour of our way undisturbed by any momentary outbreak of alarm.

At the same time we gladly welcome any effort, not dictated by fear, at allaying a panic which, whether with or without reason, may have possessed the public mind. And of such a character we are glad to be able to pronounce Mr. Monro's Letter. On a former occasion we were compelled to demur to the wisdom of what Mr. Monro wrote; but here he has our full sympathy and concurrence. It is most desirable, as we have recently expressed ourselves, that the grounds of our position should be re-stated, with the full recognition both of the difficulties at the present moment incidental to it, and of the claims put forward by the Church of Rome. It is desirable also that there should be no "playing with Rome:" our readers will do us the justice to acknowledge that our own line has ever been distinct and open. Where Rome is more Catholic than ourselves we are not unwilling, remembering that our Reformers always took Catholic consent as their guide, to learn of her; where she has departed from the rule of better days, we desire to keep aloof. And here consists the peculiar excellency of the line taken by Mr. Monro. He admits, while asserting that the English Church may "burst forth even now with unparalleled energy in evangelisation, education, parochial ministration, and every other

branch of holy calling," that there is "an incubus" upon her in the oppression of the State which must be first removed. He speaks of our position as of one "of deep difficulty and anxiety," and declares that he "will never rest night or day, till she has gained perfect freedom of teaching and action." The following distinction, as well as much that the writer says in reference to Rome's claims to unity and certainty, appears to us just and reasonable; only we would add that, if there be any who sigh after these forbidden things alluded to, their number is so very small as not to warrant any alarm.

"Rome as she is now, and especially Oratorianism, is something distinct in kind from English doctrine: it is not simply the excess of it; it is wholly separate from it. A man may go to nearly any length of Catholicity of doctrine and practice with safety from a clue in our own Church, while he holds in his hand one end of a chain which will connect him with primitive ages. But when no such link is visible, he appears to be occupying a dishonest and false position. There are, of course, many points where the indications are clear enough in the teaching of the Church in England, however poorly worked out or generally recognised, in the light of which we reach the highest and truest Catholicity, deep views of Holy Baptism, the Real Presence, Communion with the departed, Absolution, and the need of Confession. But it appears that there are points which men are aiming at now in our Communion which are in no way deducible from word or indication in the Church in England, or in the early ages. A man cannot honestly retain position in the English Church while he holds and teaches these; they have no root or branch in our system: however meagrely other parts of the Catholic theory may be worked out among us, and have remained too long but a dead letter, they have at least their recognition in our formularies. I am very far from meaning to assert any kind of attachment for the spirit of Anglicanism, or any idea that it contains any finality,—it is but the chain which binds us, in a troubled and difficult day, to the Church of a more united and purer time;—yet there is such a thing as position within its limits; it has limits of its own, and it has a definite teaching, which we cannot ignore, and which is not synonymous with Rome, still less with Oratorianism."

But though we have said so much in praise of Mr. Monro's pamphlet, we would have it distinctly borne in mind that the scope of it is beside the main question on which our thoughts should be fixed, and towards which our endeavours should be directed, viz., the liberation of the Church from the thralldom into which she has fallen. While the controversy is so rapidly shifting its grounds before our eyes, it is important clearly to perceive what we should be contending for. Our grievance then, let it be repeated, is that violence has been done to the integrity of the faith, such violence as to demand the immediate re-assertion of the truth that has been assailed. Now this can only be done by the Church speaking through her own council; and that council is now unhappily silenced. What it may not be within the power of the bishops to

do towards vindicating the honour and integrity of the Church we do not pretend to say; we most earnestly hope that they will do something. But that which seems more immediately within the reach of Churchmen generally, whether laity or clergy, appears to be to work for the restoration of the Church's synodal action.

Under this impression then, we gladly welcome Mr. Massingberd's very satisfactory paper. In advocating the revival of Convocation as a real Church synod, he first vindicates himself from the charge of agitation in words which it seems to us important at the present day, in reference to the scruples of a large class of persons, to put on record—

“ And this brings us to consider another most important element in all the proceedings of Churchmen, and especially of the clergy, in times of excitement like the present. It cannot but occur to their minds with painful force, that any independent act of theirs, if taken apart from, and possibly against the individual opinion of their bishops, may be a violation of that constituted order of things, which it is their duty above all other men to commend and to observe. The writer of this paper does not hesitate to avow, that this consideration has long kept, and would keep him for ever silent, let his private opinions be what they might, if it were not for this one circumstance, that the convocations which are now equivalent to the synods of the Church of England, comprise the representatives of the clergy, and that the clergy in general are called upon, *by the writ of summons of their own bishops*, to choose those who shall represent them in these assemblies. This fact, occurring as it does by the constituted order of that government in Church and State under which we live, appears to place them, by no seeking and by no act of their own, but in the appointed course and order of events, and therefore of Divine Providence, in circumstances in which they are called upon by their bishops themselves to exercise their own independent judgment. It matters not that the bishop's writs have come to be so negligently served that many may not even know of the day of election; the fact remains, that all the benefited clergy in each diocese are summoned by the bishop to elect their procurators in each convocation, and that all who do not appear on the day of election are deemed to assent to whatever election may take place. If therefore the clergy desire to have a session of convocation, it would seem to be their first and most obvious duty to send up those to represent them who will do their best in order that this desire may be signified to the crown. And this is as much their duty to their own bishops, who convoke them for the purpose, as it is to the Church at large.”

Further, he reminds us that the promise of the Sovereign to permit the session and deliberation of Convocation was only made to the bishops and clergy, “*upon their humble desire*” to that effect being expressed; consequently he argues that this liberty cannot now be said to be refused us, inasmuch as we have never distinctly asked for it. He then disposes satisfactorily of certain objections, as that it is a dangerous experiment to give life to Convocation,

that the clergy are seeking thereby to extend their own power, that things go on very well as they are, &c.

The question how far the Laity are entitled to a place in a Church Synod is gone into at some length. We quote one passage :

“ If, indeed, such a course were contrary to all ecclesiastical precedent, that fact in itself ought perhaps to be conclusive against it. But such is not the case. Not only were lay deputies found in the synods of the Christians of S. Thomas, on the arrival of the Portuguese discoverers in India; but in the old Gothic monarchy of Spain, we find the ‘*Viri Illustres*,’ some of whose names may yet be traced in old Spanish families, signing the acts of the Councils of Toledo. The same may be traced in Gregory of Tours, in the accounts he gives of the oldest councils under the Frankish monarchs. And it was the old Anglo-Saxon practice: ‘*Rex Ælfwoldus statuit diem Concilii, ad quem convenerunt omnes principes regionis tam ecclesiastici quam sæculares.*’ [Concil. Calchuth. A.D. 785. Wilk. i. 146.] And to this record the names of several noble Saxons of both provinces are subscribed, following the names of bishops and clerks. Neander also informs us that a somewhat similar practice existed in the African Church, and quotes Purpurius, a Numidian bishop, writing thus to Silvanus, Bishop of Cinta, ‘*Adhibete conclericos et seniores plebis, ecclesiasticos viros;*’ and Optatus, ‘*Sine concilio seniorum nihil agebatur. Itaque et vos, quos scio omnem sapientiam cœlestem et spirituales habere, omni vestra virtute cognoscite, quæ sit dissentio hæc, et perducite ad pacem.*’ Optat. Milevit. de schismate Donat.”

The most practical part of the pamphlet, of course, is the consideration of the means by which we may hope to obtain the object of our desires. And these he sums up as follows :

“ I. By the insertion of a direct and unqualified demand of the restitution of our constitutional rights, in the address to the throne still presented by the convocation when it first assembles with every new parliament.

“ And in order to this, by

“ § 1. The election of proctors pledged to do their utmost to promote such a course.

“ § 2. By petitions to the bishops, from clergy and laity in their respective dioceses.

“ § 3. By direct petition to the convocation itself.

“ II. By a vote of either house of parliament for an address to the throne, as in the time of William and Mary, praying for a session of convocation; and in order to this, by

“ § 1. Making it a condition of voting for any members of parliament that they shall vote for such a step, if proposed.

“ § 2. Petitioning both houses to the like effect.

“ III. By direct petitions to the Queen, from all classes of Churchmen, for the same purpose.”

ing, and altars, and the arts of the architect, and the glass stainer, and the statuary. Are not God's praises, we ask, sung, i.e. chanted in heaven? May not flowers upon the altar be legitimate types of the "golden vials full of odours" of which S. John speaks? And the mention of "jasper and the sapphire," and other precious stones, even though used figuratively, are surely a sufficient warrant for the Christian Church in consecrating every thing that is of most value and beauty to Him Whom she has been created to worship.

The Eucharistic Month, (Masters.) is not, as the title might seem to imply, did we not know that the manual is recommended by Archdeacon Manning, a preparation for *monthly* Communion. Rather it admits of and presupposes Communion to be most frequent, if not daily, and so just provides a single thought for the soul to exercise itself upon, and round that collects a most remarkable harmony of Scripture illustration. It will surprise all, who have not thought most deeply on this subject, to find how very copiously Holy Scripture testifies to this great mystery. As our readers will suppose, it has been gathered from ancient sources; and much thanks are due to MR. G. C. WHITE, the editor, for so valuable a contribution to our devotional manuals.

The Harmonies to the Gregorian Tones, have been published by the editor of the Oxford Psalter. (J. H. Parker.) They seem to be very correctly given, but we believe that the editor still retains the opinion that tones should be sung in unison.

Hymnæ secundum usum insignis ac præclaræ Ecclesiæ Sarisburiensis, (Oxford: Parker and Masson,) is a careful reprint of a collection which many will be glad to possess for the first time in so convenient a shape.

MR. TOMLINS has published in addition to his previous volume, *Four Sermons for the four Advent Sundays*. (Masters.) They are of the same practical character as their predecessors, and will conveniently direct attention to the great importance of making the pulpit follow the course of the Church's year.

WHITAKER'S *Almanack*, though containing some matter connected with the Church, cannot be called an Ecclesiastical Almanack, seeing that it gives no directions whatever for the proper ordering of Divine Service.

"A Churchman," in his *Views of Baptism* (Houlston and Stoneman), is at least consistent. He agrees with Mr. Gorham in denying the Regeneration of Infants in this Sacrament, and then argues, "The conclusion to be drawn from the premises is, that one of the first steps needed, in order to complete the reformation of our Church, is that of striking a pen through the Service for the Baptism of Infants." He is logically quite correct. If infants are not regenerated by Baptism, then why baptize them?

NOTICE TO CORRESPONDENTS.

We hope to find room for the communication sent from Jersey in our next number.

"A Layman," who writes from London, will find that his object is substantially answered by us in the recommendation of Mr. Monro's pamphlet. It is rarely that we can give space to correspondence.

ILLUSTRATIONS OF THE STATE OF THE CHURCH DURING THE GREAT REBELLION.

(Continued from Vol. IX. p. 298.)

THE number of secessions may have been at its height in 1651. In this year, Falkland's tract on Infallibility, with an answer to it in the way of letter, and his reply annexed, was reprinted with a preface, by Pearson, afterwards Bishop of Chester, the celebrated writer on the Creed. At the same time came out some letters, which had passed twelve years before between Lord George Digby and Sir Kenelm Digby. The latter was one of the most remarkable of the converts to Romanism: and though his conversion dates from an earlier period than that which we profess to illustrate, yet his history is too interesting to be passed over in entire silence.

He was son of Sir Everard Digby, whose name is familiar to readers of history, from the part which he took in the Gunpowder Plot, for which he was executed. In early life he was exposed to the influence of Romanists, though brought up under the direction of Laud, a member of the English Church, and of the University of Oxford. His conversion took place in 1636, whilst he was abroad. His change of religion, so far from being hasty, was not determined on till after two years' consideration, and when he had finally taken the step, he wrote an apology for his conduct to Archbishop Laud, part of whose answer we have transcribed from "Wharton's Troubles and Trials of the Archbishop," (p. 610.)

"Whereas you say that you have returned into that Communion, who from your birth had right of possession in you, and therefore ought to continue it, unless clear and evident proof (which you say surely cannot be found), should have evicted you from it. Truly, Sir, I think this had been spoken with more advantage to you and your cause, before your adhering to the Church of England than now; for then right of possession could not have been thought little. But now since you deserted that Communion, either you did it upon clear and evident proof, or upon apparent only. If you did it upon clear and evident proof, why say you now no such can be found? If you did it upon apparent and seeming proof, a semblance of very good reason (as yourself calls it), why did you then come off from that Communion till your proof were clear and evident? And why may not that which now seems clear and evident, be but apparent, as well as that which then seemed clear unto you be but semblance now? Nor would I have you say that clear and evident proof cannot be found for a man in this case of religion to forego the Communion which had right of possession in him from his birth, for the proposition is an universal negative and of hard proof. And therefore though I think I know you and your judg-

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ment so well, that I may not without manifest wrong, charge you that you did in this great action, and so nearly concerning you, *ad pauca respicere*, which our great master tells us breeds facile and easy, rather than safe and warrantable, determinations; yet it will lie upon you not only in honour without, but also in conscience within, to be able to assure yourself that you did *ad plurima*, if not *ad omnia respicere*; the thing being so weighty in itself, and the miserable division of Christendom, (never sufficiently to be lamented,) making the doubt so great, that you who have been on both sides must needs lie under the dispute of both sides, whether this last act of yours be not in you rather a relapse into a former sickness, than a recovery from a former fall.

"But against this the temper of your mind (you say) arms you against all censures, no slight air of reputation being able to move you. In this I must needs say you are happy: for he that can be moved from himself by the changeable breath of men's lives, more out of than in himself, and which is a misery beyond all expression, must in doubts go to other men for resolution, not to himself; as if he had no soul within him. But yet *post conscientiam fama*, and though I would not desire to live by reputation, yet I would leave no good means untried rather than live without it. And how far you have brought yourself in question, which of these two, conscience or reputation, you have shaken by this double change, I leave yourself to judge, because you say your first was with a semblance of very good reason. And though you say again that it now appears you were then misled, yet you will have much ado to make the world think so.

"The way you look in concealing this your resolution of returning into that Communion, and the reasons which you give why you so privately carried it here, I cannot but approve. They are full of all ingenuity, tender and civil respects, fitted to avoid discontent in your friends, and scandal that might be taken by others, or contumely that might be returned upon yourself. And as are these reasons, so is the whole frame of your Letter, (setting aside that I cannot concur in judgment,) full of discretion and temper, and so like yourself, that I cannot but love even that which I dislike in it. And though I shall never be other than that I have been to the worth of Sir Kenelm Digby, yet most heartily sorry I am that a man, whose discourse did so much content me, should thus slide away from me before I had so much as suspicion to awaken me, and suggest that he was going. Had you put me into a dispensation, and communicated your thoughts to me before they had grown up into resolutions, I am a Priest, and would have put on what secrecy you should have commanded. A little knowledge I have, (God knows a little,) I would have ventured it with you in that serious debate you have had with yourself. I have ever honoured you since I knew your worth, and I would have done all offices of a friend to keep you nearer than now you are. But, since you are gone, and settled another way, before you would let me know it, I know not now what to say to a man of judgment, and so resolved. For to what end should I treat, when a resolution is set already? so set, as that you say no clear and evident proof can be found against it? nor can I tell how to press such a man as you to ring the changes in reli-

gion. In your power it was not to change; in mine it is not to make you change again. Therefore to the moderation of your own heart, under the Grace of God, I must and do now leave you for matter of religion, but retaining still with me, and entirely all the love and friendliness which your worth won from me, well knowing that all differences in opinion shake not the foundations of religion.

"Now to your postscript and then I have done. That I am the first, and the only person to whom you have written thus freely, I thank you heartily for it. For I cannot conceive anything thereby, but your great respect to me, which hath abundantly spread itself all over your letter. And had you written this to me with a restraint of making it further known, I should have performed that trust; but since you have submitted to me what further knowledge of it I shall think fit to give to any other person, I have as I took myself bound, acquainted his Majesty with it, who gave a great deal of very good expression concerning you, and is not a little sorry to lose the service of so able a subject. I have likewise made it known in private to Mr. Secretary Cooke, who was as confident of you as myself. I could hardly believe your own letters, and he has hardly my relation.

"To my secretary I must needs trust it, having not time to write it again out of my scribbled copy; but I dare trust the secrecy in which I have bound him. To others I am silent, and shall so continue till the thing open itself; and I shall do it out of reasons very like to those which you give, why yourself would not divulge it here. In the last place you promise yourself that the condition you are in will not hinder me from continuing the best friend you have. To this I can say no more, than that I could never arrogate to myself to be your best friend; but a poor yet respective friend of yours I have been ever since I knew you; and it is not your change that can change me, who never yet left but where I was first forsaken, and not always there."

The letters on the subject of his change of religion, which passed between the two cousins, were published after an interval of about twelve years. The reason stated for their appearing just at that time, is that there was some danger of a surreptitious edition being printed; probably there existed several copies of them in MS., it being the fashion of the day to transcribe whole pamphlets, even such as had been printed, and could easily be procured. Thus the "Whole Duty of Man" was found in Lady Packington's handwriting after her death, and the fact has been used as an argument, that she was the authoress of the volume. Of this work we shall say no more at present, than that she unquestionably was not the authoress. We shall have occasion to refer to it hereafter, as it belongs to a later and brighter period of the history of the English Church. We are glad to claim for the time of the great Rebellion, the honour of having produced one of the two books which are said to have contributed more than any others to the preservation of piety and virtue, during the profligate times that followed the Restoration.

The other is said to have been Hammond's "Practical Catechism," whose popularity, however, ceased long before that of the "Whole Duty of Man." A recent republication of each of these books, perhaps, indicates a returning spirit of practical devotion. But Hammond's book is too controversial in parts, and his sentences too encumbered to encourage the expectation that it can ever again be extensively read. The other volume is suited to all times and conditions, and we should be glad to see it occupying a place in every house in the kingdom.

There were few books of practical devotion at the time when so many changed their religion, and the absence of them of course contributed to swell the number of converts to the Church of Rome; but the argument that influenced by far the greater number was one that was pressed by Romanists with great advantage, the declining state of religion, and the probability of the extinction of the English Church. At the disastrous period of the battle of Worcester, which entirely destroyed all present chance of the king regaining his lost dominions, episcopacy had been for many years suppressed; half of the English and Irish Bishops had died, and the rest were living in obscurity, some in England, some in foreign parts; and though some of them continued to ordain Clergymen, yet this was so secretly performed, that few were aware of it, and the attempt to preserve a succession of Bishops was too hazardous to be made.

A brief account of some of the other converts mentioned in a previous paper may not be uninteresting; the books from which their history is derived, being neither easily accessible, nor written in an attractive manner. And first of Dr. Vane.

He seceded about the year 1644, published soon afterwards a little volume, detailing the arguments which had convinced him. This was published at Paris in 1645, with the approbation of H. Holden and J. Callaghan, dated April 3rd, and with a dedication to Henrietta Maria, in which the author craves her protection, affirming that persecution never raged against Catholics so much as at that time, comparing the persecution to Herod's sending forth men to destroy our SAVIOUR, and adding, that as Herod, because he would be sure, as he thought, to destroy CHRIST, destroyed all the children that were about His age; so do they pursue the legal Protestants, meaning the established Church, as having a little resemblance with Catholics, that so they may, as they hope, sponge out all the remains and memory of the Catholic religion.

There are other expressions in the preface, which show that the reproach so often thrown out against the Caroline divines, (and we admit with some justice,) of applying the most awful expressions in Scripture, to the king, is applicable also to Romanist writers. We do not think it worth while to transcribe them. Perhaps some allowance on both sides must be made, for the temper of the age,

but this will do as a palliation, but will not of course excuse things, which to say the least, border on the profane. Dr. Vane published a second edition of his volume, which is entitled "A lost sheep returned home, or the motives of the Conversion to the Catholic Faith of Thomas Vane, D.D., and lately Chaplain to his Majesty the King of England, &c." with the motto from the 119th Psalm, "I have gone astray like a sheep that is lost; seek Thy servant for I do not forget Thy commandments." And another from S. Augustine, "*Gratias tibi ago illuminator et liberator meus, quoniam illuminasti me, et cognovi te. Sero cognovi te, veritas antiqua—sero te cognovi, veritas æterna.*" The volume is, what few controversial books of its day are, readable and easy to be understood, and certainly does entirely refute the ordinary views of Protestants; but it most carefully avoids the grounds taken by the Anglican divines in defence of their position; there is but one chapter where the English Church is especially attacked, it being manifestly for the author's advantage to confound her with all the sects into which Protestantism was divided. This is in the 14th chapter, which treats the subject of a lawful succession, and argues against those who affirm Catholics and Protestants to be the same Church. The 18th chapter treats of sanctity of doctrine and life, as marks of the true Church, and contains a valuable testimony to the comparative characters of Roundheads and Cavaliers. "I confess," says he, (page 268,) "there are many among them stored with moral goodness, especially in the kingdom of England, and especially among the legal Protestants; but the devotion and zeal is amongst the Puritans, which hath eaten up almost all moral honesty amongst them." He afterwards (page 274,) qualifies this statement, by a quotation from Dr. King, Bishop of London, in *Jonam*, Lect. 45, "that scarce the tenth man of the ministry is morally honest." The treatise winds up with an eloquent contrast between Protestantism and Catholicism. Altogether it is a most favourable specimen of the controversial divinity of the seventeenth century. It is to be wondered at that it has never been reprinted, as its arguments, unlike those of most publications of that time, are adapted to all periods, and not merely to the particular circumstances of the day.

Of Dr. Goffe, all that we can add is the following extract from Dod's "Church history." (Vol. ii. p. 305.)

"Stephen Goffe,* sometimes written Gough. His father was Stephen Gough, a Puritan minister of Stanmere, in Sussex. He had an academical education; took orders, and became D.D. When he first set out into the world, he was entertained by Colonel Henry Vere, as Chaplain to his regiment in the Low Countries; afterwards Henry Jermyn, Earl of S. Alban's, took him into his family; by whose in-

* "Records of S. Gregory's Seminary in Paris. Ath. Oxon."

terest he was promoted to be Chaplain to King Charles I. He proved very useful to the Royal party, both at home and abroad; and was employed in transacting several private matters in France, Flanders, and Holland; on which occasions he acquitted himself with reputation. When the king's affairs were grown desperate, Dr. Goffe was one of those that attempted to free him from his confinement, while the rebels kept him prisoner in Hampton Court; and being seized upon suspicion, was committed to prison, but found means to make his escape.

"Some time after retiring into France, he became a member of the Catholic Church, and entered among the French *Oratorians* in a seminary at *Notre Dame des vertues*, not far from Paris; where I find him chief superior of that community in the year 1655; at which time he had fourteen *English* Clergymen, reading in the house under his direction, whom he plentifully provided for; as indeed he was a common father to many English exiles during the usurpation. He was capable of doing considerable things of himself; and the interest he had with the Queen of England, enabled him to assist several gentlemen in distress; and among others, the ingenious Abraham Cowley had great obligations to him. For it was chiefly by his recommendation that the Earl of S. Alban's took him into his protection. Dr. Goffe was also made tutor to the Duke of Monmouth, by the queen-mother's orders; and took care of him till he was ten years of age; when he was delivered up to Thomas Ross, librarian to King Charles II. At last, worn out with age and cares, he finished his days, A.D. 1681, being seventy-six years old. He had two brothers, who had a different way of thinking. One was John, a Clergyman of the Church of England; the other William, a Colonel in the rebels' army, and one of the infamous judges who sate upon the bench at the trial and condemnation of King Charles I. He was alive in 1660, and withdrew himself privately out of the nation. Dr. Stephen Goffe was a person of learning and address; and as it appears by letters between him and the famous Gerard John Vossius, he was no stranger to the critics, and polite literature. One thing I must not omit to make mention of in this place. 'Tis a passage concerning Dr. Goffe's ordination, when he first engaged himself in the ministerial function in the Catholic Church. The account is this, as it is given by Humphrey Prideaux, D.D., and Dean of Norwich.*—'In the late times, when one Goffe went over unto the Communion of the Church of Rome, a question arising out of the validity of our orders, on his taking upon him at Paris to say mass by virtue of his orders received in our Church, it was referred to the Sorbonne to examine the matter; where it being fully discussed, they gave in their opinion, that *our Orders were good*. And this I have by the testimony of one, (Obadiah Walker,) now an eminent Papist, who, some years since, told me the whole story from his own knowledge; he being then in Paris when the whole matter was transacted. And although afterwards, as he told me, the Pope determined otherwise of this matter, and ordered the Archbishop of Paris to re-ordain

* "Humphrey Prideaux, D.D., Dean of Norwich, in a work intituled the *Validity of the Orders of the Church of England*. Second edition. London, 1786, p. 78."

him ; yet the Sorbonists still stuck to their opinion, *that he was a good Priest by his first ordination*. And if you will know, whence this difference in the determination arose, it was, that the one proceeded according to the merits of the cause ; and the other as would best suit with his own interest, and the interest of the party he was to support.' The truth of this fact depends, in a great measure, upon Walker and Prideaux. I am unwilling to question their sincerity ; yet several considerations prevail with me, to think they are mistaken, both as to the substance and to the circumstances of the story. The learned Sorbonists could not be so inconsistent with themselves, as to make any such declaration. They always from the beginning of England's defection from the Catholic Communion, concurred in a practice directly opposite. The Bishops of France, who are commonly Sorbonists, constantly re-ordained the Clergy who forsook the Protestant Communion. This practice is upon record. Again, several persons, lately alive, who were cotemporaries with Dr. Goffe, could never inform themselves of any such declaration. I have besides in my hands a MS. treatise *in defence of the Protestant ordinations*, written by Dr. Cosins, afterwards Bishop of Durham, who sojourned in Paris, among other exiles, at the time when this pretended fact happened ; and he takes no notice of such an opinion of the Sorbonists ; though nothing could have been more to his purpose. I might mention my own experience, who, though I was very inquisitive about things of that kind, while I took lessons in the Sorbonne school, yet never heard of any such declaration made by the divines of that faculty. In fine, had the Sorbonists allowed of Protestant ordinations, why was father Le Courayer expelled, or obliged to leave France, for publishing a book in defence of them ? However, with due respect to the relaters of this story, the case seems to be this : there might be some discourse among the *Parisian* divines concerning Protestant ordinations upon Dr. Goffe's account ; nay, perhaps, some of them might be of Le Courayer's opinion, that his former orders were valid : which the *English* Protestant Clergy, then residing in Paris, laying hold of might by a partial representation, report it to have been the opinion of the whole faculty. And it is much more probable, that interest swayed those gentlemen to spread such a report, than that Dr. Goffe injured his conscience, by submitting to a reordination."

We shall resume our account of the converts to the Church of Rome in a future number, and shall conclude our present paper with a few more unpublished documents. The first two are letters written from Paris to Sheldon, by a correspondent, who signs his name Belleau. Who this person is we have been unable to ascertain, but the letters themselves are contained in the same collection from which most of our documents have been printed ; and there are more in the same handwriting, some with the same signature, some signed with the name of G. Marsh, from which it seems probable that the writer has disguised his name under words which resemble it in meaning. If we could discover that Lake, afterwards one of the Nonjuring Bishops was resident at

Paris, during the year 1651, we should not hesitate to assign these letters to him. From the first of the two, which was written six days after the battle of Worcester, it appears that no tidings of that event had yet reached Paris. The second, which speaks of the king's wonderful escape was written two months later, the day after the king's arrival at that city. The allusion in the postscript to the jealousies of the Presbyterian and Independent sects will not need explanation.

[Harl. 159.]

"Sir,—My friend tells me with what diligence and affection you gave assistance to the suit then in hand, which I believe these new troubles will retard. Your kindness therein was of the same piece with your former unparalleled expressions. I was bankrupt long since, but now my debt still increasing, I think myself rich again. For it is all abundance to have such a friend. I am glad you know no better way to send your inclosed than by me. It will occasion my contentment though your trouble. Our friend writes not to-day, for he is busy against to-morrow, having then something to do.

"We hope earnestly after news from England, expecting how God would have us to serve Him, either singing or praying, mortification or thanksgiving, yet this latter whatever comes. For all will be good if we make a right use of it. Pray for

"Your most obliged,

"BELLEAU.

"9^o 7^{bris}. 1651. [Sunday.]

"For Mr. Guilbert."

[Harl. 163.]

"Sir,—I am much afflicted that your eyes should be in such condition as to make you unfit to write. I know that you do neglect no good means for your help, and I pray God bless those means which you use. I hope now shortly there will be a course taken to perpetuate that Church, which methinks can never fail. She hath had testimonies of martyrs, and her truth which she professeth will prevail. When judgment begins at the house of God, it will be hard to tell where it will end; probable it is whosoever hath tasted the top of the cup, the dregs remain to be wrung out for some others. I have not come near the court, yet I cannot but tell you what all the town rings on. On Monday the king (as malignants and all French call him), came to the Louvre, where he hath been visited by the French, and honoured as if he had conquered. They tell a most wonderful story of his danger and deliverances, which I hear is coming out in an extraordinary gazette. His abilities are admired, inasmuch as most men say the reputation he has gained doth far overbalance the loss of his army. And some will be so wise as to prophesy that these great judg-

ments and signal deliverances are arguments that God has designed him for great things. I hope our commonwealth will be sensible hereof, and wisely prevent the danger that may ensue. The young man, they say, is exceedingly pleased with the good affections which he found generally expressed toward him, when they knew him not during his disguise.

"We shall meet,

"Your servant,

"BELLEAU.

"I can tell you nothing concerning myself; a week or ten days hence, perhaps, I may know something; only I cannot but smile to hear that our greatest patrons of the Presbyterians are now no more in love with them than I am; nay, they rail downright at them. *Quid non speremus?*

"[Paris.] 4^o. 9^{bris}. 1651. [Tuesday.]"

We gave, in a previous number, some account of the king's escape from Worcester. We shall only add here that he reached the village of Fécamp on the coast of Normandy, October 17th, and that soon after his arrival in Paris, he visited the deathbed of Dr. Steward. It is the last time we shall have to notice this worthy divine, the most strenuous and orthodox supporter of the English episcopacy since the death of Laud.

Evelyn says in his diary, that he called upon him at his lodgings at Paris, November 16th, and found him dead. He died on the 14th, as is stated in his epitaph, which runs as follows—" *Qui moriens nihil aliud hic inscribi voluit epitaphium quam quod vivens assidue oravit pro pace Ecclesie.*"

The two following letters from him to Dr. Basire have recently been discovered.

[Durh. 1.]

"Sir,—Some employment kept me from giving you a more speedy answer; and what I am most to return is my thanks for your care of my books, which I desire you to deliver into Mr. Clement's hands, who will repay your money. Only the 'Panoplia Episcopalis,' I should not meddle with, for the case you enclosed I conceive there can be no doubt; but you are in the right, and so thinks the D[ean] of Peterborough; and I believe all true sons of the Church of England, though I have before this time heard some dispute upon it.

"You do very well in putting on Mr. Watson's business, and I cannot but wonder that it sticks so much as it doth: the rather because I thought men had been driven out of that groundless conceit, that we at S. Germain's were bound to preach to them at Paris. I believe that they who think so will find the contrary, especially if Mr. Watson be slighted. And truly I understand not, that if we be obliged to go once a week to Paris, why upon

demand we should not be as well tied to go once in five weeks to Rouen. I know that both Isidore and others in their Latin collections have added those words, *aliquid agere*, to the thirteenth Canon of Ancyra. But I do not know that they are to be found in any good Greek copy of the Council. Though the addition may be something probably made out of the Canon you quote of Laodicea.

"You do very well to make Justell as right as you can; and where your power will stretch no further, we must be content. It is well Cambrden hath satisfied you concerning Parker's consecration: but could you get Mason into your hands, you would see that handled more at large. I understand not what directions you mean, which you would keep beyond the Alps. A service book I conceive you may carry with you, and I doubt not but you and yours may sometimes make use of it. Pray God bless your new charge and you in the journey you intend, and wherein I can do you service, let me desire you to employ your assured friend

"To serve you,

"RICH. STEWARD.

"Jan. 31, [1648—9]."

[Durh. 2.]

"Sir,—This messenger is in so great haste that I can only thank you for my books and your enclosed papers. And because you put me in some hope of seeing you here before your journey for Italy, I shall add to your inclination very much, that you would do well to give the Prince a Sermon before you go; then I could take the better occasion to [direct] his Highness to, in what you have desired from me, (and by God's help I shall not fail you in it,) a care to do good for your wife and children, in case it should please God in your absence to restore our gracious master to his throne. Then I shall make to yourself payment for my books I owe for. In the meantime, pray add this favour to your former, to inquire at Dr. Cosins his bookbinder, (whom he tells me you know,) for the books I left with him to bind when I was last in Paris. I am glad my L[ord] Hatton (to whom I pray present my service,) hath got a copy of Barnes, because I hope by that means to do the like.

"I am, Sir,

"Yours very faithfully,

"To do you service,

"RICH. STEWARD.

"St. Germ. Feb. 13, 1648[—9].

"For my worthy friend, D. Basire, at Paris."

Endorsed. "Dr. Steward, about the Prince's care of my wife, and children."

(To be continued.)

PUGIN ON MODERN ROMAN CATHOLIC SERVICES.

An Earnest Appeal for the Revival of the Ancient Plain Song. By
A. WELBY PUGIN. London: Dolman.

SOME time ago we took occasion to call the attention of our readers to the exaggerated guise in which Roman doctrine was being exhibited by the Oratorian converts. Almost simultaneously with the award of the Judicial Committee, a providential warning seemed to suggest itself against leaving the English communion under the sting of an heretical decision. The hymn-book of the Oratory was just then put forth to the world, and we gave quotations from its pages in the hope of deterring any from thinking too favourably of a system which could sanction the employment of phrases and statements so utterly at variance with Catholic teaching. With how great justice soever (and we deny that there was any justice at all in the charge) the stigma of heresy attach to the English Church, nothing could be more painful than the errors disclosed in that little book.

But the temptation to quit the English communion has not always rested on doctrinal grounds. Many an enthusiastic mind, chilled by the neglect of ritual propriety so common among us, and by the apathy of the people towards ceremonial decency, has been induced to forsake our cold unimpressive service for the gorgeous ritual, the splendid vestments, the processions, and the incense of the Church of Rome. Lovers of the æsthetic, they sought in another system the satisfaction which was denied them in their own.

That many have seceded purely with the self-indulgent motive of obtaining this refined gratification of the senses, cannot be disputed. For sensual gratification it is, and that of the most selfish kind; and most sad it is, that any for a cause so secondary, so utterly unworthy the magnitude of the step, should cross the threshold of their baptism. But if ought like indignation at such puerility should mingle in our disapproval of their conduct, all harsher feelings must give way to the deepest pity, if it should turn out that after all the idol which they sought was not where they sought it; if the phantom of their imagination should have vanished even as they clutched it, if in Catholic Rome herself, the beauty which they longed for and the reverence they idealized should have no universal being.

But so it is; in Rome herself are violations of consecrated places and holy things,—neglect of ritual observances, and popular irreverence for which we can find no parallel in any English church. The writer of the little pamphlet, the title of which we have trans-

cribed above, was one who, deeply imbued with the love of the æsthetic, joined the Church of Rome, and now groans in the bitterness of his soul over the enormities which he attacks. The "parody of a Catholic service," "the meretricious decoration," "the doggerel rhymes," "the churches, whose appearance is something between a dancing-room and a mechanics institute," "*the want of reality*," "the greatest possible perversion of a chancel, a scandal and a shame," are the objects of his indignant philippics. Mr. Pugin has written, if not with his usual taste and judgment, at least with no lack of holy horror. But whether he succeed or not in awakening those for whom he writes to a sense of the evil, this service at least he has rendered us: he has shown us that the tales which Protestants love to tell of the scandalous scenes to be witnessed in Roman Catholic churches are not the groundless fabrications which some would represent them to be. Here out of their own mouths may be heard the confession that the half was not told us.

We would at once here disclaim all thought of attacking the Church of Rome in noticing this disclosure. Even if we were so disposed, we are too well aware of the futility of such cavillings to subject ourselves to the disgrace of failure. The argumentum ad hominem might never be more appropriate, but that giant system is proof against all such weapons. It is solely with the view of warning our own brethren of the disappointment which is surely in store for them on their secession, if they build on unfailing ritual beauty. As before we adverted to the monstrous expressions of the Oratorian hymn-book, and the doctrines therein advanced, so now we draw attention to the ceremonial imperfections of Roman worship. We desire to make no deduction from them offensive to Rome; they are consistent, we believe, with all her professions, and can in justice be ascribed only to the infirmity of man, not the imperfection of the Church; but we submit that the same arguments which will go to reconcile faulty practice with faultless theory, will more than suffice to account for all that seems deficient in our own less assuming ritual, while it wholly destroys the ground of those who would justify their departure from our camp on the score of such deficiency.

Mr. Pugin, as is well known, has long been waging war with the new school, as the champion of roodscreens, chancels, and the mediæval system, against apses, meeting-houses, and other features of the Oratorian worship. About three years ago (in the *Rambler* we believe), appeared an article which attacked the introduction of chancel-screens into modern churches. Mr. Pugin at that time openly stated his firm belief, in a rejoinder, that the objection to screens was "merely raised as a test of public opinion, and in order to ascertain how far" the Oratorians "might proceed in their opposition to the whole system on which the revival of true ecclesiastical

* The italics are original throughout.

architecture was based." For at that time Oratorianism had not proceeded to its full extent, (and who can say that it has yet ?) and the screens alone were objectionable, while the architecture itself was beautiful and appropriate. But the reverend fathers of S. Philip Neri were not long content to preserve this moderation. What was before so beautiful and appropriate, soon was denounced as utterly unsuitable to Catholic worship ; and in place of ancient symbolism, it was maintained that as the development of doctrine proceeded, so the character of the architecture and ceremonial should change. The partial execution of this theory may be seen in the decoration and arrangement of the Oratory in King William Street, but there from many circumstances it was impossible for the Order to carry their principles fully out. It is said that a large church is about to be built, in which developement will be embodied, and then the world will probably witness a spectacle such as the Catholic Church has never before exhibited,—an edifice on a new type adapted to a ritual on a new theology.

But developement has produced other changes besides changes in architecture. "It is now seriously proposed to change the whole nature of the divine services of the Catholic Church under the specious pretext of rendering them more popular and adapting them to the spirit of the age," . . . and such a consequence of "this miserable system of modern degeneracy," excites Mr. Pugin's indignation.

"We may deplore," he says, "the wretched taste and principle which regulates the services of some religious bodies, yet as long as they are confined within the walls of their own institutions, and are not censured by the ecclesiastical authorities, we may view them in silent sorrow. No Catholic is compelled to assist at their maimed rites or to enter their conventicle-looking chapels, if any among the faithful are so debased as to prefer the trumpery display of a toy-shop and the vocal entertainment of a concert-room to a more solemn service, why we only pity and pray for them. But when we find that an attempt is made to thrust this parody of a Catholic service into the Parochial Churches of this country, *where we are all bound to worship*, it is time that every man who has a heart in the Catholic cause should testify his unbounded horror of so unhallowed an attempt to change the ancient offices. What ! shall the song of Simeon, the hymn of S. Ambrose, the canticle of our Blessed Lady herself, give place to the doggerel rhymes and poetical effusions of a few individuals whose tendencies and principles should have led them down to Geneva, but who appear to have mistaken their road and found their way into the Catholic Church, only to create divisions among the faithful, and to use the ancient liturgy as a mere vehicle for the display of their Methodism ?"—pp. 3, 4.

The particular enormity which has aroused Mr. Pugin is the substitution of those vernacular hymns which we noticed before, for

the ancient hymns of the Church and the adaptation of them to modern fugue music instead of the old plain song of our forefathers. Hence the present "earnest appeal for the revival of the ancient plain song," and we now proceed to demonstrate from a Roman Catholic's own showing, that whatever irreverence or indecency the English Churchman may have to deplore, there is as much or more to shock him in the communion which is supposed by so many to present no difficulties or blemishes whatever.

First of all Mr. Pugin traces the rise of this new plan to fundamental defects in the present system of the Romish Church.

"The very fact of such a proposal being made is an evidence that there is something very rotten in our present system; for, although the remedy suggested is far worse than the disease, yet that a disease does exist, and to a very great extent, no man who reflects on the subject can deny. There does exist a *want of reality* in the present services of the churches, as they are performed in this, and many other countries; and from what does it proceed, but the *corrupt and artificial state of ecclesiastical music*?"—p. 5.

And then he goes on to show how the services of the Church are conducted generally in such a manner as to "preclude the congregation, both clergy and people, from taking any real part in the service of Almighty God," and the consequence is, that "the most solemn act of Christian worship has degenerated into a mere musical entertainment for the audience, at which they assist with no more devotion than in a common theatre." Now this is in substance the very complaint we, the members of the English Church, have to make. Our services, which have over and over again, especially of late years, been shown to possess the elements of all that is reverent and beautiful, and which but for the Protestantism of the public might be conducted with almost any degree of splendour, have been suffered to decline into barrenness of effect and the most culpable coldness. The result has been, that in many places both clergy and people have ceased from taking any real part in the service of Almighty God. Hence there has sprung up that apathy in ritual matters, both among the clergy and the people, which has led to the indecent performance of the services by the one and careless attendance by the other, and irreverence in both. This doubtless is most painful; any who know how grand the offices might be made are apt to be impatient, and are easily induced to give credence to the pretensions of a Church which professes to carry out its every rite with unbroken precision and unvarying accuracy. It is natural, we say—but it is wrong; the English Church has grievously erred, as in weightier matters so in this of the ceremonial, and her sons are now suffering the consequences of her fault. But it is not the part of children of the Cross, it is not resignation to the will of God to insist on having

their own will at all hazards. Ritual propriety is not essential to Catholic life. We must bide the time. Mr. Pugin says, there is every reasonable hope, that in due time this country will again receive Catholic truth in all its fulness. We acknowledge some doubts as to the truth of this in the sense he means, judging from the present state of popular feeling and the evidence it gives of an anti-Roman prejudice; but in our own sense we certainly can look forward to a yearly growth of Catholic principles, and with them we may be very sure improvement in lesser matters will proceed *pari passu*. A vast stride has been made in a few years; and whereas the Roman Church seems to be going back, we seem to be progressing; so that there can be little ground for seeking elsewhere what in God's own time we shall surely have where we are. And certainly, the way to bring about the result we pray for is not cession from our posts, but firmer, tighter hold of the ground we have already gained. Whatever practices we have restored, let us carry them out uncompromisingly, yielding nothing to the spirit of the age, proceeding on our way as if nothing had happened to disturb the even tenour of our devotional progress, prayerfully, warily, steadily—not ostentatiously courting observation, not with headstrong impetuosity, but with calm sober purpose, bowing our heads from opposition until this tyranny be overpast.

Mr. Pugin proceeds to give a picture of the general performance of the choir abroad. And here we may notice, that the impressions Englishmen receive of the working of Romanism from their own observation in this country must become marvellously modified by a few months' residence in Italy or Spain. In Belgium there are more evidences of life and vigour both in doctrine and practice, but generally on the continent the services of the Church are most indecorously performed. This, we repeat, militates nothing necessarily against the claim to Catholicity, but it should make one very cautious in leaving our own communion on æsthetic grounds.

After stating the evil, Mr. Pugin thus writes,—

“Let no one think this picture is overdrawn. In one of the most Catholic cities of Flanders, Sunday after Sunday, an orchestra is set up in the nave, round which a full band arranges itself, and during the whole Mass—Kyrie, epistle, gospel, creed, offertory, and, horrible to relate, even the consecration and elevation—do these men blow forth profane airs, taken from popular operas, while the church is filled with irreverent listeners to their symphonies, and no man reverencing the Lord's Body. Now, this is not a solitary example, by any means. Scarcely is there a great church in Europe which is not profaned by these miserable parodies of Divine service; and what is most distressing, the greater the feast, the greater the abomination. I have been assured by a dignitary of the French Church, who abode some time with the Franciscans of Assisi, that their daily offices were most solemnly sung; but the feast of S. Francis arriving, the church was

inundated with fiddlers from all parts of the neighbouring country, and this most glorious church converted into a perfect *salle d'opera*. But I build not only on the testimony of others; I have been frequently grieved to the heart at what I have been compelled to witness and hear. No later than the Sunday in the octave of the last Corpus Domini, I was present at the High Mass in Antwerp Cathedral, whose choir and stalls were filled with lay spectators, two cantors standing among the crowd, who appeared to be only there for the purpose of displaying their copes, while the service was shouted and fiddled from a gallery at the end of the nave, an unintelligible mass of confused and irreverent sounds.

"Were it not tedious, I could multiply examples without number of this miserable system, which has completely cut off the people from taking part in the most solemn act of Christian worship, and degraded it in appearance to the level of a pageant."—pp. 5, 6.

Except perhaps the musical festival at Gloucester Cathedral, we can call to mind no similar desecrations of a Christian Church by our own communion. But that these enormities should take place even during the consecration and elevation surpasses belief, as it certainly outstrips all parallel among us. In the march of irreverence, Protestantism is left far behind, and at the greater distance that Protestantism knows of no such truth as that which should make Catholicism tremble and bow down before the LORD GOD of Hosts. Conceive the horror which even our most apathetic countrymen would feel if in the middle of the Communion service, during the consecration or the prayer of access, the organ were suddenly to strike out profane airs taken from popular operas. Would the church be filled with "irreverent listeners?"

So much for the charge of irreverence against us as contrasted with Rome. But there are many who think that all the usages so suspected among ourselves are in full operation in Rome, and that if once they join her, there will be no more disappointment, no more negligence, no more unreality to lament. The long chancel will be filled with the surpliced choir, the singing-gallery, that atrocious offspring of Protestantism, will be unknown, the voices of chorister boys and men will be alone heard singing the praises of God, the old and solemn Gregorian music will be used in all its grandeur and devotion-inspiring cadence, and all that now shocks the ear and pains the heart will be absent from that perfection of worship. Let all who have such visions of the Roman service listen to a few disclosures from Mr. Pugin's pen,—and alas! alas! there is an organ-gallery at the new Cathedral of S. George's, Southwark.

"It is impossible for men to sing this modern music, and worship at the same time; they are there as *performers*, and to these hirelings are the praises of Almighty God transferred, while the clergy and people look on in dumb show.

"Formerly such persons as now constitute the choir were unknown. The service was sung in Parochial Churches, between the clerks and the devout laymen (ministri), who assisted them in the chancel, and the people in the body of the church, who responded in unison. This grand and overpowering effect of the people answering the priest is yet to be heard in parts of Germany. At Minden the Habemus ad Dominum rose from more than two thousand voices of faithful worshippers. What a difference from the vicarious reply of three or four *professionals*, thrusting their heads from out of the curtained gallery in the intervals of their private conversation, and whose hearts, instead of being raised up, were probably grovelling in the contemplation of a pull at a wine bottle between the acts of the performance, for it must be distinctly understood that all persons who sing in galleries are performers by *position*. Nutshells, orange peel, and biscuit bags, abound in organ lofts and singing galleries, and those who are acquainted with the practical working of these places must be aware, that they are a constant source of scandal and irreverence."—p. 6.

"Singing galleries are modern abominations, and no good will ever be effected in Church music till they are utterly destroyed, and the service sung in its legitimate and ancient position—the choir or chancel. While these galleries are suffered to remain, the erection of pointed churches is a mere sham. In vain the long succession of clustered pillars, in vain the intricate mullions are filled with brilliant glass, in vain the carved screen and gilded rood: the soul of the whole thing is wanting; it is the system of a modern chapel worked in the shell of an old church. Who, then, it will be asked, are those who sit robed in surplices in the stalled seats? Only privileged persons, perhaps subscribers, who go in for a show, like supernumeraries in togas to make up a Roman crowd on a stage; *lay* figures, as the *Ecclesiologist* most wittily termed them, and but dumb dogs, into the bargain.

"A greater sham than this cannot be seen. And was it for this that the long chancel was stalled and screened? that the cunning work was carved and the gold laid on—merely for the accommodation of some good easy men, who take no part in the solemnity, nor contribute one note to the divine praise! Surely not; it is the greatest possible perversion of a chancel; a scandal, and a shame.

"What could be more painful than to read the account of the new church recently consecrated at Sheffield, where the architect had really produced an edifice quite in the old spirit; and instead of the solemn Chant of the dedication rising from its chancel, we are sickened by a long eulogy on the quaverings of some female singers. S. John's, Salford, is even a more melancholy example; a great cruciform church, with an ample choir, and yet fitted up as if for the followers of John Knox; a most disheartening spectacle."—p. 7.

"Whenever an attempt has been made by the members of the separated English communion to restore some of the external ornaments of religion, which were lost by the apostacy of their Catholic forefathers in the sixteenth century, they have been usually met by insult and ridicule from a great portion of what is called the Catholic press; but I must say that the dedication of a modern Catholic church, as we have

seen it occasionally announced, accompanied by a full band of music, and where bishops and dignitaries are exposed to the degradation of sitting in dumb show to listen to the interminable squalling of a few female professionals and whiskered vocalists from the front of a gallery, is a far more ridiculous and inconsistent exhibition. Indeed, with some few exceptions, the churches that have been raised after the old models are become so many evidences of our degradation and our shame. The altar and the arch may belong to the ages of faith, but the singing drags us down to the concert-room of the nineteenth century, and is a sad and striking proof of the little sympathy which exists between the architecture and the men."

Surely such passages from one of their own number are sufficient to dispel the illusion that in the Roman Church no abuses, no failure in ritual beauty, can exist. The real truth is, that as are the worshippers so will be the worship, and when worldly and earthly hearts come to take part in the service of God, then irreverence must ensue. And in this age, it must be so to a great extent. The days have passed when Catholics lived in the world, but were not of it; the world is now in the Church, and with the intruder has entered all that distracts and pains the believer. Till we become, as a Church, more devotional and more earnest, it will be in vain to look for greater reverence and beauty. And this whether it be the Church of Rome or of England. Doubtless ours is a curtailed and mutilated ritual; our offices are shorn of their ancient grandeur, and our rubrics are made to pander to an un-Catholic spirit, but let us duly improve the opportunities that we have; let us clothe the Common Prayer Book with all the glory it is capable of, and in due time it may be the Prayer Book itself will be reviewed. We may yearn for more, but perhaps we are not ripe for more. We have something: let us lay it out to our Master's service. It may be but a single talent, but shrink we to hide it in a napkin. Let us lay it out for Him, and haply it shall become five talents more. Fidelity in the administration of the Book of Common Prayer may be rewarded at some future period by the restoration of our ancient services.

WOODFORD'S SERMONS.

Sermons. By the Rev. J. R. WOODFORD. London: J. Masters.
Oxford: J. H. Parker.

THE two volumes of *Sermons* by Mr. Miller and the new Dean of Bristol, which came under our review last month, must have awakened all thoughtful minds to a painful sense of the weakness or rather absence of discipline in the Church of England. It was sufficiently humbling to reflect that a Bishop could not refuse institution to an heretical Priest when the Sacrament of Baptism was the single point involved,—perhaps still more humbling that only one Bishop could be found to make the attempt. But when two clergymen, one of whom fills a very high position in the Church and the other has the care of a very important parish, are permitted not only to preach but to publish sermons, subversive of the very elements of the Christian faith, in which not one Sacrament but both are degraded to the level of human ordinances; when the whole system of saintly practice and belief is held up to scorn, and its adherents made the butt of a popular clamour; when the pulpit and the platform are alike employed for the dissemination of German neology, and to inflame the ignorant against the defenders of Catholicity, one does feel how heavily the Great Head of the Church is punishing her for her former laxity or abuse of discipline. These foes of our own household may plot treason or preach sedition and the rulers take no notice of the peril which threatens the city.

But painful as it is to witness so glaring an exhibition of the low state of discipline to which we are reduced, it is yet more saddening that the tenets of such men should be imbibed by the multitude. Theories and doctrines which in themselves would be utterly distasteful to honest Englishmen are daubed over by that salve which statesmen and heretics alike esteem for its blinding insinuating qualities—abuse of Tractarianism. With the aid of this sweetmeat, the obedient public swallow the dose, little knowing whether it be poison or no, and as little concerned to inquire. Its taste is gratified for the moment, but the poison enters into the system and corrupts the blood. To the educated congregation of Trinity Church, and the little-thinking much-getting citizens of Bristol, the late Incumbent, now Dean, pursues the same artful policy. To lessen men's reverence for sacramental grace, for the divine origin of the Church, for the regular ministry, for holy things, this is his aim; this is the pill which his audience are to digest. To decry "Puseyism," to seem to men their preserver against Priestcraft, to discover in the growth of

Church principles the cause of the recent Romish aggression ; this is the clap-trap by which his poison is baited. Knowing as one does, from history and experience, how easily the people are seduced to error, how hardly persuaded to accept truth, one cannot wonder at the Dean's success. And if the worst that could follow his Tractarian crusade, were the persecution of his opponents, we should but rejoice in the prospect of the trial, knowing that only good could come of it. But it is the error which works its way into the popular mind beneath the tumult of Protestantism that excites our apprehension. It is not the swelling waves on the surface which will cast us adrift—it is the under tow that will go hard to snap our cables.

And what, it may be asked, can be done in defence of the Church ? There were days when no preacher would have been permitted to give utterance to such doctrines as are contained in these books ; but those days have passed ; and what are Catholics to do now ? We can only employ to the utmost the means committed to us as parish priests, personal influence, private teaching, and, above all, in this particular instance, preaching. We are attacked in sermons, we will defend the faith in sermons. And we hail this volume of Mr. Woodford's as most happily timed, containing as it does the most complete rejoinder to the neologian sentiments of the Dean. We believe High Churchmen never made a greater error than when they recommended a cold unenergetic didactic style in their sermons. They have been accused of undervaluing preaching. This they never did. But they employed the wrong kind ; an error into which Mr. Woodford certainly has not fallen. His language is eloquent, his diction forcible, though sometimes strained ; his argument always logical, his conclusions always just. Whatever could be said of the elegance and power of the Dean's sermons, will far more truly apply to the discourses now on our table ; but their value consists in the depth of thought by which the piety of saints and the learning of ancient worthies is brought to bear on the subjects he selects for discussion. His practice is to take one particular fact or principle, and work it out, confining himself to that salient idea, and disregarding all extraneous matters, so that the hearer goes away with a distinct impression on his mind. This we conceive to be the great secret of oratorical success, and certainly constitutes the charm of these sermons. But that very excellence makes it difficult to extract any particular passages without exceeding our limits. And we can therefore only recommend the volume to our readers. But we proceed briefly to notice a few sermons, as especially useful in the present day.

The sermon on the representative character of public worship, vindicates the Catholic interpretation of the words, "where two or three are gathered together in My Name, there am I in the midst of them." After first noticing "the social nature of our most

holy faith," which "considers men not as individuals, but as members of a body," and then exhibiting the kingdom of CHRIST as a vast visible system, with distinctive laws and institutions, and "minutely organized in all its parts;" he examines CHRIST's promises of eternal presence with that kingdom, and shows how it needs not that the vast body of the baptized should assemble into one place to claim that promise; for wherever the whole Church is represented by the "smallest possible plurality," there is He in the midst of them.

"Whatever power the gathering of all the faithful together would have to draw forth the Almighty from His secret abode, and bring Him nigh unto man, just the same power does the meeting under lawful authority of two or three in His name possess. And this is what exalts the services of the Church immeasurably above all acts of private devotion. The Son of God has distinctly revealed that, as the Hearer of Prayer, He will consider a few of His members to be the representatives of the whole body; nay, more than this, He has fixed the number requisite thus to represent His kingdom. The prayers, therefore, which are offered in the house of God, are not only the prayers of the individuals assembled, but of the universal Church speaking by them. It is quite possible that a majority in a congregation may spend the hours passed in the sanctuary with little devotion. Their thoughts may wander, their desires may be earthly, their hearts cold. Will the LORD therefore turn a deaf ear? Will He be no more entreated? No, for the individuals are, on these occasions, lost in the sum. The voice which rises from this place, around the everlasting throne, is the voice of CHRIST's body upon earth; and the preponderance even, of unworthy worshippers will not banish the Eternal presence. Their own individual guilt may be great; as far as they are concerned their prayers may be like the prayers of all wicked people, an abomination to the LORD; but it is not in them to defeat the REDDEMER's gracious purposes. The assembly which they pollute is the authorized assembly of two or three in His name, and it cannot be but that He should be in the midst. It is at once very overpowering and very consoling, this thought. Who has not felt the depressing influence of a Church occupied only by a scanty train of worshippers? The building, the music, the liturgy, seem out of keeping with the meagre assembly. Ofttimes, it may be, people question whether they may not as well pray at home, as in that empty Church. O sad forgetfulness of CHRIST's most awful words! In the fabric apparently so deserted is there a mightier presence than the most earnest devotions of the maturest saint can secure when alone. The eye rests only on a little flock; but indeed, indeed, the court of heaven is there; the Only Begotten is among them. Two or three, the smallest possible plurality of suppliants, He who is infinite will regard as the representatives of a countless multitude. It is on this ground we maintain the importance of keeping up the week-day services, how thinly soever attended. Is the priest to reckon it a vain labour, when he finds himself reduced to pray with one or two only for his congregation? Would it be as well if the Church doors were

closed, and those few left to their private devotions? What then becomes of the Lord's assurance? Oh! not if we could sweep the round world, and gather up the myriads of every kindred and tribe who have been washed with the waters of baptism, and cause the innumerable host to bow down in one place, to the Lord of the whole earth, and pour forth, like they of old, with one accord, a tide of supplication, whose sound should be like the sound of many waters, and the voice of mighty thunderings; not then could we expect more of God's presence, not then look for a greater revelation of His mercy and goodwill, than when in the prayer of His ancient saint we remind Him of His promise, that when two or three are gathered together in His name, He will grant their requests, and thereby adjure Him to fulfil now the petitions of His servants."—pp. 26—28.

We pass over several sermons on the fall and the original state of man, based chiefly on Bishop Bull's celebrated sermon, to notice a very important subject never more misunderstood than in these days: "Conscientiousness no excuse for error of doctrine." The popular theory, that, "if a man acts according to his convictions he cannot be brought into condemnation," is first of all proved from the words of the text to be founded on error. The Jew, the unitarian, the dissenter, has each his vindication in the voice of conscience; but according to Solomon they are not thereby justified. "There is a way that seemeth right unto a man," but notwithstanding his sincerity, notwithstanding the completeness of his convictions, "the end thereof are the ways of death." Then the question occurs, how can a man be blamed for following the leading of his own conscience? and it is shown, that in this inquiry two points are involved: one, the verdict of conscience itself; the other, obedience to that verdict. The one may be justifiable, while the other is in error.

"It is never criminal to put into execution our convictions, but it is criminal to have wrong convictions. Thus, to go back to the cases before cited; the Unitarian is right in propagating his creed, but he is blamable for accepting that creed; the infidel is justified in spreading his poison, believing it to be wholesome, but he is exposed to condemnation for having imbibed it himself. Oh! when a throne loftier and more glorious than that of conscience, shall be piled in the midst of the gathered universe, and a Judge more sure and searching shall sit thereon, not one of all the unnumbered hosts of human kind, from Adam to his last descendant, that shall stand before that tremendous bar, not one, we are sure, will be condemned for obeying his conscience; but yet the doer of unlawful deeds which conscience prompted shall not escape, and the holder of false doctrine on which conscience set her seal shall not go free. Lo! there is one upon his trial who convinced himself that the gospel was an invention of priestcraft, Christianity a cunningly devised fable, and forthwith applied his energies to root it out from the earth. He is arraigned for having warred against the

faith, and he pleads that he did but act upon his convictions. What is the decision? 'Inasmuch as thou hast acted according to thy conscience, thou hast done well.' But the law has yet another hold upon him. I hear it asked again, Wherefore didst thou admit false convictions? and he is speechless! Acquitted—nay, approved—for having done what conscience prompted, he is condemned to the lowest deep for having had a bad conscience. And so shall many a path which men pursue in accordance with their convictions, issue in destruction, on the ground that those convictions themselves were incorrect. The way that seemed right unto a man, shall prove in the end the way of death."—pp. 92—94.

This principle is worked out in a masterly argument, most applicable to our times; but our limits are too confined to give a longer extract.

In a sermon on the future state of the wicked, the doctrine of the eternity of punishment is shown to be consistent with infinite mercy and justice. About two years ago, in Bristol, a new sect originated which denied this article of the Athanasian Creed, and this discourse was in a measure suggested by the necessity of some defence of the truth. Then follows another discourse on the future state of the righteous, which is perhaps the most extraordinary sermon in the volume: showing the probability that in that mystical state the sacramental system will be at an end. "There will be no more sea." As there will be no sun for the body, because the LORD GOD and the LAMB are the light thereof; so for the soul there will be no sacraments when we see no longer through a glass, and know as we are known.

We are precluded from giving more than this cursory account of Mr. Woodford's sermons, but we heartily recommend them as full of practical and devout thoughts, as well as accurate theology. It is very curious, that in Bristol itself so Catholic a volume should have appeared simultaneously with the Dean's repository of error. And it is a great satisfaction to be informed, as we have been, that Mr. Woodford's reputation in that city is such as to render it highly probable that the antidote will be far more extensively perused, than the poison.

PAPAL AGGRESSION AND PROTESTANT RANCOUR.

WE noticed last month* the exceeding rapidity with which controversy had been shifting its ground among us, when almost before the ink had dried on our paper an event occurred to give a new direction to that excitement concerning religion, which has for some time pervaded the public mind. We allude to the Papal bull, constituting and establishing a new Roman Catholic hierarchy in this country, or rather, we fear, it should be said, the use made of that document by two individuals high in station—the Bishop of London and Lord John Russell. The former, it appears, had had some contention with the incumbents of one or two churches in his diocese upon the question whether the candles on the altar should be lighted or not, and being unable to enforce his view authoritatively (the very word in the Prayer Book being “lights”), did not think it unhappily beneath him, after the manner of more vulgar arguers, to appeal to the passions of a Protestant public, and in the teeth of his own charge of 1842, in which he had said, that “in truth, until the Church’s intentions are completely fulfilled as to her ritual, we do not know what the Church really is, nor what she is capable of effecting;” and mixing up things wholly dissimilar in one well-rounded period, he scrupled not to hold these priests up in his charge to the odium of fanatics and infidels. The result, of course,

* By an error of the printer a portion of the extract from Mr. Massingberd, which we had marked for insertion, was omitted. We must now supply the omission, as the passage contains a most needful limitation to what had been advanced about the rights of the laity :—“So far, therefore, as the religious laity of the Church of England should desire to have their own representatives in a national synod, there will exist no impediment in principle on the part of the clergy, provided there be reserved to the latter that voice on points of doctrine which belongs to them by the law of CHRIST. But it is probable that some other considerations will have much weight before the laity will arrive at this conclusion. For it is to be observed that the condition of all those branches of the Church, in whose provincial or national synods lay deputies either have formerly been, or are now admitted, is widely different from our own. It requires to be ascertained whether the Anglo-Saxon councils, as well as those of Gaul and Spain, had not power to make the laws respecting ecclesiastical affairs, and whether such assemblies are not precisely of that kind out of which our own ‘great national council’ of lords, commons, and clergy has arisen. For though it is true that these Anglo-Saxon councils were not the same as the Witen-gemots, it still seems probable that their acts would be legally valid, as those of the subsequent convocations and of Roman legates were after the Norman conquest. A mixed assembly, therefore, of laity and clergy, having no such power, consulting for the most part on matters more or less of a spiritual nature, and still obliged to go to parliament for every legal enactment they might require, would seem to be an anomaly involving serious difficulties. On the other hand, if we compare it with the condition of the existing Church in America, or with that which once existed in India, we shall find that those councils have or had a power of making laws which would at least be binding among themselves; and that lay deputies are required in such cases, as among the dissenters in England, because those Churches are in the condition of a mere sect, unknown to, or not recognised by the State.”

is seen in the riots at S. Barnabas' Church,—riots which may yet emulate the Lord George Gordon or the Priestley riots, and which certainly form a curious commentary upon our boasted advance in tolerance. The other distinguished individual to whom we are indebted for this outbreak of irreligion—we can really call it nothing else—is the Prime Minister of England. He too had his own ends to serve. A feeling of dissatisfaction had for some time been growing up in reference to the treatment of the Church by the State, which threatened to become very inconvenient, and an age which professed to give relief to every interest in the community, seemed likely to listen with too much patience to the wrongs of the Church. This could not be endured by a tyrant Whig. A "cry" must be got up. And what better tool could he have made to his hand than the Bishop of London's charge? The Whig statesman, who is not a member of the Church of England, pretends to be jealous for her honour and integrity, and a Bishop, who in Parliament had been protesting against the aggressions of the State, gives the State's Prime Minister a handle for invoking the Royal supremacy to put down the Church's rising feeling of independence. Such is the miserable, vacillating, short-sighted policy of our Bishops! Such the wickedness of our statesmen!

But we must go a little further back in taking up the thread of the controversy since we last parted with our readers. And, first, we are glad to record the fact, that a counter appeal has been addressed to the Evangelical body, in reply to Mr. Daniel Wilson, by one well qualified to speak, by his years and by the historical associations of his name,—the Rev. Thomas Bowdler.* And with this may be coupled a letter, addressed by the Rev. T. A. Maberly, vicar of Cuckfield,† to Dr. Wellealey, on the occasion of a visitation sermon lately preached by him, and which we can only designate as an attempt to put forth mere Erastian non-belief in the borrowed frippery of cast-off evangelical phraseology. Like the former letter, it is the production of a simple, honest, and unprejudiced mind, and as such will carry more weight than if proceeding from a professed controversialist. Mr. Maberly speaks of himself as "not worthy in any way to be classed among those ordinarily called High Churchmen," but we are sure no one can read his letter without feeling that it betokens a large measure of that sterling reverent temper of mind, which is the very material out of which the character of the High Churchman is moulded. We shall quote a few passages from these two pamphlets indifferently. Both contain indignant protests against the libellous charges of Mr. Wilson and others. "Far from me and my friends (says Mr. Bowdler) be that heathen philosophy which consists in keeping out of sight the gracious invita-

* "A Letter addressed to the Evangelical Members of the Church of England, in consequence of an Appeal by the Vicar of Islington." London: Darling.

† Rivingtons.

tions of the Gospel, the great atonement for sin, and the cross of CHRIST." And again,—

"Let not those who seek a blessing from CHRIST's presence in the weekly celebration of these holy mysteries, or the daily service of the Church, be evil spoken of, as if 'all spiritual life and experimental knowledge of the truth were discarded by them as fanatical, and religion almost entirely reduced to a matter of form and external observance.' For here is that sweet union with their dear Lord and one another, by which the flame of divine love is kept brightly burning within them, animating and encouraging them to all the duties and charities of life."

And Mr. Maberly more fully,—

"Those who tamper with the instructions of the Church, are faithful men and true; those who strive their utmost to act according to these instructions, are traitors. Men, aye, and as it is said, dignitaries of the Church, leave out the very creeds themselves in their churches, and are applauded as faithful men—nay, they are cheered to the echo, when they venture publicly to censure others who faithfully fulfil their engagements. We are solemnly and authoritatively censured for opening books of Roman Catholic theology, by the same persons by whom we are directed to the study of a foreign religion more opposed to our own, as almost a necessary instruction for a liberal mind. So long as the services of the Church are neglected and despised, so long a person remains in peace; so long only, as he strives to act up to the laws which bind him, does the popular voice assail and obstruct him. The solemn designation of the holy office which men bear becomes the subject of vacant gibes, and the name of 'priest' is made a byword of scorn by those whose only title to their position is, that they bear it."

And again,—

"The charge is . . . that such as I dwell, as you express it, on 'externals'—forget the spirit in the form. Not a shadow of proof is offered for such an accusation; it is merely a specimen of how 'easy' certain persons find it to decide upon 'he that is spiritual;' the only support for the charge being that the form is not neglected; but so every possible outward action might be sneered at, as indicative of a want, rather than of the presence, even of that of which it is the manifestation. Outward form, even in itself, is very important, from its controlling, re-active force; the palace of civilization itself, the courtesies of civilised society, are outward form. And the regulation of this outward form greatly controls the habits of civilised men; but more than this, this form and these externals, which are in question, are the manifestations of a spirit which *must* show itself forth in them. The use of the word spirit, when thus opposed to form, is fallacious. There is a spirit of private meditation and prayer, of devotional exercise and secret communing with God; but there is a spirit also of discipline, of order, of attention to Christian law in all respects, and this spirit is as much the fruit of the HOLY GHOST as the former. It is this spirit which strives to find utterance, and can *only* find utterance in those ex-

ternal forms which enthusiasts and latitudinarians combine in visiting with their condemnation."

But these writers do not stop at mere self-defence. They proceed to point out to Messrs. Wilson and Wellesley the suicidal character of these attacks. "The success of the Church of Rome has hitherto (observes Mr. Bowdler) been small. But let Mr. Wilson muster his forces, and join those of a latitudinarian government, and it may march on proudly or rest securely upon its arms, it will 'have met with foes that strike beside it.'"

And to the same effect Mr. Maberly,—

"Over and over again, be it said, that the only possible way to prevent the advance of that Church, is the opposing to them High Church principles, as they are called,—that is, the true principles of the Church. It may be that events may open the eyes at last of those who do not desire the triumph of Rome, or who, to anticipate a remark shortly to be made, think that republicanism will be paid for too dearly by the advance of that form of Christianity. Have any where unseemly taunts, random assertions, or, if you please, the outpourings of righteous indignation, the resources of mere Protestantism, sufficed to check the course of Rome? We have seen that they have not. Have any where latitudinarian notions done any thing, but open wide the gates for the advance of that Church? I believe that they can have no other effect. When the turmoil of present commotions shall have passed away, when the assigned motives of prominent individuals shall have been forgotten, and the present movement shall be judged of in the mass, it will be noted that the well meant excesses of the school of Simeon, and the still more radical defects of that of Arnold, and of Whately, were the real cause of driving men from a Church, in which those principles were allowed such sway; to a body, where the spirit was preserved, which these principles so greatly undermined. Individuals who join the Romish Church cannot confess this reason, either to themselves or others, for it would not be sufficient in reason to account for their change; but unless a very different course is pursued in high places from that which is at present adopted, Roman Catholicism will continue to gather in its hundreds and its thousands, and posterity will date its progress as an effect, as well as a coincidence, from the growth of these erroneous principles, and from the persecutions perseveringly carried on at the expense of every principle of justice, or truth, by so-called liberal legislators."

And again,—

"One thing is certain, that unless systematic dogmatic truth is preserved firmly in the English Church—unless her true ecclesiastical position is acknowledged, her discipline restored, her teaching respected, her freedom secured,—the Church of Rome will advance in this, as it has in other places. A second thing certain is, that if in place of opposition, founded upon reason and good faith, and a careful and dispassionate review of our respective positions, we substitute a system of reckless slander and calumny; if we adopt a course now, well enough

forty years ago, when the mistakes of our historians in this respect were uncontradicted and unexposed, but which advancing information proves utterly untenable; if we allow the Church of England to be a receptacle of fanatical enthusiasts or indifferent latitudinarians, then in like manner Rome must draw within her fold increasing numbers of our countrymen, and our establishment will become what many of her enemies desire to make it, a mere state engine, to be worked against the Catholic principle of the country, or at best that *beau idéal* of a liberal State Church, a home for the stray religious sentiment of the country, which cannot fix itself on any definite form of belief."

We will add only one further passage, in which Mr. Bowdler sketches too faithfully the history of many that have gone from us.

"Suppose now a young person of a reverential tone of mind, with much warmth of feeling and ardour of devotion, seeking the means of giving vent to a full heart, and at the same time desiring counsel and control, and the friendly aid of some minister of God's word and sacraments, who may speak with authority for guidance and direction, hearing and resolving of doubts, and giving assurance of pardon and grace; if such a tender and delicate spirit, taking delight in the services of the Church, and desiring a more frequent attendance upon them, and especially upon the Sacrament of CHRIST's body and blood, should be told, as is not unlikely, 'Oh, you are half a Papist already,' and should in an unlucky hour be tempted to enter the precincts of a Roman Catholic church, and lured by the exhibition of piety and a gorgeous ceremonial, be induced to consult a priest, who will hear the confessions of the sick soul, pronounce authoritative absolution, and dismiss the penitent with counsels and a benediction, 'Go in peace,' and all that has been before regarded with horror be hid from view, or turned into objects of love and veneration;—we may mourn, and blame such a one a little, and ourselves more, but cannot wonder if the yearning heart find there employment and rest. Or suppose one of stronger mind, searching after the truth, and sincere in making the search, finding (as he cannot fail to do) much to disappoint, and little to satisfy, in the faith and practice of the Evangelical school, as embodied in Mr. Wilson's 'Appeal,' and exhibited in some churches according with, if not led by, his teaching, may he not argue thus with himself,—'The Church is the pillar and ground of the truth,' and there, therefore, is the sacred deposit to be found. And where is that Church? Not, surely, where Calvinism, or Zuinglianism (to speak more truly), is admitted upon equal terms of favour with the Catholic doctrine taught in every age: where a boastful display is made of adherence to the principles of the Reformation; while the Book of Common Prayer, which was then compiled, is slightly treated; and the real presence, which Ridley (perhaps of greatest note among the martyrs) professed with his dying breath, is rudely pushed aside and disclaimed: where a civil court, however composed, may give judgment on doctrine; 'and the Queen, pronouncing a final sentence in ecclesiastical matters judicially referred to her, is said to be the Church herself, deciding Church matters by her recognised head:' and even this is but a shadow and a pretence;

for the prerogative of the Crown is seized and swayed by a Minister who will make the highest and most sacred appointments at his will and pleasure; and the ancient court of the Church is treated with mockery and derision; and the State has no settled principles of religion; and that which was falsehood yesterday is truth to-day; and the Church of Rome is flattered, supported, and encouraged; and all denominations of Dissenters have favour shown them indiscriminately; and the Church has no one form of government, and no settled doctrine; and if an attempt be made to restore to her her ancient rights, or to give her the power of deciding on questions of doctrine, it is crushed at once, and put down with a strong hand; and this state of things is approved by the Evangelical body, who are called upon to support a lax and latitudinarian government! Can the truth be here? It must have been in the primitive Church: but the organ of the Evangelicals dates altogether from the Reformation, and appears to ignore or renounce the very principle upon which the Fathers then proceeded,—viz., a reference to the three first centuries; the truth may be, however overgrown and hidden, in the Church of Rome, which, moreover, is flattered, for political uses, and even encouraged by our rulers; there, too, is authority; there is a system of doctrine; there is a living and true spiritual head—the lineal successor of S. Peter (as is said), and, if so, the inheritor of the power which our Lord delegated to His apostle: there is power to send forth bishops into foreign lands, and bring all nations into obedience to itself: there is power to erect gorgeous cathedrals and sees, and raise the cross and plant the crozier in them: and there is power over the souls of men; to absolve or expel. Such power it has of God.

“ ‘ And here choose I, joy be the consequence.’ ”

Surely Messrs. Wilson, and Wellesley, and Miller,—we purposely exclude Dr. Elliot, as not believing him to have any positive religion whatever,—when they read these grave and temperate pamphlets, must feel the blush of shame creeping over their cheeks.

The subject of the new Roman Catholic hierarchy must by this time so stink in the nostrils of our readers, that they will rejoice, we are sure, that our remarks should be few. And few they shall be. So much has been said upon the subject that is positively false, and at variance with all ecclesiastical principles, that some persons will begin to doubt if there be any valid objection at all to be made to the recent Papal measure. It is just to this point then that we would say a few words. Setting aside all popular clamour, and looking simply at the facts of the case, apart from our wishes on the one hand, and our fears on the other, is there any just cause of offence in what has been done?

First then we will reply, that if by the question is meant whether there be anything that should create anger or surprise, we are ready to admit that there is not. The Roman Catholics are only now doing what according to our principles as well as their

own, is needful, not only to their well-being, but to their very constitutional existence as a Church ; and if they have done it with somewhat of a braggart air, it is an offence rather against taste than against right. Historically, their case in England is singularly weak. The conduct of the Pope with regard to this country at the Reformation was anything but what became his high pretensions. It was the conduct of a politician, not certainly of one pretending to be the common father of Christendom. No examination was ever made of the English formularies, or of the constitution of the English Church : we were never pronounced either schismatical or heretical. The only step taken against us, though clothed in a spiritual garb, was dictated by motives altogether secular—we mean the excommunication of Queen Elizabeth : it was simply an attempt to stir up a rebellion against the Government of the State. And the proof of this may be found in the fact that it was not followed up by any fresh ecclesiastical organization. The Sees and Benefices of England were according to the Papal theory vacant : but no attempt was made to supply the vacancies. The faithful in this land were deserted by him who styled himself their Father ; so that had it not been that a very few of the old members of the aristocracy refused to admit the changes which were introduced into the Church, and so maintained a scanty number of chaplains for their own families and dependants, there would have been no clergy in communion with Rome at all ; claiming jurisdiction there were absolutely none. Neither were they themselves subject to any ecclesiastical government. The first vestige of any such arrangement is a letter from Pope Clement V., to one Blackwell, who is there styled an archpriest in the year 1602. But he is expressly told that he had no authority either over the religious orders or the laity. In 1627, Cardinal Wiseman tells us in his pamphlet, omitting all mention of the intervening period, the Pope first constituted Vicars Apostolical. But neither did they possess jurisdiction ; the Pope gave them their mission ; and he could at any time recall it.

Now had the See of Rome been governed by the Canons of the Early Church, we should recognize a provisional character in this arrangement : it would be regarded as a tacit acknowledgment of the validity of our orders even in spite of some formal defects, and of a hope that in process of time these defects might be supplied. But the slightest acquaintance with the Papal theory at once negatives the possibility of such a view. Were our orders admitted to be ever so good : were the doctrines of our formularies indisputably sound, we should yet, according to the Papal theory, labour under the one damning fault of not acknowledging the Pope's Supremacy. Save in communion with the See of Rome, they have ever taught, salvation is not to be found—doubtless with more or less of boldness, as the circumstances of the speaker gave

him courage, or the complexion of the times varied—but yet, we admit, with sufficient consistency.

Historically, however, we repeat, they failed to carry out their principles. The Succession in England was altogether lost by them : they have not pretended to keep it up, even in such a way as the circumstances of the time, which were not favourable to toleration, permitted. Judged, therefore, by such principles of ecclesiastical law as were recognized by the Early Church, the case of the Roman Catholics in this country entirely fails.

But as they have lately adopted the principle of developement in doctrine, so have they as regards discipline, a theory that will cover this (and all other) defects. The Pope, they tell us, is the alone source of jurisdiction : earth as well as heaven was given to be the possession of S. Peter, and through him of all succeeding Bishops of Rome. This, no doubt, as a theory, is *totus, teres atque rotundus* ; and, *if once admitted*, removes all difficulties. But to us who do not admit it, the recent measure of the Pope, while it brings out most strongly and painfully the fact of Christendom being divided, does really yield to English Churchmen when rightly considered, a crumb of comfort which in these dark and gloomy days is not without its value.

It does show us, that amid sundry things, whose absence we may be tempted to regret, we have at least the true succession, and the ancient line of jurisdiction in this kingdom, which, if we are to make our choice, is of infinitely more value than communion with Rome, though with her, as with all other branches of the great Christian family, we would fain be in bonds of Christian fellowship.

We are not, therefore, we repeat, either angry or surprised at what the Pope has done. He has attempted to supply, in the only way that was open to him, a defect in the Papal policy, which his predecessors, according to their own principles, should never have permitted to exist. Neither do we agree with those who think it a mistaken or impolitic act. If the orators at public meetings, who denounce “the fatal measure of 1829,” imagine that Lord John Russell will assist them in repealing that Act, or other Relief Acts since passed by the legislature, they are much mistaken. His letter to the Bishop of Durham has already answered all its purpose in stirring up divisions among Churchmen, and diverting attention from his own Anti-Church policy. When parliament meets he will speak in very different language ; he has only taken a leaf out of Mr. Daniel Wilson's book, and been getting up a little amusement for the recess—just as the great actors and singers of the London stage usually “star it” about this season in the provinces, by condescension to the more vulgar tastes of the rustics. In parliament we shall hear nothing but the usual cant about “progress,” and “Nineteenth century toleration,” and the like. The spouters at Protestant meetings, and parish vestries, will all

then be shelved. Cardinal Wiseman, and his brethren of the Hierarchy, will rejoice in the ebullition of irreligion and infidelity, which has been put forth under the name of Protestantism, and which can only have the effect of bringing them more converts; while the only permanent result may be expected to be that the government will take the opportunity of introducing measures more unfavourable to the Church than they would have dared otherwise to propose.

Meanwhile there is *One* Who can produce good out of all this evil; and to Him, in the first place, must we look, beseeching Him that He will so guide the unruly wills and affections of sinful men, that the cause of His Church, and His truth, may not be hindered.

Further, there is a duty which ought indeed to be performed synodically by the Bishops; but which, while present counsels prevail, we may look for in vain from that quarter, which therefore it devolves on the Clergy of the inferior orders, so far as they may, to carry into effect; and that is the duty of protesting against the maintenance of a rival communion in this kingdom at all. If Rome, up to this time, has never given full "normal" completeness to her measures against the English Church, so neither has the English Church up to this time formally protested against her efforts to draw away people from her communion. The present seems certainly the right occasion for so doing; and we would fain see it done gravely and temperately. As we write, two attempts of the kind fall under our eyes; neither quite coming up to what we should wish. The one is the Protest from the Bishop and Clergy of the Diocese of Oxford, which begins well; but instead of attacking the doctrines of the Church of Rome towards the conclusion, (which was foreign to the matter in hand,) it should have been content with declaring that we hold the whole Catholic faith as witnessed in the three Creeds. The other is the Protest, emanating also from Oxford, which appears in the *Guardian* of the 20th ult., and which seems to us to speak rather too exclusively of the single act of appointing Bishops. Our complaint against Rome goes really farther back. Indeed, to change from Vicars-Apostolic* to Bishops is, on our principles right—though of course we deny the power of the Pope to give them mission or jurisdiction in England—to maintain a rival communion here at all—this, according to principles laid down in the early Canons is the real offence.

* The history of the Church of Scotland presents a case in some degree analogous to the recent Papal measure. The Bishops who survived the revolution of 1688, by some strange and anomalous arrangement, formed themselves into an Episcopal College for the administration of the affairs; and upon the death of Bishop Rose in 1705, Diocesan Episcopacy was actually in great danger of being lost. The Presbyters of the Diocese of Edinburgh, however, providentially insisted on electing their own Bishop; and other Dioceses returning to the same rule, the primeval pattern was by degrees recovered; and in a manner, we need scarcely say, more conformable to ecclesiastical precedent than that adopted by the Pope.

Sermons on this subject, and treating the matter according to the several views of the writers, have been published by Dr. Wordsworth, Messrs. Jackson, Daniel Butler, Claughton, Bartholomew, Ernest Hawkins, and Oldknow. We have also seen a spirited Letter addressed to the Bishop of London, in reference to the portion of his Charge which referred to ritual matters, and in reference to which his Lordship has been compelled to make an awkward admission to the Rev. T. A. Bolton—"by a Layman."*

In this connection, we are also glad to mention three Letters by "Justitia," which have been reprinted by Mr. Masters, from the *Morning Post*. They put the whole matter in its right light, and are admirably adapted for general circulation.

BABYLON, NINEVEH, AND PERSEPOLIS.

Nineveh and Persepolis; an historical sketch of Ancient Assyria and Persia, with an account of the recent researches in those countries. By W. S. VAUX, M.A. London: Hall, Virtue, and Co.

THE gigantic strides which intellect and learning have taken, and are still taking in these modern days, are not confined exclusively to the domain of art, or inductive science. There are *positivists* indeed who would gladly tie us down to the contemplation of things which *are*; and look at the Past and the Future, what *has* been and what *ought* to be, as alike in themselves unworthy of our regard. They give themselves up, virtually, if not actually, to a sort of unlimited fatalism, the fatalism of *φύσις*, if not of *ἀνάγκη*, and hold up the laws of phenomenal nature as the supreme code of the universe. Such persons (to borrow a phrase from the Rosicrucians), uphold the macrocosm, and ignore the microcosm. But it needs only a cursory survey of the intellectual horizon, to see that the march of mind is over a far more extensive tract; men are diving into the recesses of the past, and peering into the future, quite regardless of positivism or fatalism, or any other voice which seeks to call them back from those regions full at once of darkness and of delight.

This progress of intellect is clearly to be seen in the modern condition of the study of history. To the ancient task of the historical student, the turning over the chronicles and records of past risings and fallings, wisdom and folly, sin and repentance, is added a new branch of pursuit, which we may well term *hermeneutical*.

* "The Solemnity of our Anglo-Catholic Ritualism Defended." (Cleaver.)

It consists not in committing to memory records now existing, but in framing them for ourselves out of incidental notices, logical deductions, and above all, physical relics, of generations long gone by. And as the science varies, so must the object. Of some nations and times we have clear and undoubted annals, which exhibit to us the progress of the past as clearly as though it were being now enacted before our eyes. Others again have been swept from the face of the earth, and we are scarcely permitted to know that they ever existed, or played even the least part in the great story of the world. We seem almost tempted in their case to ask doubtfully why the great Creator has "made all men for nought," and hidden one part of His human creation from the knowledge of the other. Truly we are, as Plato long ago described us,* like insects or reptiles dwelling on the margin of a pool, unable to penetrate forward or backward into the mystery of God's dealings with us, or His will respecting our race. But there are moreover other nations who occupy a sort of middle position. We have records of them it is true; they themselves are passed away and have left us no progeny to tell us who or what they were; but their works have not all followed them into the region of darkness. To contemplate and interpret these relics, and with the feeble light of incidental notices in the annals of other nations, to draw from them the history of the race to which they belonged, is the province of that part of history which we have termed hermeneutical.

In this position stand the great nations of the East, which have played so great a part in the religious history of man, Egypt, Assyria, Persia, Media. Their children are departed from the face of the earth, their languages extinct, or as yet unknown, their habits and customs, and modes of thinking forgotten. Still they are not left without witness; they are present to us in the effects of the agency assigned to them by the Almighty in the great world-scheme; and the works remain, which they raised up in their pride, and in which they were permitted for a time to vaunt themselves, as though their own power and might had made them what they were. Their works remain a standing proof that the weakness of God is stronger than the strength of men. And if we can read in them nothing else, we can read at least this lesson, that He Who is the God of the nations, "taketh up one and setteth down another," according to His own will. Of this nature are the reflections on the fall of Babylon, which are found in King Alfred's Orosius. And indeed for many ages this was all that was learnt from them. The ruinous heaps, and the pools of water, and the haunt of doleful creatures, which once were Babylon, aroused the superstitious or reverential horror of all who gazed upon them. Up to the present day, a part of them is known by the name of

* Phædo, page 109.

Mujjelebê,* or "overthrown;" and the Arabs of the neighbourhood look with horror upon it, as the abode of Sheitan, and the carousing-place of ghouls and evil spirits, who are permitted to hold their unhallowed revels amongst the fallen palaces of Nemroud and his heathen subjects. Such are the descriptions to be found in the narratives of Rich, Porter, and other travellers in this land of judgment; and it is indeed difficult to repress a rising shudder when we read of the awful desolation which reigns in these once populous and prosperous spots.

What shapeless form, half lost on high,
Half seen against the evening sky,
Seems like a ghost to glide,
And watch, from Babel's crumbling heap,
Where in her shadow just asleep,
Lies fall'n imperial pride?

But modern history dares to lift the veil, and to disperse the clouds of superstitious mystery which hang over these ruins. We read something more in them than the single salutary lesson of Divine Power. They have concealed within them works of art, at once expressions and records of the agency of mind; and from these the inquirer can draw forth stores of historical knowledge, almost as clear as, and often far less doubtful than the graphic annals of other nations and times.

With one set of these ruin-records the title of the work before us warns us that we have nothing to do. Egypt naturally first attracted the attention of critics and scientific explorers. Her remains were too vast, too well known, too often seen, to be neglected in the onward march of historical research. It is a pleasing fact to remember that we owe a considerable part of our present knowledge on the subject of Egyptian hieroglyphics, and her history generally, to one who will ever be famous among the great inductive philosophers of modern days. Dr. Thomas Young is equally celebrated on the one hand in company with Fresnel, for his discoveries in optics, on the other, together with Champollion, for his key to the solution of the great Egyptian problem. Egypt accordingly has for some time been assigned her place in universal history, by one whose admirable talents we could wish as well dedicated to the service of God and His Church as they are to the promotion of learning and science. Egypt therefore we leave, and turn to the ruined cities, and ancient remains, which have been by late discoveries brought so prominently under our notice at the present time.

We might indeed, if we were disposed to expatiate on the subject of what we have ventured to call *hermeneutical* history, take a wide sweep over all the lost though traditionally-surviving nations

* This is the ordinary pronunciation of the word more correctly written Mukalliba.

of the ancient world. We might follow M. de Laborde through Petra, Sir C. Fellowes into Lycia, and Mr. Stephens over Yucatan, and ask what we may learn from them, and what aid they will lend us in the completion of our Universal History of the world. These are all fields for inquiry, perhaps useful, certainly interesting; and till they and such as they have all been explored and cultivated, we cannot consider our culture of the historical *σοφία* to be complete. But it is best to confine ourselves to one thing at a time, and now to introduce our readers to those remains which travellers of the last few years have rendered so peculiarly interesting,—Babylon, Nineveh, Persepolis, and Behistan, the records of the old Chaldæan, Assyrian, and Persic nations.

We naturally begin with the great city of Babylon. To this subject Mr. Vaux, who is more immediately concerned with the researches in Nineveh and Behistan, devotes but little space. We may briefly review the early history of this mighty city, so as to conduct our readers to the point where modern research has begun. The foundation of it is on all hands referred to Nimrod, the "mighty hunter," of whom we are told in Scripture, that the beginning of his kingdom was Babel, or as the Septuagint has it, Babylon. Except in this one notice of him, he figures more as a legendary than a real personage. King Alfred in his Orosius calls him *se ent*, the giant. The Talmudic and Arab tales are full of accounts of his power, his impiety, his sufferings and death: Nemrout is with them a synonym for great and almost supernatural power joined with daring wickedness. And after death he is elevated into a constellation known to us as Orion the hunter.* From this early period we have hardly anything to guide us save a few traditional names like Ninus and Semiramis, and meagre annals of the most doubtful authenticity in Eusebius and Syncellus, till we come to the time on which some glimpses of light are thrown, first by Herodotus, and then by the Scriptures, which treat of the history of Babylon when she played a more prominent part in executing Divine vengeance on the chosen people.

Babylon seems to have been for a long series of years the metropolis of the Assyrian kingdom. But as far as can be ascertained, a separation of the Assyrian empire took place on the death of Sardanapalus, in the year B.C. 747, well known as the era of Nabonassar; and from that period the greatness of Babylon seems to have gradually (for a time) declined. Its kings were weak and we have intimation of political convulsions, which ended in its being again seized by Esarhaddon, the ruler of the rival kingdom, who

* In Hebrew *Chesil*, or "foolish." It is very curious to remark the tendency to apply words signifying folly to impious might. Thus *Rephaim* seems to be used in both senses, and our word evil is apparently derived from the same word (evil) in Hebrew, signifying "foolish." And to go farther, the Saxon word for the great enemy, *scucca*, is singularly like the Italian *sciocco*, fool, a coincidence which Grimm disregards in his learned "Deutsche Etymologie."

re-erected it into a metropolis, in B.C. 680; after this event it began to rise again. We have continual notices of it in Scripture till the time when Belshazzar, "king of the Chaldeans," was slain, and Darius the Median, who is identified with Cyaxares uncle of Cyrus, took the kingdom. Here the narrative of Herodotus begins: we learn from him and subsequent historians how it rebelled and was subjugated by Darius; that Alexander wished to restore it, but failed; that Seleucus exhausted it and diminished its importance by the erection of Seleucia in its vicinity. Diodorus mentions a still farther devastation of it by the Parthians. In his time and Strabo's only a quarter of it was inhabited, chiefly by Jews. In the time of Pausanias only the walls remained; S. Jerome speaks of the wild animals which were hunted there; and S. Isidore of Seville does not even mention its name in a list he gives of the great cities of the world. Purchas in his "Pilgrimes," and travellers of mediæval and later times, all content themselves with describing its entire desolation, and the vast extent of its ruins.

Modern observations, and we must mention especially the accurate and judicious remarks of Major Rennell, seem to confirm the accounts handed down to us of the wonderful size of its site, and magnitude of its walls and fortifications. And the building materials which are dug up from the ruins tally so exactly with the description given by Herodotus, that they in a manner confirm the truth of the rest of his narrative. Brick and bitumen, (the latter brought from a place named by him *Is*, a name which survives in the modern *Hit*, whence supplies of bituminous cement are still sought,) together with reeds to insert between the courses of masonry, are still found in abundance all over the plain of Babylon, and have been largely employed in the construction and repairs of the neighbouring villages.* The scientific and laborious investigation, of the ruins of ancient Babylon have been conducted mainly by Sir R. Ker Porter, and Mr. Rich, the latter a person whose early death must be deplored by all who take interest in the object of his researches. But no remains have yet been discovered among these ruins which are of such great historical value as those afforded by other places to which we shall have presently to allude.

An interesting ethnological question arises respecting the origin of the name of Chaldeans given to the inhabitants of Babylon,

* It may not be out of place here to allude to a piece of criticism on the text of Herodotus. He says, (I. 179) that the builders erected the walls *διὰ τρεῖς ὁδοὺς πλίνθου τερσούς καλῶν διαστοιβάζοντες*. Wytténbach naturally sees a difficulty in the *τρεῖς ὁδοὺς*. But *Α*, the sign for 30, may very easily be corrupted from *Γ*, that for 3: and in this case the true reading will be *διὰ τριῶν ὁδῶν*, every two courses; so that each course of brick should have either its upper or under side in contact with the reeds. A similar change of letters has occurred in II. 30. where the interpretation given of the word *ἀσμαχ* shows that it ought to be written, *ἀσφαλ*, *e'shemál*, "those of the left hand," or rather "of the north."

and its distinction from Assyrian, which is applied to the other portion of the great empire of Sardanapalus. Some difference seems to be pointed at from the very first in the words of Scripture, which after speaking of the kingdom of Nimrod, tells us that "out of that land went forth Asshur, and builded Nineveh." Many speculations have been raised, (though no conclusion has been come to) from the similarity of the names Casdim (the Hebrew form of *Chaldeans*), Carduchi, Gordiazi, the Chaldaei of the coast of the Euxine, and the modern Khoords. Whether the Casdim were an adventitious race in Babylon, or the aboriginal inhabitants of that part of the Assyrian empire is a question which still affords matter for discussion.

With regard to the few results of the scientific investigation of the remains of ancient Babylon, we can only refer our readers to the works of Porter, Rich, Rennell, and Professor Heeren. A sort of fatality seems to hang over this spot, and to prevent it from becoming more than a standing memorial of judgment. Something seems to forbid our learning aught from the ruins of Babylon save the lesson we have before alluded to. Sculptures and paintings, like those of Egypt, are not found here. The far-famed Birs Nemrout towers in all its solitary vastness before the eyes of the wandering traveller; the lion and the satyr, and meaner brutes* make their dwelling there; and the mysterious inscriptions on its masonry only tell us that man once was there, and now has passed away, in obedience to the fiat of the LORD of the universe.

We pass on to the other portion of Assyria, which is represented in the City of Nineveh. Here also we meet with records in Scripture and the Father of history, and can fabricate some scanty annals from the observations of other historians and travellers previous to our modern era. The legendary founder of Nineveh was Ninus; its erection is in Holy Writ ascribed to Asshur, from whom is evidently derived the name of Assyria. Amraphel, king of Shinar, is supposed to have been one of his successors. On the death of Sardanapalus, the Assyrian kingdom, with Nineveh for its metropolis, became the rival, or more than the rival, of Babylon. Its kings were appointed to vex the people of Israel; and Shalmaneser led the ten tribes into a captivity from which they have never returned, but have been lost, and sought for in vain over all the countries of the earth. Against Nineveh too the prophecies of Jonah and Nahum† are levelled. Herodotus tells us of its wars with the Median empire under Phraortes and Cyaxares, and it was finally overthrown by the latter in conjunction with Nabopolassar (the Ahasuerus of Tobit) about the year B. C. 606. On its fall,

* The word rendered "bittern" in our version is *kippod*, which Bochart considers to mean the hedgehog, from a word existing in Syriac, *k'ad*, to bristle.

† Benjamin of Tudela speaks of the schools of the Prophets Obadiah, Jonah, and Nahum, existing at Mosul in his day.

Babylon recovered the chief power, and we from that time hear no more of the distinct rule of Assyria.

Mr. Vaux gives us, in his 6th and 7th chapters, an interesting epitome of the narratives of early travellers in the East. Few of them appear to have penetrated so far as Nineveh, their journeys being mainly confined to the Holy Land, in which were contained all the objects which had any charm for them as Christians. The few accounts which we have left of the remains of Nineveh tally closely with one another. Benjamin of Tudela, whose patriotic travels, dating about 1160, have been generally regarded with contempt as apocryphal, but are defended by our author, speaks of the ruins as being on the bank of the river Hiddekel, and connected by a bridge with the modern town of Mosul. As a specimen of the narratives of these earlier travellers, and their descriptions of the Ninevite remains, we shall transcribe from Purchas's *Pilgrimes* an account given by Master John Cartwright, who was for a time the companion of Sir Antony Sherley, in his voyage to Persia. Cartwright journeyed from Aleppo to Ispahan, in the year 1600, and among other places visited Nineveh, of which he gives the following account:—

“ Having passed over the River Choaspes, we set forwards towards Mosul, a very ancient town in this country, six days' journey from Valdac; and so pitched on the banks of the river Tygris. Here in these plains of Assyria and on the banks of Tygris, and in the region of Eden, was Ninive built by Nimrod, but finished by Ninus. It is agreed by all profane writers, and confirmed by the Scriptures, that this city exceeds all other cities in circuit, and answerable magnificence. For it seems by the ruinous foundation (which I thoroughly viewed) that it was built with four sides, but not equal or square; for the two longer sides had each of them (as we guess) an hundred and fifty furlongs: the two shorter sides, ninety furlongs, which amounteth to four hundred and eighty furlongs of ground, which makes threescore miles, accounting eight furlongs to an Italian mile. The walls whereof were an hundred foot upright, and had such a breadth as three chariots might pass on the rampire in front; these walls were garnished with a thousand and five hundred towers, which gave exceeding beauty to the rest, and a strength no less admirable for the nature of those times. Now it is destroyed, (as God foretold it should be by the Chaldeans,) being nothing else than a sepulture of herself, a little town of small trade, where the Patriarch of the Nestorians keeps his seat, at the devotion of the Turks. Sundry times had we conference with this Patriarch; and among many other speeches which passed from him, he wished us, before we departed, to see the Island of Eden, but twelve miles up the river, which he affirmed was undoubtedly a part of Paradise.”

And again, during a stay at Bagdad,

“ Two places of great antiquity did we thoroughly view in the country; the one was the ruins of the old Tower of Babel, (as the in-

habitants hold unto this day,) built by Nimrod, the nephew of Cham, Noah's son. And now at this day that which remaineth is called, the remnant of the Tower of Babel; there standing as much as is a quarter of a mile in compass, and as high as the stonework of Paul's steeple in London. It was built of burnt brick, cemented and joined with bituminous mortar; to the end, that it should not receive any cleft in the same. The bricks are three quarters of a yard in length, and a quarter in thickness, and between every course of bricks there lieth a course of mats made of canes and palm-tree leaves, so fresh as if they had been laid within one year. The other place remarkable is the ruins of old Babylon, because it was the first city which was built after the flood. Some do think that the ruins of Nimrod's Tower is but the foundation of this temple of Bel, and that therefore many travellers have been deceived, who suppose that they have seen a part of that tower which Nimrod builded. But who can tell whether it be the one or the other? It may be, that confused Chaos, which we saw, was the ruins of both, the temple of Bel being founded on that of Nimrod."

Up to the last ten years no more critical observation than this had been made of the site of Nineveh. Since that time, two gentlemen of indomitable perseverance and enterprise have unfolded and made known the results of some of the most interesting excavations that ever were undertaken, which cast an unexpected light on the history of Nineveh. One of these gentlemen is the French consul at Mosul, M. Botta; the other an English traveller, Mr. (or rather Dr.) Layard.

M. Botta was appointed to the consulate in 1843; and immediately on his arrival conceived the project of making excavations in the mounds on the opposite bank of the Tigris, which were always pointed to as the remains of Nineveh; one of them indeed is called Nebbi Yunus, and much venerated as the tomb of the Prophet Jonah.

After a few operations in the mound of Koyunjik, near Mosul, the results of which were confined to the acquisition of a few inscribed bricks and stones, M. Botta was induced by the representations of a peasant to commence works near the village of Khor-sabad, a little distance north-east of Mosul. A little perseverance in these works effected an entrance into what was evidently a chamber surrounded with slabs of gypsum representing battles, sieges, and similar scenes; and further excavations brought to light two colossal monumental figures.

The news of these discoveries interested the French government at home, and led to their supplying M. Botta with funds, and with the assistance of an able draughtsman. In the meanwhile, the enterprising excavator continued his work, rewarded daily by some fresh discovery; sculptured slabs, winged figures, some of them with traces of colour, and remains of copper objects, continually presenting themselves. The intense heat of the summer however sus-

pended these energetic proceedings, and had nearly deprived the world of M. Botta's services.

On the arrival of M. Flandin, the draughtsman sent from France, and the cessation of the intense heat, work was resumed at Khorsabád; and though the delay had caused the destruction of much that was curious, still the excavations when pursued continued to bring to light the most interesting objects of Ninevite art. Engravings of all of those that have reached France, and of many that have perished, have been published at the expense of the French government.

We now come to the discoveries of our own countryman, Mr. Layard. Our space will hardly allow us to give more than a mere outline of his proceedings. The appearance presented to him by the mounds during visits paid to Mosul in 1840 and 1842, convinced him that a search into them would be amply repaid. This search he was enabled to commence in 1845, by the help of Sir Stratford Canning. Immediately on arriving at Mosul he set to work on the great ruin, near the village of Nimroud, and found sufficient to show him that much was concealed there which would well repay further operations. These were recommenced on a larger scale in 1846, and were rewarded with the discovery of bas-reliefs and sculptures, similar to those found by M. Botta; and amongst them particularly an eagle-headed figure, supposed to represent the Assyrian god, Nisroch.

We must follow the example of Mr. Vaux, in quoting Mr. Layard's description of one of the most remarkable of his discoveries.

"On the morning following I rode to the encampment of Sheikh Abd-al-rahman, and was returning to the mount, when I saw two Arabs of his tribe, urging their mares to the top of their speed. On approaching me they stopped. 'Hasten, O Bey!' exclaimed one of them, 'hasten to the diggers, for they have found Nimroud himself. Wallah! it is wonderful, but it is true! we have seen him with our eyes. There is no God but God!' And both joining in this pious exclamation they galloped off without further words, in the direction of their tents. On reaching the ruins, I descended into the new trench, and found the workmen who had already seen me as I approached, standing near a heap of baskets and cloaks, whilst Awad advanced and asked a present to celebrate the occasion. The Arabs withdrew the screen they had hastily constructed, and disclosed an enormous human head, sculptured in full out of the alabaster of the country. They had uncovered the upper part of a figure, the remainder of which was still buried in the earth. I saw at once that the head must belong to a winged lion or bull, similar to those at Khorsabád and Persepolis. It was in admirable preservation. The expression was calm yet majestic, and the outline of the features showed a freedom and knowledge of art scarcely to be looked for in the works of so remote a period."

These discoveries induced Mr. Layard to consider that he had at length come upon the earliest palace of Nimroud. He therefore continued the excavations, and disinterred new objects of interest; figures in baked clay, and copper; and spirited bas-reliefs and sculptures, representations, like the Egyptian paintings, of the warfare and the hunting parties of the nation to which they belonged. The Arab excavators worked with enthusiasm, inspired by the sight of things so new and marvellous; and were moreover kept in due restraint by the influence of Mr. Layard, to whom they all looked with the utmost reverence, and of Mr. Hormund Rassam, a Christian gentleman of Mosul, whose assistance was invaluable to Mr. Layard.

The heat of the summer, which had nearly proved fatal to M. Botta, began now to tell on Mr. Layard; and he accordingly determined to renounce his excavations for awhile, and refresh himself with a tour in the mountains of Kurdistan. On his return, he had the mortification to find that the account of his labours had not been appreciated by his money-getting countrymen. While the French warmly patronised their countryman M. Botta, supplying him with ample funds and assistance; all that England did to further the cause of historical discovery at Nineveh was, to refuse any assistance in transporting the antiquities from Mosul to England, and to nominate their discoverer to the honorary and for some time unpaid office of Attaché at Constantinople. It must have been a source of great annoyance to our traveller to find that the chief obstacle to the fulfilment of his plans was thrown in his way not by wild Arabs or bigoted Mahometans, but by the illiberality and want of sympathy of his own countrymen.

(To be continued.)

SOCIAL EVILS AND THEIR REMEDIES.

Prize Essays on the Church of England self-supporting Village Society. By the REV. J. C. COX. London: J. W. Parker.

A Plea for Parochial Boarding Schools. By the REV. J. C. COX. London: Rivingtons.

Adult Schools in Agricultural Districts. London: Rivingtons.

THE three pamphlets with whose titles we have headed our remarks it will be seen have for their object "the improvement of the condition of the labouring classes," an expression which we acknowledge as being not our own, but every one's; for where shall we find any whose thoughts at all extend beyond himself, who has not this phrase over and over again before him, and whose cry does not join with his fellows in demanding attention to the vast subject it indicates?

Tremendous questions are now agitating people's minds, questions which do, and for many a day will continue to, shake the country to its centre: questions involving temporal interests of the highest degree, and spiritual interests whose importance is even eternal: questions which will divide father and son, husband and wife, brother and sister, a man and his household, shepherds and their sheep, the Church and the world: questions which are already creating schism, disunion, and suspicion in houses, in families, in schools, in Christian societies, even where before amid all, such had not till now found place. And amid all this, amid this battling for what earnest men hold dearer than their life—their faith,—amid all these rebellious uncharitable thoughts, these hard words, these rough actions, it seems not unlikely the poor may be forgotten, though only for a time they can be, for they "shall not always be forgotten."

Excited as we, and all must be, who are earnest for the truth and concerned about their eternal weal and woe; and ready as we are to join issue with the good and faithful, in resisting the "attacks of the evil one;" yet from out all this din we would shrilly raise our voice for the poor man, that his cause be not forgotten; and that the zeal which so abundantly pours forth in "No Popery" declamations, may, at least a portion of it, be diverted to plain practical duties which lie at every one's door, and which diversion will be attended with blessings that shall be green, when the rewards, if any can be deserved, which attend the present ill directed enthusiasm shall have shrivelled to dust.

What a problem is this—"bettering the condition of the poor," what racking of brains it causes both to good and bad statesmen;

to the former to reduce *really* the amount of misery and wretchedness he sees on all sides around him; to the latter how to make the best of a difficult subject, and to secure a good name for himself without personal cost or sacrifice! What a prolific subject of speechmaking, of designing, of association-forming, of subscription-gathering, of soliciting the patronage of the great and wealthy (alas! that the patronage of the Great One Who inhabiteth eternity is not the first and last desire of His creatures, for not till it is so will His patronage be vouchsafed even to seemingly superhuman exertions,) and what does it all produce? Look round and see. Walk but for ten minutes or a quarter of an hour, you who live in the murky city, think, you who live in the open air of heaven, of the country but two miles, or perhaps far less around you, and shall we be wrong in asserting that the produce of all your exertions is—nothing? Still the monster stalks boldly before you; you pull down neighbourhoods of misery, and sin, and woe; you drive it away, and in its place rise stately mansions: blazing shops, and busy commerce attracts the eye, and draws off the attention, and say you, “here’s an improvement!” Miserable delusion! at your backs the poison of densely packed humanity, the fetid atmosphere of five thousand breaths where one thousand alone would breathe death, reminds you, if you need reminding, that it is but a gilded surface which will tarnish, and blacken, and that quickly, by the damp of human woe rising from beneath.

You subscribe your guineas, you attend your meetings to hear reports, and have your ears startled, for novelty’s sake, by harrowing details of wretchedness. You look into ragged schools, nightly lodging-houses, model lodging-houses, baths and wash-houses; and gaze upon the thankful unfortunates who use them as beings of another species; and return from your inspection self-gratified and amused, and think “surely this will do; what more can we do? at all events, let us see how this answers,” and complacently order “dinner.”

These things perhaps do answer, but what do they do? Is the evil any less? not a whit that you can see. Less it must be, but by what a trifle! What would a thousand similar things be among such masses? What if after all we *can* do we shall be unprofitable servants,—what are we if we rest upon what we *have* done? Why will we so soon close our ears to the solemn warning bearing witness to our weakness, “be not weary in well-doing?” We lend our aid, we give our alms, we set it (whatever it may be) *agoing*, gaze at it for a time; if it prospers, well, if not we did what we could, in either case we become weary, and rest awhile till some new idea engrosses us, over which the same process is repeated. This age is especially marked, (though we trust there are dawns of a better and sounder feeling) by sudden claps of benevolence and charity, which rattle about us for a while

and then sink to silence. From individuals of widely different principles and character proceed schemes and specifics for the cure of our great social evils, each bearing the impress of its author, but all tending to the one great point, the lessening and mitigating, if not in all cases the positive extermination of the sufferings of their fellows. If only the impress of Divine wisdom had been as diligently sought for, as have been the peculiar ideas and theories of individuals, one thousandth part of the projects that have been broached for the relief of suffering humanity, would have sufficed for this great end : instead of having only tended to make the evil more evident and the more heartrending, because misleading with the idea, that where so much has been done, and so much has failed notwithstanding, the subject is, therefore, one which cannot be met by human agency.

Here indeed is the mistake. A manufacturing, a fitting together, of a complete work, an anxiety to construct a practicable, and not-to-be-found-fault-with theory, a theory which shall meet all objections, which shall provide for all difficulties, meet all contingencies, with no room for mistrust, because little need left for trusting others ; schemes which shall *pay for themselves*, and be a burden to nobody, which shall return a per centage, which shall sharpen self-interest, and leave no room for faith ; which shall beg your alms now and toss them back to you hereafter ; these are the mistakes, the wilful (for in a Christian land they must be wilful) blunders which have made many a well-meaning, but shallow thinking Christian turn away in despair and think it no use to help to alleviate what it seems is not to be alleviated. We repeat, if the merest fraction of the schemes for the relief of God's poor, had been based upon the broad foundations of His precepts, and one day of prayer for its success, instead of the restless weeks of thought and inquiry which merely human ideas entail, long since should we have seen, not the poor out of the land, for that cannot be, but that out of the land which He cannot will—unchecked sin and woe. It is the disregard, or forgetfulness, of the immutable, ever fixed, always suitable, never failing standard of the laws of Almighty God, laws which meet the exigencies, the utmost needs, the most varying circumstances, the most opposite states of society, the farthest asunder climes ; which harmonize with all characteristics, with all, even seemingly the most opposite, developments of human attributes : it is the disregard (for we fear the harsher term is the truest one) of these that has plunged us into a vortex of difficulties, and made our social problem almost a Gordian knot, a knot that the "sword of the Spirit" alone can unravel.

We go over our words again, and for the benefit of plain men, we say—you have rather chosen a standard of your own, or taken the standard and the maxim and the precept of political economists, and merely moral declaimers,—you have sought out human prece-

dents, consulted human cunning and knowledge, (wisdom is not of this world, so to say you have sought that, would be a mistake,) read the doings of our ancestors, long long ago gathered to their rest, adopted their words, but failed to grasp the spirit which dictated them,—and greatly have you wondered that their rules and their practices have been (notwithstanding the wonderful effects you *know* they, in their days, produced) least of all adapted to your scheme or your theory; you have blazoned your wisdom before the world, you have as a *first* thought sought the countenance of the rich, the great, the powerful; you have raised earth (but failed, never having sought, to move Heaven) in your behalf. You have done all this, we boldly but sorrowfully tell you, if not in preference, at least in as culpable forgetfulness of the Divine Guide you all the while had at your very elbow, who would have surely and easily have taught you a scheme and a theory which should have been neither one nor the other, but a blessed and practical reality.

But we hear the practical, business-like, systematic, philanthropist say, this is all very well, this would do very well in a sermon, very well indeed, but we are dealing with the stern £. s. d. of the matter, the providing shelter for the houseless, food for the foodless, clothes for the clothesless, work for the workless: just so, my friend, we agree precisely in what we want to do; it is just these works of mercy we wish to see multiplied till they reach every corner of this island, nay, of the world itself; and it is the £. s. d. and the farthings too of the matter we would most strenuously insist upon,—the sacred College of Apostles themselves could not live without one to carry the bag,—(O, my friends, let us carefully avoid a Judas's spirit in bearing the bag, and let us as carefully reject a like spirit of mistrusting those who do)—and it is the stern practical minute detail of the matter we desire to see carefully attended to; but we desire it done in, not our own, not in human ways, but in the ways of Eternal Wisdom. Say what you will, argue as you will, invent as you will, *these* ways are the only practical, the only systematic, the only business-like (with reverence we apply the term), the only feasible, because unerring, ways that we shall ever find; and so long as men ignore, or scorn as puerile (for terrible as it is to believe, it is so that there are some who thus do), this ready and ever near standard, so long will they flounder and plunge in inextricable difficulty, and but ultimately render more wretched the state of those whose interest they profess to have at heart.

The first of the pamphlets whose names head our remarks, contains three prize essays, written to illustrate and set forth the advantage of the principles of a "Church of England Self-supporting Village," and of the proposed village in particular. It is a great step in the direction we have been pointing, and recognises

fully (though perhaps not in the tone we should have chosen) the primary influence of religion ; nothing professedly being done or allowed, whether in starting or working, which shall contradict this fundamental principle. The object of this scheme, apparently the creation of a Mr. J. M. Morgan, who, by the prospectus, &c., has spent years in perfecting his idea, is to build a complete village for 1200 souls, (men, women, and children) with clergyman, church, schools, &c., &c. ; land for labour, and to be built near a town as a market for the produce. The village is to be governed by "Directors and Assistant Managers, selected from the inhabitants," until the money, which is in the first place to be borrowed, is paid, when the government will be vested in themselves, i.e. the inhabitants.

The idea has been taken up by a party of clergymen and laymen who, under the name of the "Church of England Self-supporting Village Society," propose to accomplish this object, viz. "the promotion of the religious, moral, and general improvement of the working classes," "by forming establishments for 300 or 400 families, in which instruction may be afforded, and religious ordinances may be administered on the principles of the Church of England, and by combining agricultural with manufacturing employment for their own benefit." A practical conception of this is given in the sketch of such a village ; viz. as a square of 300 cottages, of 4 rooms each, inclosing 34 acres, with clergyman's and directors' residences, schools, lecture and library rooms, general kitchen and dining-room for all who wish to be together, store, committee rooms, &c., infirmary, farm-buildings, and, at a short distance, a church. All this to be placed in the middle of 1000 acres of land, which shall be rented on lease at first, with power of purchase ; the ultimate design being that the inhabitants shall become owners of it.

The cost of erecting and fairly starting such a scheme is estimated at £50,000, to be raised by donations, shares, loans, &c. Some calculations are then made to show that out of the 1200 persons, 815 would be available for work, and so for creating income, and their earnings are calculated at £18,631. 12s. per annum, deducting from this, salaries of clergyman, director, &c., interest on loan, rent, food, and clothing for 1200 persons, taxes, &c., in all about £14,000, leaving net income to the community of £4631. 12s. This, with a proviso, is estimated to pay off the borrowed capital in ten or eleven years, and after that would be available to "establish institutions for their growing members," thus becoming "self-extending." It may be as well to state here that the above particulars are taken from the first of the "Prize Essays," by far the most elaborate and painstaking of the three, its author having gone very critically into the causes of our social evils, and possessing great opportunity for observing their effects, at least in the poor classes. This is by the Rev. Henry Smith, senior Chaplain of Park-

hurst, Isle of Wight. The other two are respectively by the Rev. W. B. Ady and the Rev. W. S. Finch.

The governing body of such "an establishment as we have supposed would be a resident clergyman and director, each of whom would use his legitimate authority and influence, (but) the management would be vested in directors, aided by assistant managers, chosen from the inhabitants. These managers would gain experience, knowledge, and discretion, and would, probably, in due time, themselves become directors. As, possibly, all the members might not be always correct in behaviour, the directors would use all friendly means to reclaim an offender, aided, in an especial manner, by the spiritual pastor. If these means failed, the directors would have power to expel him from the community; or, if thought well of, especially in difficult cases, this might be done by a jury of members." The means for mental and physical improvement, and for recreation, are imaginatively marked out and the spiritual care is a prominent feature.

The 2nd, 3rd, and 4th chapters of Mr. Smith's essay are well worth reading for their statistical information on many evils, with their inferential remedies, of both city and country life, though, of course, his whole argument is directed to show the panacea character of the "self-supporting village" for all of them.

We would not, for a moment, throw cold water upon an idea which has been conceived and exhibited at such pains and expense as this has been; and we should very heartily support, as far as we understand and appreciate the details of the plan, an effort to bring it into practical working as one item in the general treatment of the disease, though as an (even in a limited sense) universal remedy, we could by no means entertain it; and that for many reasons, some of which we will now state, as it will give us the opportunity of saying other things.

Politically, the tendency of such institutions would be democratic; for although one here and there would work doubtless admirably, and be a blessing to its neighbourhood, yet imagine them spreading and covering the land, and all the influence of their religious bias would not, we venture to assert, prevent their becoming essentially democratic. The tendency of such societies would be, we may safely imagine, to put the members thereof in easy, and indeed, ultimately affluent circumstances. The superior scientific knowledge which such an establishment would afford, with the facilities for carrying out such knowledge practically, would, with other circumstances, have this effect. Of course we are looking to the ultimate operation when all difficulties of starting and establishing are over, and the ordinary future only to provide for, and we do not see how you are to hinder men becoming well off, unless your religious system is of so decided a character, that it approach to the monastic rather than the strictly social open state of society

which will be the only inducement to propagate such a system. We do not see how, in the long run, you would hinder your communities from becoming rich, for though you can provide against the officers of this society becoming possessed of property, yet you cannot consistently with freedom of action, hinder your community, or even individuals of that community, from being so. You must, therefore, make your system so in the world that yet it shall not be of the world, that you render it inapplicable to human society in the mass, or you must let the ordinary affairs of life take their course, which course we certainly think would be a decided tendency to wealth and position. We beg to be understood as now considering this plan as a panacea for the ills of society, or rather as an idea of the sort of panacea necessary for the curing of those ills, though we are quite prepared for a disclaimer as to this being the idea; but as a plausible and well considered, and really good scheme as this is, is apt to be seized upon with avidity, we wish to point out where such would fail, and also to what we should, as we think, really look, for the cure of our disorganization. As an isolated and single item in the general treatment, we repeat, we look with much favour upon it.

It will not take a long nor difficult process of reasoning for any person to see the necessity of such a community becoming well off, and therefore, we shall assume the fact. Self-extension must have its limit, and having reached it what becomes of the accumulation of capital? why it must produce individual or corporate wealth,—and that in a class we will venture to say whose mental would not increase in the same ratio as their merely animal, capacity, and whose tendency therefore would be not the self-denying, self-forgetting character which realizes that “sufficient for the day is the evil thereof;” but to create a system of things in no wise better than we all at this present bewail. Individual wealth is a danger, but chiefly to the possessor thereof, who may however realize his awful responsibility; but corporate wealth is a danger to society, and the greater because individual responsibility is so faintly realized, and so easily shifted. And in a state of society thus constituted the individuals would be so entirely thrown upon each other’s sympathy, and have so little to do with worldly dignities, honours, and conventionalities, that they would either leave the community for the sake of these, or remain, and treat them with scorn. If the former course be taken, the principle of the society is gone, and if the latter, democracy is the result. The insuperable difficulty and improbability of preventing the wealth-accumulating tendency of such a scheme appears to us, not to forbid its trial, but to forbid entirely our looking upon it as a mean of regenerating even the lower stratum of society.

The genuine means of regenerating society we feel confident are the strengthening and renewing of those ties ordained by Almighty

God Himself, for the preservation of that state which not only consists in peace, order, and morality, but which has for its life-giving principle the love of Him, and therefore the love of our neighbour. It is the relation of master and servant, lord and tenant, independent and dependent, that want cleansing from their present unnatural condition. We do not think the good old ties of love and affection which formerly held households together are quite extinct, but that they are nearly so no one will gainsay, nor that self-interest is almost the only bond between man and man. We shall go far among even those yet remaining of the past generation ere we find one who is content to sink or swim with the household in which Providence has placed him, and still farther among the rising generation, before we find anything but the *£. s. d.*, and "value received" principle governing these social relations.

It is therefore with these views that we look with much favour upon the scheme which is thrown out in broad outline by Mr. Cox, in the second of the pamphlets, whose names are at the head of this article, for the establishment of "Parochial Boarding Schools, with especial reference to Mr. Fox's forthcoming educational design." It is a very vigorous and well-toned "plea," and we most strongly recommend its perusal to all who are interested,—and who ought not to be?—in the welfare of their kind. After, in a few forcible words stating what has been done, and showing what, alas! an infinitely small amount of good has resulted, and the "consciousness of abiding gloom," that all the rakings up of human misery have left us, and the almost universal agreement that EDUCATION is the real, though of course, not immediate remedy, he shows the fallacy of Mr. Fox's plan.

"The principal feature of Mr. Fox's educational design is, that a certain amount of what is called 'secular education' shall be provided at schools, 'no religious peculiarities being inculcated,' while the parents shall have the 'right reserved and unalienable' of supplying *ad libitum* religious instruction and moral training at home, either personally, or by delegation to whomsoever they may choose. Now, under particular circumstances of society, and in cases where parents understood and appreciated the higher and religious character of their relationship to God and their offspring,—if all parents now-a-days were like Abraham,* this plan might be the best.

"But when we consider how very degraded, in every way, is the social condition of the lower orders in this country, we can hardly expect that it would be productive of any good results. It presupposes general soundness in the substructure of society."

Remarking upon the mode in which we should proceed to "restore an ancient structure, by first proceeding to examine the ground

* Gen. xviii. 19.

work, and ascertain that the foundations are secure," he thus forcibly pictures "the real condition of the social fabric."

"Story upon story, rank upon rank, the vast superstructure towers aloft, sunshine rests (and may it ever rest) upon its crown; the balmy breath of luxury floats softly through its gay saloons above; strength and substance, comfort and happiness, gird it round below; but when we delve downwards, and lay bare the groundwork on which it stands, a very different picture is presented to the eye. Here all is seen crumbling to decay, crushed by poverty, ground down by want, eaten into and consumed by disease; here appear the upheavings of profligacy, lawlessness, and crime; here decency is outraged and modesty disregarded; here men and women, old and young, married and unmarried, lodgers and children, pure and impure, girls—one just rising into womanhood, the other with her bastard infant at her breast, boys aping all their elders' wicked deeds, and framing their little mouths to the use of horrid words, here are they huddled together, in the midst of noxious exhalations, surrounded by filth and vermin, with all the uncleanness, and with none of the natural delicacy of the lower animals, in close rooms and crowded neighbourhoods, the nurseries of sin, the cherished haunts of pestilence and death.

"Well might the framer of the report for the Poor Law Commissioners in 1842 observe, after exposing the social condition of the labouring population, 'no education *as yet commonly given*, appears to have availed against such demoralizing circumstances.'"

Showing that Mr. Fox has failed to realize the idea, which upon any other man, we should have thought, would have forced itself, after the remark quoted from the report, he goes on to say:—

"It would seem desirable, therefore, that they should, if possible, be lifted out from their present state; *e-educated*, in the literal signification of the word, drawn out, not only as regards the good which lies dormant within them, not only as regards the unfolding and expanding of their spiritual life, which is too often stunted and well-nigh destroyed in their very childhood, but drawn out from their disadvantageous situation, cleansed from superincumbent impurities, *in-formed*, shaped by a careful hand, and fashioned beneath a watchful eye, and *in-structed*, edified and built up in the faith, and built into that station which they are called to fulfil in society and in the Church of CHRIST; educated, too, in the most comprehensive signification; not feasted on intellectual dainties, while their bodies are starving; not surfeited with history, geography, and arithmetic, with the rich tables of the exports and imports of many lands fruitful in food and clothing, while their backs are hung with rags, and they gnaw their daily crusts; not wearied with lessons upon purity of mind and cleanness of thought, while their persons are foul and squalid, and their homesteads ever reek with dirt: but educated physically and morally, intellectually and religiously, in full recollection that the body is the vehicle and instrument of the soul;

that the spiritual nature is raised or lowered in its tone, according as the organs of sense are permitted to present before it things pure or impure ; and that the mind takes its colour from the outward circumstances of the daily life of the body, as plants and insects derive their hues from the substances by which they are nourished, and the atmosphere in which they live.

"Although much good is undoubtedly produced, by God's blessing, in many instances, by our present system of education, containing, as it does, so much of religious teaching, yet it is to be feared that its general success is greatly impeded by the prevailing circumstances under which the labouring classes exist, and by the fact that we so frequently send our scholars home from school to bad food, bad air, bad sights, bad sounds, bad language, bad actions, bad companions,—bad example in every possible shape.

"And here is the most grievous evil of all,—the evil of bad example,—the bad example of parents. Has Mr. Fox considered *this*, when he would leave the religious instruction of their children entirely at their disposal ? Example is a far more powerful instructress than language, whether of good or evil ; and parental instruction by example is probably the most powerful of all.

"As it is, we too often teach by day that which is forgotten by night ; we sow the seed at school which is rooted up at home ; or worse, we make the child a means of pandering to the depraved taste of the parents ; and we teach it to read in the morning, while at night its learning is employed to spell out the ribaldry and scurrility, and may be, the blasphemy of some vile newspaper or cheap novel, the history of some notorious profligate or felon ; so that our very teaching becomes the means of fostering evil in the parents, and of originating a vicious tone in the tender mind of the child. And what an awful position is this for a young child to be placed in, even when the mind is well grounded in religious truth ! Still the amount of religious instruction now imparted at school does, by God's blessing, often support the child, and carry it safely through the dangers amidst which it is forced to live. But cut away this prop, withdraw this support, and what will become of it ? Without religion, it will be left to waver for a moment between the few moral lessons imparted by its master at school, and the evil example of its parents, teaching lessons directly opposite, at home. Both cannot stand ; one must suffer, one must fall. But what teaching can prevail against a parent's example, unless it can appeal to a higher authority ? And what higher authority can it appeal to, save religion ? But by Mr. Fox's system, religion is withdrawn, or left to be supplied by the parents themselves ! It is easy, therefore, to conclude what will too generally be the fate of the child."

The following is very valuable at the present day :

"Religious truth, like all else that is really great and good, is difficult to acquire, and slowly understood ; the greatest care, and most constant watchfulness must be exercised by those who impart it. It will be called upon to brave many a cruel storm ; and it must be firmly rooted, and closely knit together, that it may endure. It must be gra-

dually worked into the very constitution ; it must grow as the child grows, with it and in it, blended with and bound up in its whole system—not forced upon it, *ad nauseam*, at one time or another, but infused at all times, and by little and little. And in order to this, personal superintendence is indispensable, to lead and guide, to shape and fashion, as opportunities occur.”—p. 14.

Exposing the absurdity of Mr. Fox’s suggestion, that each child should be furnished with a Bible, among other things, on leaving school, and asserting that “ It is not because a man is *poor* that he behaves as I have described, but because he is *ignorant*,” he goes on to develope his scheme :

“ Is it not possible, I would ask, with all submission and deference to the opinion of those whose experience must enable them to judge far better than myself ;—is it not possible, and do we not seem to be especially called upon to establish schools for the children of the poor, in which they may be boarded, lodged, and taught, cared for in every way, educated in the fullest sense of the word, in spirit, soul, and body, under the watchful eye of their master, and the paternal superintendence of their pastor, with only occasional holidays for the purpose of visiting their homes ? ”—pp. 17, 18.

He then states the problem of “ dealing with the social condition of the poor ” to be this,—

“ To devise a means for helping to raise them, which may yet allow them to be the agents in raising themselves. We require some method for encouraging them without tempting them to be idle ; which may assist them, and yet leave them to work out their own good ; which may be a boon to them, and yet not a degrading charity from which they might recoil ; which would support them, and yet teach them self-respect and self-dependence ; which would place relief in their way and within their reach, and yet leave it to them to seek it out and pay something towards obtaining it.”—pp. 19, 20.

He goes on to the general detail of his plan, to which we would draw the attention of all who have a state of circumstances existing in their parish which offers advantages for starting such a project. Some brief but valuable remarks on the externals of education are made, and the means of supporting such schools is provided for by a tax (only because Mr. Fox proposes the same) or by voluntary subscriptions, though when the thing should be in full operation it would we should think be nearly self-supporting, for it is suggested the parents should pay weekly such a sum which not entailing a loss upon the school shall be so much below what each child could be supported for at home, as to offer an inducement to send it.

The concluding remark on the respective offices of the Church

and State in the education of the people are very happy, and the whole pamphlet is very important and suggestive, and one which we hope will not only be read but thought of.

The "Adult Schools" contain some very forcible remarks on village society, and adult night schools as a means for raising its tone, and purging it of its evils; and the more valuable, coming from one who has practically carried out his idea.

Let us not reject any idea, any proposal, which has for its object the raising the condition of the poor, not to raise them from *poor*, but to raise them from what are *not* necessary accompaniments of poverty—squalidness, wretchedness, sin. Let us receive from all quarters, and mould and shape all ideas and suggestions to the furtherance of this great work; ever keeping in mind the great leading principle,—duty to God and man,—and those derived therefrom,—employer and employed, master and servant, buyer and seller. The standard is simple, so simple that our would-be philanthropists think it beneath them; the rules to guide us few and easy to be understood, if only we will take the text-book ever at hand, the Holy Scriptures. Rouse up the rich, tell them that their own happiness, here and hereafter, their merest every-day life, is at the mercy of that deep dark torrent flowing just now almost noiselessly, but ready at a moment to burst its bounds and engulf all in chaos and destruction. They must strengthen their banks, not build high ones to shut out the murky flood, but rake the bed to the bottom, clear the soil, cleanse the filth; and where now no one can see to the bottom of the muddy treacherous stream, where now nauseous terrible forms meet the inquiring but shuddering eye, where now one holds one's breath, and checks one's footsteps, and sympathy is stopped by terror; there shall the stream flow briskly and gladsomely along, revealing beneath its pellucid waters a firm and safe footing for the traveller.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES.

The Greek Church. A Sketch. By the author of "Proposals for Christian Union." London: Darling.

THIS work is not so much a history of the Greek Church generally, as of that one most important feature in her career, the long protracted struggle with the Western Church, which terminated in their unhappy separation. The author's investigation into the conflicting causes which led to this result, is ably carried out^d with considerable research and great lucidity of style; he treats the ostensible ground of division, the contention respecting the clause *Filioque* as a mere nominal pretext, and seeks its true origin in more subtle influences, such as political interests, private jealousies, and ambition, and even the national peculiarities stamped on Byzantium before the Christian era. He makes it however perfectly plain throughout, that he has undertaken to sift the details of this event so important to the whole Church Catholic, not for its historical, or ecclesiastical interests, but with the one object of seeking therein some indication of the sources from which we might hope for a restoration of the entire Body to that unity so lamentably broken. In fact, the author of "Proposals for Christian Union" might aptly have termed this present work "Probabilities of Christian Union;" and at the close he gives us a summary of his hopes and convictions on this subject. We cannot now stop to enter on the possibility or reasonableness of his belief, that the day is fast approaching, when mutual concessions will have restored our English branch to peaceful communion with the Church of Rome, but we must pronounce conclusively against the idea, that any such union between the Churches of Rome and Greece will ever be effected without some signal and well-nigh impossible change taking place in the spirit and dogmas of the latter. The author frankly confesses his ignorance of the condition moral and actual of the Greek Church, for the last century, and this amply accounts for any doubts he may have on the subject; but those who have had an opportunity of studying the mind of this Church through intercourse with her living members, cannot fail to perceive the working of certain principles within her which most effectually prevent even the ultimate probability of such an event. Briefly, these are, first, the perfect assurance and contentment of the Greek Church, with regard to her own position; neither generally nor among individuals is there the slightest doubt or discontent which would induce her to desire a change; and this satisfaction is the more powerful in its operation, that it is based not only on the undoubted rights of her own condition, but on the belief held by her as an article of faith that *she is Herself* the alone orthodox Church of CHRIST, and that the Roman Catholic Branch became schismatical on separating from her. Secondly, there is in her a deep-seated and truly intolerant hatred to the Church of Rome, a hatred which is the growth of ages and which with all our favour to the Eastern Church, we admit to be at once unchristian and

unworthy, but not the less most effectual in its working ; this animosity we hold to be one of the causes of her proneness to the danger which is now assailing her in that leaven of latitudinarianism, gradually penetrating into her fold in the various shapes so assiduously given to it by American missionaries and French and German authors ; if anything however, could have strengthened her opposition to the Church of Rome, it would be the late change in her position and form of government by her renewed recognition of the authority of the Patriarch of Constantinople.

Victories of the Saints. Stories for Children from Church History. By the Rev. J. M. NEALE, M. A., Warden of Sackville College. London: Cleaver.

THE predecessors of this little volume are so well known, and so justly appreciated, that we cannot give it a higher recommendation than by classing it along with them in merit and usefulness. Better reading for children could not be found, and we consider it particularly advisable, that they should be provided with such food for the mind as these histories of the martyrs afford, in an age whose crying sin is the love of ease and luxury ; amply will these valuable little books have done their work, if they should lead the children of the English Church to the exercise of self-denial in daily life, by these details of the constancy of their elder brethren in the faith who loved not their lives even to the death.

Langley School. By the Author of "The Kings of England." Reprinted from the "Magazine for the Young."

THIS little volume is plainly the work of one who has a thoroughly practical knowledge of the subject. It is very seldom that specimens of this style of writing are to be found which it is really safe and advisable to put into the hands of village children ; and on this account the little book will be found valuable by the teachers of country schools, whilst they will themselves derive many excellent hints from it. We cannot, however, pass without comment one part of the work, which we consider ill-advised : it touches on one of those deep and subtle questions connected with our social condition, which require far too delicate handling to be treated of in a work for children, and which it were better not to raise in the minds of the poor at all. The difficulty exposed and not explained to which we refer in this little book, is that certain pleasures of society and scenes of amusement are considered suitable and legitimate for the rich, whilst the poor girls of the village are told it is immoral and wrong to mix themselves up with the noisy revelry of the country fair. Possibly this question might require a sterner answer than many would be disposed to give, but, at all events, there was no occasion to present it voluntarily before the children of the poor.

Tales and Allegories. London : J. H. Parker.

THE "Parochial Tracts" from which this work is compiled are too well known to require further comment here. But it is a question how far these little papers, prepared originally for general distribution in the cheapest form, are worth collecting into a handsome volume, which could only have a suitable place in drawing-rooms and boudoirs. So far there is no doubt that the tales and lighter material in that series are the most important, as they are certain of being read, especially by young persons, when the graver tracts would be thrown aside; and this collection will form some excellent reading for such as can obtain the volume. So many different hands have been employed in writing them, that it is impossible to give an opinion of them as a whole. In some we have speedy indications of a master mind, which has done great service to the Church in this style of writing; others are sound and practical enough; but in a few, such as the "Curate's Daughter," we remark a certain sentimentalism, ill suited, we think, to the class for whom these tracts are required. Several of them are too pointless, too full of elegant descriptions of trifles; and we prefer the plain statements and practical illustrations of home truths which are to be found in some parts of this pleasant little volume.

- 1 *An Exposition of the Thirty-nine Articles, Historical and Doctrinal, being the substance of a course of Lectures delivered to candidates for Orders at S. David's College, Lampeter.* By EDWARD HAROLD BROWNE, M. A., Prebendary of Exeter, and Vicar of Kenwyn, formerly Fellow and Tutor of Emmanuel College, Cambridge, and Vice-Principal and Professor of Hebrew at Lampeter. Vol. 1., 8vo., pp. 480. London : J. W. Parker.
2. *A Catechism on the Thirty-nine Articles of the Church of England.* By the Rev. JAMES BEAVEN, D. D., Professor of Divinity in King's College, Toronto; Author of "A Help to Catechising," &c. 18mo. pp. 123. Oxford and London : J. H. Parker.

MR. BROWNE'S "Exposition" has the merit of being a fair and candid disquisition. But there are two objections which we should raise *in limine* to putting any such work into the hands of a theological student. 1. By implication it assigns a false position to the Articles, in making them the basis of theological training. This they are not and cannot be. They are not a *Corpus Theologicæ* at all; the "analogy of the faith" they do not pretend to preserve; and some important points they altogether overlook. A man can never become a good Divine who takes the Articles as the chart of his reading. Again, as regards Mr. Browne's own work, it is eminently undogmatic; it may hold the balance with sufficient impartiality between Luther and Calvin, and state fairly the views of S. Augustine, and some other Fathers; but it is very likely to leave a man without any definite Theology. To deliver such lectures at Lampeter, is like trying to make a critic before he knows the rule of grammar. Five hundred pages moreover, on the first fifteen Articles is too much to ask any young man to read!

These are not the faults of the second work in our list. Dr. Beaven is a good Divine, and contents himself with showing very briefly what the Church teaches on each several subject. In parts there is rather a stronger anti-Roman bias than we think quite consistent with truth; and some of the questions are too simple, but upon the whole it may be said to contain, in a short compass, the best treatise on the Articles that exists in our language. At p. 114 we observe an awkward misprint of "Gregory VII." for Gregory I.

Mr. HELMORE has collected his *Brief Directory of the Plain Song*, his *Canticles Noted*, and the smaller edition of the *Psalter Noted*, into a small portable volume, entitled, *A Manual of Plain Song*. (Novello.) The two latter and their merits are well known. The former is taken chiefly from Marbecke, with some simplifications, which approach more nearly to our present use, if indeed in the conflicting uses of our various choral establishments, we can be said to have practically any one use. We are glad to meet with the omission of the vulgar passing note in the cadence of the versicles after the Lord's Prayer, which is quite agreeable to ancient practice and the best usage of the present day, as well as the stern and bold character of ritual music. And we rejoice in the injunction of the use of the monotone Amen, known as the plagal cadence, in preference to the usual one with the semitone, with its twofold harmonies, which may be added on festivals, where the service is on ferial days performed in a simple monotone. The notation of the earlier part of the volume is the same as that adopted in the smaller edition of the "*Psalter Noted*." The whole presents a beautiful specimen of ecclesiastical type, reduced to a marvellously-small compass.

A great deal of information is collected into a brief space in *A Short History of the Mormonites, or Latter Day Saints, &c.*, by the Rev. JOHN FERRIS, (Masters,) which it appears was one object proposed in the tract. But yet if it is intended in these pages to open the eyes of some who would otherwise be victims of the baneful heresy here exposed, the treatise seems to be rather deficient in pointedness, and lacks the frequent reference to authorities which is required by the necessity of the case. For the previous history of this sect proves them to be utterly unscrupulous in their attempt at conversion. We fear they would not shrink at a complete denial of many of the unpleasant facts here revealed; and in that case they would hardly be fixed in the minds of weak persons without some support from the proofs which really exist in abundance. Moreover, we should have liked to have seen a greater exposure of the gross impieties and immoralities of the sect, and especially of their leader. Still, to unprejudiced minds, enough information is conveyed in these few pages, to make them regard with horror this odious doctrine, and to all sufficient to understand its main features.

Mr. FOSTER, the biographer of Bishop Jebb, has published a valuable Sermon on the Marriage Question, (Rivingtons,) in which he produces with considerable point the rule of the Koran: "It is for-

bidden—it is wickedness for a man to unite himself with two sisters." Where, he asks, did Mahomet find this precept, so unlike the general tenour of that lax system, which more than any other, has degraded the female sex—where, but in the law of nature, as held in the traditions and customs of the Arabs, and derived originally from revelation? The appendix contains a Letter of the learned Berriman on this subject, and some well-merited strictures upon the bitter and overbearing tone of Archdeacon Hare.

A Practical Question about Oxford is the title of a very seasonable pamphlet by the Rev. D. MELVILLE, Principal of Bishop Hatfield's Hall, and Tutor in the University of Durham. (Oxford: Parker.) The author considers that what is really indicated by the various efforts at changing the system of our universities, is that people feel they do not educate a sufficiently large number of students; but he thinks that mere numerical increase, upon the present system, would not satisfy expectation.

Two reprints have reached us from the office of the "Parish Choir," (Ollivier,) the one a very useful tract on *Singing in Public Worship*, which should be circulated extensively among our congregations; the other a selection of tunes. Of these latter we can certainly say that they are among the best of those airs to which the miserable metres of Brady and Tate have been so long sung; but it is to be regretted that our contemporary should assist in prolonging the days of that most un-Catholic kind of melody. One only of the old Church hymn-tunes is found in the collection.

The Rev. W. COOKE, Perpetual Curate of S. Stephen's, Hammer-smith, has published a Sermon, (*The Faith of the Gospel*, Ollivier,) which he preached "at the ceremony of Reading in." He defines the Church's teaching on the usual *Via media* principles; admitting that the Thirty-nine Articles were not intended to give a complete scheme of Christian doctrine; and that their primary purpose was not as against Rome, but to vindicate the Church from that "Babel of doctrines," which ensued upon the Reformation of the sixteenth century.

A new edition of Mr. CHANTER's *Help to an Exposition of the Catechism for the use of the Church's younger members*, (Masters,) has just appeared. Without saying that we think the statements in every instance free from exception, we can confidently recommend it as upon the whole the best probably that exists for the instruction of young children. The language generally is very clear and precise.

We had thought of relieving the usual monotonous character of our articles by some account of Mr. Gordon Cumming's most exciting adventures in South Africa (Murray). But newspapers and magazines have so very generally anticipated us, that we must be content with simply adding a brief testimony to the very amusing character of the volumes. It is sad to be obliged to record that we do not find any trace of religious thought or observance during the five years of the hunter's separation from Christian society.

We are glad to notice Mr. E. A. FREEMAN's volume, on *Llandaff Cathedral*, (Pickering,) and trust that its publication may induce many persons to assist in this important restoration.

Dr. WORDSWORTH'S Sermon, preached at Ambleside, and entitled *Beautiful Scenery*, (Rivingtons,) points out a remarkable fact, that while the heathen of old appear by the temples which they built on the Acropolis, and at Olympia, and Tivoli, and other such places, to have recognized them as peculiar manifestations of the Divine power; and while other Churches delight to erect there the way-side cross, we alone are apt to be unmoved even by the noblest of the works of God.

A very beautiful Sermon preached by Mr. GUTCH, on the occasion of Mr. Anderdon's withdrawal from S. Margaret's, Leicester, will be read with interest. It is entitled *The Work and Will of God*. (Masters.) Is not the author, however, rather too bold in interpreting that Will? It appears that the Gorham Judgment was the cause of Mr. Anderdon's resignation; but Mr. Gutch is not altogether without hope that he may yet be restored to the prayers of his sorrowing people.

Mr. INGLE'S Letter to Sir Trayton Drake, "*Puseyites (so called) no friends to Popery*," (Masters,) very happily, and, writing from Exeter, very naturally taking Lord John Russell as the representative of "good sound Protestants," and his own Diocesan as the representative of "Puseyites (so called)," draws out in contrast the public acts of the two men, by way of determining whence the encouragement was really given the Pope for attempting the recent aggression upon England. It is a pamphlet which must tell well in Devonshire.

Mr. NEALE'S *Readings for the Aged*, (Masters,) exhibit the same power of adapting himself to the circumstances of those for whom he writes that makes his juvenile tales so popular among the young. The "Readings" were originally a series of Lent Lectures delivered to the aged inmates of Sackville College.

We are glad to observe a new edition of Mr. A. WATSON'S *Sunday Evenings at Home*. It is to this kind of systematic domestic instruction that we must look for the growth of a sounder theology among the educated classes of the kingdom.

We have but one fault to find with Mr. W. J. DRANE'S *Catechism on the Holydays of the Church*, (Mozley,) it is too short. The greater Festivals are treated very satisfactorily; but the notices of the Saints'-days are much too scanty.

In Mr. POLAND'S *Pearls Strung* (Masters) there is more than the usual variety of "things new and old."

The Churchman's Diary, (Masters,) for 1851, is enlarged, and considerably improved both as regards arrangement and typography. The "Notes on the proper celebration of Divine Service" will be very useful.

Mr. PINDER'S *Sermons for the Holydays of the Church*, (Rivingtons,) afford an excellent specimen of true Church of England teaching. They are earnest, and affectionate, and embody a good deal of ecclesiastical lore. The tone of them quite explains the influence which we are glad to testify that Mr. Pinder gains over his pupils at Wells. We are surprised to find that he should recognise the "State Holydays."

The Ecclesiastic.

THE Publisher of the ECCLESIASTIC having lately received very decided testimony from various quarters, to the value of this Periodical, is encouraged to issue the present Prospectus with the view of still further increasing its usefulness.

The circulation which it enjoys, although extensive, being chiefly effected through the medium of Book Societies, has not been such as to yield a lucrative return to himself; while he is also disabled from affording that remuneration to contributors which they may justly expect, and which alone can *at all times* command the highest literary and theological ability.

Under these circumstances, and anxious at the present crisis of the Church to use all exertions in her behalf, the Publisher proposes to make the following alterations in the manner and terms of publication.

1. The Magazine will be enlarged by additional matter.

2. The price will be 2s.; but to persons ordering directly from himself and paying in advance, the Publisher will undertake to send the Magazine by Post, free of any additional charge. In this way Subscribers will receive their copies on the first day of each month; and the uncertainty of delivery in distant places, which has been so much complained of, will be obviated.

As regards the principles of the Magazine, the Publisher believes that he is warranted in asserting that while all the great questions of present interest have been ably, consistently, and boldly dealt with, the articles have been marked by a tone of dutiful affection to the Church.

Full notices are given of all the pamphlets which appear on either side of the present controversy; and the following selection from among the more recent articles, will show, it is conceived, that there is no lack of diversity to suit the differing tastes of readers. At the same time it is hoped that the proposed increase of space will lead to at least a commensurate improvement in the literary character of the Magazine, and the Publisher pledges himself to use his utmost efforts for that object.

LONDON :

JOSEPH MASTERS, ALDERSGATE STREET,
AND NEW BOND STREET.

[TURN OVER.]

The following are some of the Articles that have appeared.

CRITICAL

Todd on the Apocalypse
Septuagint
Ancient Egypt
Cureton on the Epistles of S. Ignatius
English Scenery
Humorous Writers
Punishment of Death
Lycian Antiquities
Egyptian Chronology
Beeston on the Phœnician Verses in
Plantus
Astro-Theology

DOCTRINAL

Oriental Liturgies
Liturgy, Past and Present
Liturgy of S. James
Maskell on Absolution
Holy Eucharist
Wilberforce's Baptism
Burial Office
Office of Holy Matrimony
Christian Priesthood
Allies on Schism
Philosophy of Religion
Smith's Catholic Doctrines

HISTORICAL AND BIOGRAPHICAL

Anglo-Saxon Homilies
Bishops
Convocation and Synods
Russian Church
Neale's Eastern Church
The Crusaders
Conquest and Conqueror
Council of Trent
Church in Great Rebellion
John Milton
S. Thomas of Canterbury
Mary of Modena
Charles I.
Hickes and Laud
Charlemagne
S. Elizabeth of Hungary
Archbishop Ussher
Life and Times of Queen Anne
Lamartine
Professor Butler
Theodore Hook
Benjamin Franklin
Robert Southey
S. Anselm
John Calvin

PRACTICAL

Family Prayers
Saying and Singing
Visitation of the Sick
Confirmation
Royal Supremacy
Unity of Action
College Life
Preaching

PRACTICAL CONTINUED.

Religious Guilds
Parochial Work in France
Treatment of Dissenters
Dr. Pusey on the Minister of Absolution
Cathedrals
The Universities
Public Schools
Westminster Abbey
Tithe Redemption
Scripture Readers
Moberly on Faggings
Cathedral Abuses
Parochial Work
Scotch Church
Canadian Church
Philosophy of History
Poor Laws
Sewell's S. Columba
Domestic Worship
Decoration of Churches
Cornwall Churches
Pew System
Church Spoilers
Church Plate
Church Music
Habits of the Clergy
Church Brasses
Church Bells
Mormonism

REVIEWS.

Madeleine
Church in India
Missionary Tourists
Socinianism and Pantheism
Methodism in America
Church Ballads
Modern Painters
Children's Books
Cimbic Lays
Manners and Customs of India
California
Women in France
De Vere's Sketches in Greece
Keats' Poems
Comte's Positive Philosophy
Mary Barton

CONTROVERSIAL

Bunsen's Church of the Future
Marriage Question
Stephens' Common Prayer
Cathedral Libraries
Rugby School
Bishoprick of Jerusalem
Fletcher's Nineveh
Free Kirk
Theories of Creation
Church and State
Intellectual Development
Elliott's and Miller's Sermons
Mr. Goode's Examination in the
Councils

